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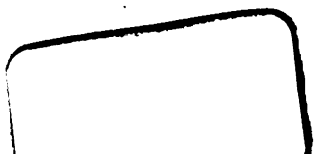
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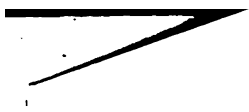
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THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1, 1876.

ART. I.—*Herbert Spencer's Sociology.*

- (1.) *Social Statics; or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the first of them Developed.* By HERBERT SPENCER. Second Edition. Williams and Norgate.
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- (6.) *Descriptive Sociology, No. 3.* Classified and Arranged by HERBERT SPENCER. Compiled and Abstracted by PROFESSOR DUNCAN, Madras. Williams and Norgate.

SOCIAL Science, in its origin and growth, is the outcome of a combination of scientific efforts of a more special character, each—though not always with a conscious or realising aim—contributing something that directly or indirectly helped towards the ultimate result. Elements were contributed by various writers on the Philosophy of History from Vico (if not earlier) down to Hegel. For the Philosophy of History and the Science of Society, while they are not to be con-

founded, are in many points coincident, and contemplate the same facts and phenomena, though in a different relation. The idea of the unity of human society, of the exhibition of law in its movements as a whole and in the interaction of its parts, conceptions of its constitution, progress, and destiny, more or less true and of various degrees of definiteness, were thus arrived at. Much is also to be ascribed to the gradual advance of the general scientific spirit, which seeks to penetrate and bring under its sway every object of knowledge, every department of mental activity. It may be, too, that the development of Social Science has been owing hardly less to political forces, to the stimulus of practical needs and the problems these suggest, than to any purely speculative impulse. Reflections and inquiries prompted by an immediate regard to definite practical issues, or pursued in justification of measures already adopted on the ground of expediency or at the bidding of feeling and common sense, have led the way and prepared the material for more articulate and scientific treatment of the subject as a whole.

It is with Comte that the floating and incoherent thoughts previously evolved on the subject first take distinct and positive form as a science. It was he who apprehended the several departments as mutually connected, and who detached the idea of Sociology as a whole, constituting a province of its own, and who assigned its place and relation to the other divisions of knowledge. Even admitting, on the one hand, the anticipation of some of his most important doctrines by Aristotle, and, on the other, the influence exerted on him by modern German thought, widely removed as he is from its spirit, Comte may still be regarded as virtually the father of Social Science. If his doctrines were not wholly original, he has the credit of first recognising their importance and emphasising their enunciation, as well as indicating their scientific position and systematic development. The very designation of the science as Sociology is due to him; and he it was who introduced into it, as well as defined the significance of, the important distinction observed in other sciences of tatical and Dynamical laws, corresponding to the theory of possible social simultaneities—or the theory of Order, and the theory of possible social successions—or the theory of

Progress. Whatever opinion may be entertained of his law of development of human thought, or of his classification of the sciences, or of the general claims of the '*Philosophie Positive*,' it is to him we owe the first solid achievement, at once comprehensive and definite, in Sociology.

In this country no name is so prominently and specially associated with the subject as that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. With him Sociology is but a part of the general philosophy of Evolution. Its bearings and position in his universal system he has not yet fully developed. His '*Social Statics*,' published more than twenty years ago, may be said to be his only complete work devoted to the subject. For his recent volume, '*On the Study of Sociology*,' consists rather of discourses about Sociology than of discussions of any of the problems of Sociology itself. As the title announces, it is concerned with 'the study,' and not with the thing to be studied, except indirectly as by its nature and conditions determining the peculiarities of the study. Such an indirect treatment, though necessarily bringing many of his Sociological doctrines more or less into view, presents them in a manner too detached, partial, and irregular, to serve as a basis for safe or satisfactory criticism. In his volumes of '*Essays*' also there are unconnected papers in which special points in social science are ably discussed. But it is in the '*Social Statics*' alone that anything like a general and comprehensive view is presented; and, as it appears in a separate and independent form, it may, so far as it goes, be considered to be complete within itself, and, taking into account the interval between the first and second editions, to be expressive of his mature convictions. Strictly speaking, there is no second edition, but only an importation, after the first impression had been exhausted, of an American reprint. This is, however, sanctioned and accompanied by a Prefatory Note by Mr. Spencer, and is thus virtually a second edition. As the text is unchanged, and that Note contains no intimation to the contrary, we are bound to accept it, not only as confirmatory of his early views, but as the only, and still acknowledged, systematic statement of Sociological doctrine he has published. Of the principal features of that doctrine we propose to give an account, as far as possible in Mr. Spencer's own phraseology and from his own point of view, and after-

wards to offer some critical remarks on the method employed and the general characteristics exhibited in its development and exposition.

According to Mr. Spencer, then, it belongs to moral philosophy to expound the law of human conduct, in obedience to which human perfection consists. Its aim is to set forth what is abstractly and intrinsically right. It cannot recognise or allow for defects of human character; if it did, it would sanction behaviour which is not the best conceivable, not perfectly right, therefore, so far, immoral. It is the science of social life, and has to present a systematic statement of those conditions under which human beings can harmoniously combine;* and to this end it requires as its postulate that these human beings be perfect. It thus entirely ignores wrong, and knows no such thing as an infraction of the laws, for it is merely a statement of what the laws are. Pure Ethics declare what are the right principles of human conduct, and, as such, may be called Moral Physiology. To decide what must be done when these principles have been violated is none of its business, but belongs to another science (if, indeed, such a scientific development be possible), viz.,—Moral Pathology or Therapeutics.

From the very nature of Ethical Science, as treating of the relations of a perfect society, as enunciating the moral law,

* These sentences imply the identity of life under social forms, that is, of the harmonious combination of men, with abstract and absolute rectitude. But, according to Mr. Spencer, as will presently be seen, man's conditions at one time demanded an anti-social form of life and predatory habits, while any want of adaptation to his conditions, of compliance with their demands, gives, and alone gives, rise to evil. If all evil is the result of non-adaptation of constitution and conduct to conditions, and if the conditions of human life were ever unfitted for social and harmonious combination, it is difficult to see how moral science can be limited to association and co-operation, or how these can be abstractly and absolutely right. In fact, if evil and immorality depend on conditions, it seems nonsense to speak of abstract right at all. The mistake consists in placing the conception of right and wrong, of good and evil, above, instead of below, the plane of conditions, so as to rest upon and rise out of them instead of embracing and discriminating them. If to combine harmoniously be right, it must be because social life itself is right; and this appears to be taken for granted in the above statement, though surely quite inconsistently both with the subsequent definition of evil and with the justification, nay, the injunction and the alleged necessity in certain circumstances, of an anti-social life and character.

but having nothing to say regarding its violation, it follows that the institution of government, which exists not only *because* of evil, but *by* evil, does not fall within its scope. It can recognise no such thing. Government is merely a probationary institution, originating in man's imperfection, begotten by necessity out of an evil, and inconsistent with a perfect condition. As civilisation advances it wanes. The Legislature is with us already dwarfed by a new and greater power, that of opinion, and when men have attained to perfection, and the moral law is voluntarily obeyed by all, its function will be gone.

Such a state of ideal perfection is the goal which, through advancing stages of civilisation, humanity is destined to reach. For all evil results from the non-adaptation of constitution to conditions, and where such non-adaptation exists, it is being constantly diminished by the changing of constitution to suit conditions. In man's present state there is much evil, because he is not constitutionally fitted for his circumstances, foremost among which is the social state. The ultimate purpose of creation being the production of the greatest amount of happiness, each individual must be so constituted as to find his highest enjoyment, not only without diminishing, but in witnessing, if not also promoting, that of others. But in a world already occupied by inferior and hostile creatures this is impossible. One or the other race must give way. Man must either destroy or be destroyed. He is accordingly endowed with a constitution adapted to the work he has to perform, joined with a dormant capability of developing into the ultimate man, when the conditions of existence permit. He must have a desire to kill, for a gratification must attach to every needful act, to afford a stimulus necessary to its performance; and he must be devoid of sympathy, or must have but the germ of it, for he would otherwise be incapacitated for his destructive office. But the blind desire to inflict suffering cannot distinguish between the subjects of that suffering, and must find objects for its gratification in man and brute alike. Thus it is necessary that the primitive man should be one whose happiness is obtained at the expense of other beings.

Man accordingly was originally fitted for an anti-social and

predatory life. His primitive circumstances required that he should sacrifice the welfare of other beings to his own. But by the increase of population, the state of existence we call social has been necessitated. In the preordained course of things men have multiplied till they are constrained to live more or less in presence of each other; and their present circumstances require that each should not sacrifice the welfare of other beings to his own. Man thus needed one moral constitution to fit him for his original state; he needs another to fit him for his present state; and he has been, is, and will long continue to be, in process of adaptation. In so far as his old attribute still clings to him, in so far is he unfit for the social state. But his progressive adaptation to it is certain; the modification in constitution and character by which it is effected results from a law underlying the whole organic creation, and must end in completeness. In course of time the human faculties must be moulded into complete fitness for the social state: the things we call evil and immorality must disappear.

Accordingly it is the aim of the philosophical moralist to ascertain and expound the principles of conduct that must obtain in a state of ideal perfection. Bentham's greatest happiness principle, as a rule of life, is futile; but it may be postulated as the creative purpose. It may be hopeless for man to make greatest happiness his immediate aim; but *à priori* we may assert it as the Divine idea. This being assumed, we have to consider what are the essential conditions of its realisation. Now, man is an entity having certain properties. In the circumstances that surround him there are certain unchanging necessities. At the head of these stands the unalterable fact—the social state, in which the sphere of activity of each individual is limited by the spheres of activity of others. That human character, therefore, is alone compatible with the greatest sum total of happiness, which can obtain complete happiness within its own sphere of activity without diminishing the spheres of activity required for the happiness of others. For any other character must itself come short of complete happiness, or must make one or more do so. Here, then, is the first and essential condition, the primary rule of social conduct, to which is given the name

of Justice. But further to secure the greatest amount of happiness possible, men must be so constituted as to find each his greatest enjoyment without causing pain, directly or indirectly, to others. This may be called Negative Beneficence. Yet another condition (arising from the fact of the social state) of the greatest possible happiness is, that man must be so constituted as to participate sympathetically in the pleasurable emotions of all his fellows. This is Positive Beneficence. In addition to these requirements, which spring from the inevitable circumstance that our form of life must be one of association, there is one obvious condition, that each individual shall so act as to fill up the measure of his own private happiness. With these several axiomatic truths every act must be either in accordance or at variance, and the task of the moralist is to elaborate a series of theorems for the determination of that relation. Each axiom is the foundation of an independent department of moral science. But the first is the most essential, and affords the principle of social statics. The others are but supplementary restrictions, and of quite inferior authority to the original law. Instead of being, like it, capable of strictly scientific development, they (under existing circumstances) can be unfolded only into superior forms of expediency.

The same result is arrived at by a less abstract train of reasoning, without any appeal to *à priori* considerations.* Still starting from the postulate that the Divine purpose is the greatest human happiness, what, it may be asked, are the means for its obtainment? Happiness arises from the exercise of our faculties. All pleasure is the result of the due exercise of a power, and the combination and balance of all the activities for which we are adapted yields happiness. Freedom to energise normally is, therefore, a condition of happiness. If God designed our happiness, it follows that we have a right to the unimpeded use of all our faculties. Consequently the only warrantable limitation of every man's right of action is the corresponding right of others. Only by a general exercise of liberty under this single condition, moreover, as a tentative process, can those acts, which though

* Does the renewed assumption of human happiness being the Divine will involve no *à priori* considerations?

incidentally and temporarily injurious, yet indirectly and permanently promote happiness, be separated from those which are necessarily and eternally injurious; for by such a process of free development alone will conventional feelings give way before necessary circumstances, and conventional circumstances give way before necessary feelings.* Thus the development of the secondary limits into practical codes of duty can be accomplished only by allowing our natures to expand in all directions, until the true bounds have made themselves felt. Indeed, regarding it from this point of view, we may almost say that the first law is the sole law; for of the several conditions to greatest happiness, it is the only one at present capable of systematic development, and conformity to it ensures ultimate conformity to the others. And even if the assertion of the law of equal freedom should, in our present imperfect state, involve the awkward conclusion that a man may behave in a manner essentially destructive of happiness, provided only he does not refuse a like liberty to every one else, and thus appear to sanction the transgression of the secondary limitations, such an imperfection cannot be admitted to invalidate the absolute obligation of this first and highest principle of social morals; for if it is the *primary* law of right relationship between man and man, then no

* If every living organism is capable of being modified by circumstances, even to the extent of evil—of all unfitness—being extinguished, there seems little room for such a distinction as this. According to this view, the element of the essential, permanent, and ineradicable in our constitution, and consequently in the beneficial, and as such moral, character of our conduct and feelings must—if it exist at all—lie within the narrowest limits. For human character and constitution are represented as susceptible of indefinite variation and adaptation in the sphere of the social relations, even to entire reversal. In what direction and to what extent can it, in consistency with Mr. Spencer's view, be said that man is not capable of being modified? or, indeed, is there any except that which would destroy his life and being? Wrong, as that which is forbidden by the essential and constant in human nature, would seem to be circumscribed to what is actually suicidal, or destructive of the race, as a race, to the exclusion even of what may be destructive of others as individuals. For those who are too weak, or too inflexible, to undergo the process of modification, both will and must be got rid of. 'The predatory instinct,' says Mr. Spencer, 'has subserved civilisation by clearing the earth of inferior races of men; the forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way, with the same sternness that they exterminate beasts of prey and useless ruminants.'

desire to get fulfilled a *secondary* law can warrant us in breaking it.

The same conclusion is yet again borne out by the fact that we are endowed with a special faculty which discriminates and impels to right action. The analogy of our whole constitution leads us to expect such an agency. Towards every action proper and requisite to our nature we are urged by a desire or appetite, and are not dependent on the promptings of mere intellectual prevision. The due nourishment of our bodies might be neglected if we were incited thereto only by the consideration of its need: hunger is a better monitor. So the necessary rest, warmth, &c., are provided for by certain feelings. The continuance of the race, the protection and rearing of offspring, are secured by certain instincts and affections, in default of which the dictation of the intellect might prove a poor substitute. In like manner, that line of conduct in relation to others which is needful for general well-being is pointed out and prompted by a proper instrumentality—the moral sense,—a faculty which is primarily an instinct of personal rights, and secondarily a sort of reflex function of that—sympathy; the joint operation of which issues in a claim of freedom for ourselves along with a correlative admission of the same to others.

We are thus led by three several lines of thought to the same conclusion. (1) An *à priori* view of creative design, and an examination of the conditions of its realisation; (2) an appeal to the general constitution of man—considered as a congeries of faculties; (3) an examination of the indications of a special faculty in that constitution adapted to recognise and respond to such a rule of life;—all concur in evidencing that the primary law of right social relationships is, that ‘every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.’ It remains to develop this first principle into a system of equity, by distinguishing the actions it permits from those it forbids.

First, both logically and in importance, among the obvious deductions are the rights of life and personal liberty.

Next comes the equal right of all to the use of the earth. This right forbids private property in land; for if one portion could be so owned, so equally could any other, and our planet

might thus lapse altogether into private hands. All save the owners could then exist on the earth only by sufferance, a state of matters utterly outraging the principle of equal freedom. The abolition of private ownership would not involve a community of goods, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—Society. Tenancy would be the only land tenure, and rent would be paid to the agent of the community.

But while the principle of equal rights to the use of the earth is inconsistent with private property in land, it is by no means at variance with the right of private property in general; for what is required is, not that all shall have like shares of the things which minister to the gratification of the faculties, but that all shall have like freedom to pursue those things—shall have like scope. To deny the right of private property would interfere with the ordained connection between desire and gratification, and would necessitate an absolute violation of the principle of equal freedom.

The same rule is applicable to mental as to material property. Every man is as well entitled to the produce of his brain as to that of his hands: hence the right to property in ideas. Nor must it be supposed that the exclusive right by an inventor takes anything from the public: on the contrary, he gives. He cannot derive any benefit from the use of his discovery without in that very use conferring benefit on society. No doubt the existing state of knowledge, the pressure of some social want, and other general conditions concur as causes or occasions of every invention, so that the probability is that the same or a similar invention would ere long have been made by others independently. In consequence of this the right to property in ideas is subject to a qualification, which however, though difficult to specify definitely, does not militate against the right itself.

Reputation, the esteem of others, is not only a possession we value for itself, but has also indirectly a money value. Hence the right to property in character, and consequently the foundation for a law of libel.

Again, if there is a right to property, there must also be a right to exchange that property for other: in other words, freedom of trade.

Speech, being one of our natural forms of activity, must be absolutely free, so long as it neither involves slander nor incites another to injure a third. If unlimited liberty of speech is productive of disastrous results, that is entirely owing to the abnormal condition of the body politic. If a nation cannot be governed on principles of pure equity, so much the worse for the nation. These principles remain true notwithstanding. If evils are entailed upon a people by immediate and entire recognition of the law of equal freedom in the matter of speech as well as in that of action, such evils are merely significant of the incomplete adaptation of that people to the social state, and not of any defect in the law.

And similarly of various other rights, which are nothing but artificial divisions of the general claim to exercise the faculties. Two points of importance remain to be noticed—the rights of women and of children. Equity knows no difference of sex. Hence the several rights deducible from the law of equal freedom must appertain to women no less than to men. To dispute this on the ground of woman's mental inferiority is absurd. For by rights is meant nothing else than freedom to exercise faculties. Supposing, then, that woman is mentally inferior to man, that is, that her faculties are weaker or more limited, that is no reason for refusing her the right to exercise those she has. The subjection of women in the matrimonial or any other relation of life is, like every exercise of command, a remnant of barbarism.* Political privileges must thus be ceded to women. And why not? If they are ignorant of state affairs, then they will reflect the opinions of the other sex. If they are well informed, and act independently, then, will they not be as competent to use their power with intelligence?

Nor is it otherwise with children. If we are once sure of

* It might here be questioned whether it is not, on the part of some, the exercise of a natural faculty and disposition, to rule, and on the part of others to obey. May not these correlative attitudes, in many cases, be but the result of the very freedom to develop inherent capacities and tendencies, and as such in perfect harmony with the general principle of equal freedom?

our law—sure that it is a Divine ordination—then whithersoever it leads us we may safely follow. The child therefore has claims to freedom,—rights, coextensive with the adult. Freedom to do all he wills, provided he infringes not the equal liberty of others, is a universal law that includes both sexes and all ages. To urge that in the child many of the faculties of the future man are undeveloped, and that as rights are primarily dependent on faculties, the rights of children cannot be coextensive with those of adults, because their faculties are not so, is specious, but beside the point. The demand is for *perfect* freedom to exercise *all* the faculties. The right to the exercise of faculty is in each case *complete*, and in all cases therefore equal. It is quite another question whether in any two cases the faculties are equal, and no right or freedom could enable us to exercise faculties we do not have. To say that the rights of this one are less than those of the other, because his faculties are fewer, is to say he has no right to exercise the faculties he has not got—a curious compound of truism and absurdity. This strikes at the root of all coercive education. Coercion in all its forms—educational or other—is essentially vicious. Education itself, indeed, is but a temporary expedient, and must die out. It belongs to our transitional state, has no place in ideal humanity, and is ignored by pure Ethics. When that ultimate state in which morality shall have become organic is arrived at, the young human being will no longer be an exception in nature,—will not, as now, tend to grow into unfitness for the requirements of after life; but will spontaneously unfold itself into that ideal manhood whose every impulse coincides with the dictates of the moral law. The thorough-going application of the principle would seem to involve the absurd inference that children are equally with adults entitled to citizenship and political power. But if there is an incongruity between the institution of government and certain consequences of the law of equal freedom, it is the former, and not the latter, of these that is at fault. Government itself is the offspring of immorality. Were the moral law universally obeyed, government would not exist, and did government not exist, the moral law could not dictate the political enfranchisement of children.

Having applied the law to the principal relations between individuals, Mr. Spencer proceeds to carry it out to those between individuals and the body politic. The very existence, indeed, of a government at all, as has been already indicated, is inconsistent with the first principles of rectitude. No government can have any ethical authority. The highest form it can assume is that in which the moral law remains passive with regard to it,—tolerates it,—no longer protests against it. In ascertaining the conditions of such a form, the first result obtained, by the application of the general principle of equal freedom, is the right of every man to ignore the State, to relinquish its protection, and to refuse to pay towards its support. Government being simply an agent employed in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not.* The belief in the omnipotence of majorities is a political superstition. The very existence of majorities and minorities is indicative of an immoral state; for the pursuit of happiness by the greater number involves the denial of it, to a certain extent, to the fewer; whereas perfect morality requires that each shall be completely happy without diminishing the happiness of others—that is, that the pursuit of happiness on the part of all shall be harmonious. In matters of religion this right to dissociate oneself from the State is already partially recognised. The thorough Independent will neither conform, nor contribute to the support of the State Church, without protest against the forcible exaction of his property. But consistency cannot stop short here: if we are entitled to claim freedom for the exercise of one of our faculties—the religious sentiment,—why not for all? The distinction of civil from religious liberty is quite arbitrary. If the one is a matter of conscience, so is the other; for God's will is human happiness, and that is attainable only through the unrestrained exercise of our faculties—those relating to civil as well as to religious concerns.

The next deduction is equal political privilege and power. A pure democratic government is the only one which is morally admissible. Class legislation is the inevitable con-

* Compare this with statement on page 14, with its relative foot-note.

sequence of class power; the interest of the whole society can be secured only by giving power into the hands of the whole people. It is no valid objection to say, that as the working classes constitute a majority, such an arrangement would have the effect, not of excluding class power, but merely of transferring power from one class to another, which would legislate in the interest of labour at the expense of property. Were this true, it would only amount to this—that the few should be allowed to trespass against the many, lest the many should trespass against the few; but surely if one of the parties must submit to injustice, it ought to be the rich hundreds, and not the poor thousands. But it is not true, for the labouring population is too numerous, and distributed over too wide an area, is separated too much in occupation, religion, habits, and sentiments of town and country life, and interests in general, to attain that unity of action necessary for such an object. Should it be argued that where Democracy has been tried, it has failed, it may be asked in reply, Where has a pure Democracy ever been tried? Not in Greece, Rome, America, with their systems of slavery. Not in mediæval Italy, where power was conferred on the burghers and nobles only. Not even in the Swiss States, which have always treated a certain unincorporated class as political outlaws. Democracy, however, as one of the higher social forms, is of necessity identified, both in origin and practicability, with a dominant moral sense. Conduct has to be ruled either from within or from without. If the rule from within is not sufficient, there *must* exist a supplementary rule from without. While, therefore, we may be sure that a Democracy will be attained whenever the people are good enough for one, we need not fear that a Democracy, when peacefully attained, can be attained too soon.

As to the duties of the State, the moral law can give no direct information, since it ignores government altogether. If every man has a right to secede from the State, and if, as a consequence, the State must be regarded as a body of men voluntarily associated,* there remains nothing to distinguish

* Comparing this statement with one to which attention was directed on page 18 (and both are quoted verbatim from Mr. Spencer), there is manifest a shifting of the ground and a see-saw of inference. What was antecedent in the

it in the abstract from any other incorporated society,—nothing to determine its specific function. The proper function of government, then, can only be arrived at indirectly, by approximative methods, since those of exact science are no longer available. What is perfect is thoroughly fitted for its purpose. Hence to the rightly-constituted man all external help is needless—detrimental even. When, on the other hand, man's constitution and the conditions of his existence are not in harmony, there arise external agencies to supply the place of deficient internal faculties. And these temporary substitutes, being supplementary to the faculties, and assisting the imperfect man, as they do, to fulfil the law of his being—the moral law, as we call it—obtain a certain reflex authority from that law, varying with the degree in which they subserve its requirements. Now freedom has been shown to be the grand pre-requisite of the fulfilment of the moral law; and it is the office of government, as the chief of these artificial aids, to guarantee freedom, equal freedom, to all,—in other words, to administer justice at home and to provide defence against aggressive warfare from abroad. But if a man accepts state-guardianship he must contribute to its maintenance and cost. Thus arises an implied contract, that equivalents of protection and taxation shall be exchanged. As a matter of fact, however, such a contract is very imperfectly fulfilled, at least on the part of the State. It can never, indeed, be otherwise. For national institutions must embody national character, and can never be better than the men who constitute them. So long, therefore, as men are imperfect—that is, as governments are needed—so long must State institutions reflect that imperfection. It is very certain that government can *not* alter the total amount of injustice committed. It would be absurd to suppose that it can—to suppose that, by some ingenious

one becomes consequent in the other, and what was consequent before is now antecedent. In the one case the fact of government being simply an agent employed by certain individuals for certain purposes is made the ground of freedom to each individual to choose whether he will secede from the State, or avail himself of its services; whereas, in the other, this right of choice to secede or adhere to the State is adduced as the reason for regarding the State as merely a number of individuals associated for a common end. A good deal might be proved in this way.

artifice, we may avoid the consequences of our own natures. In ethics, as in physics, man cannot create force; he can only alter the mode of its manifestation, its direction, its distribution. And that is what government does. By its aid, men to a considerable extent equalise the evil they have to bear—spread it out more uniformly over the whole community and over the life of each citizen. Wrongs that were before occasional, but crushing, are now unceasing, but bearable. The system is one of *mutual assurance* against moral disasters.

This duty of securing freedom for the exercise of our faculties comprises the whole office of government. A function to each organ and each organ to its own function is the law of all organisation. With the State, as with every other instrumentality, special adaptation to one end implies non-adaptation to other ends. Whenever it exceeds its office of protection it loses its protective power and becomes aggressive on the liberties of some at some point. To healthily developed citizens, State aid is doubly detrimental: it injures them both by what it takes and by what it does. By the revenues required to support its agencies it absorbs the means on which certain of the faculties depend for their exercise, and by the agencies themselves it shuts out other faculties from their spheres of action. And since men are not yet healthily developed, we must remember that an undeveloped capability can be developed only under the stern discipline of necessity. It must be kept ever active, ever strained, ever inconvenienced by its incompetency, that it may grow to efficiency. Interpose an instrumentality between such faculty and its work, and the process of adaptation is at once suspended. There is only one faculty, or set of faculties, whose weakness the State can advantageously supplement—that, viz., by which society is made possible. Man can become adapted to the social state only by being retained in it; hence while the process is going on an instrumentality must be employed, firstly, to bind men into an associated state; and, secondly, to check all conduct endangering the existence of that state. But this is exactly what has already been defined as the sole duty of government—to administer justice, to prevent aggression. If any extension of this limit is allowed, there can be no limit fixed to its action

that is not arbitrary and unphilosophical. All experience shows government to be an incompetent manager in all undertakings beyond its proper function of protection. Nor is it anything short of impious presumption to try to supersede by clumsy political mechanisms the great laws of existence.

This general doctrine regarding the State is applied in detail to such cases as regulation of commerce, religious establishments, poor laws, national education, governmental colonisation, sanitary supervision, currency, postal arrangements, &c. Into these special applications the necessary limits of this paper forbid us to enter.

Such, then, as far as possible in his own words, is a summarised sketch of the central principle, and the salient points in their relation to it, of Mr. Spencer's system of 'Social Statics.' It is but just, though perhaps hardly necessary, to remark that the incomplete and bald enumeration which we have given of the principal subjects he discusses, can afford no adequate representation of the various questions as they appear in his statement of them. He defends and recommends the most of his positions with a power and dexterity that command admiration and excite surprise, and sometimes almost compel assent. The ingenuity and boldness of his scheme cannot be denied, nor can the truth and insight of many of his views be disputed. The numerous points on which his conclusions strike home with effect, and the unexpected adroitness with which events in past and contemporaneous history are, often to overloading, marshalled and interpreted in illustration, are apt to carry the facile and uncritical reader by storm. At the same time, while impressed with its appearance of logical rigour and air of systematic simplicity and coherence, no less than by its surprising and momentous results, the reflective student, considering it as a philosophical system, can hardly fail to be struck by the largeness of assumption it involves, and by its generally theoretic and insufficient foundation.

Any detailed criticism either of Mr. Spencer's principles or of his conclusions we shall not now attempt. On that head we may venture to offer some remarks on another occasion,

but at present we shall confine ourselves to what may be loosely called his manner rather than his matter.

Philosophically considered, the general character and rank of his thought is the most radical thing to be noted. That character is practically and professedly representative and conceptual. He thinks in pictures. To make the importance of this distinction fully evident would involve reference to questions that lie at the root of all philosophising, and would be inconsistent with the design of this paper to deal only with the external features of our subject. But in a word, speaking roundly and popularly, the result of this mental quality is to exclude from thought what cannot be figured, and to limit knowledge to symbols of things.

Perhaps the next most striking and important quality is what may in strictness be called his *method*. Professing to root knowledge in experience, his legitimate progress should have been positive and inductive. On the contrary, it is eminently assumptive and deductive, both in spirit and form. Just compare his procedure with that of the apostle of Positivism.

The lateness of the emergence of Sociology as a science is referred by Comte to two causes—the difficulties presented by the complexity and special nature of social phenomena on the one hand, and the paucity of data on the other. In the social sphere the phenomena are unfolded in succession slowly through the lapse of ages. In other sciences ‘the materials were ready before there were observers qualified to make a scientific use of them. But even if observers had been ready the phenomena of social life were not ample and various enough in early days to admit of their philosophical analysis.’* Such an explanation is inconsistent with Mr. Spencer’s views. On his method there need have been no such hindrance. He simply postulates a multitude of men on the earth as living beings endowed with certain active properties, and designed by their Creator to enjoy the greatest happiness, and thence evolves the principle of his science. Comte carefully lays down the method of investigation in Sociology, as in every other science, to be observation in its threefold aspects of observation proper, experiment, and com-

* Miss Martineau’s translation of Comte’s ‘Positive Philosophy.’

parison. For experimentation in the direct and vulgar acceptation there is little opportunity. But the philosophical character of such a method of inquiry does not depend on the arrangement of the circumstances artificially, and with special design to such an end. By experimentation, therefore, in social research he means the examination of disturbances in the established order and relations of harmony and succession, such as occur in times of disorder and revolution. Under comparison he includes the study of the social states of the lower animals, of coexisting but independent states of human society in various regions of the earth, and of consecutive states, as unfolded in the page of history.

Mr. Spencer's plan is very different. For data he makes no examination of the social phenomena around us, no inquiry into the periods of perturbation and morbid action. So far from any analogy drawn from the brute creation, we find laws of the highest generality and abstract character applied in their barest and hardest expressions generalised from lower and inanimate forms of existence, without any modification, such as a comparative reference to an ascending scale of complexity in life and faculty might have suggested. There is no painstaking collation of the testimony of different races of men under different conditions of climate and general environment, no attempt to trace the successive developments of the same people as presented in history. Abundant reference is no doubt made to facts of history—not, however, as affording a basis for inquiry, but only as they point and enforce a conclusion. Nothing could be more opposed to the Baconian spirit and principles. Instead of beginning with what is best known, and advancing to the less known through successive stages of induction to a high generalisation, he starts with abstract conceptions, which are certainly not apodictic, or *à priori*, in the sense of being native to the mind, and so, universal and necessary, and can as little claim to be recognised as *à posteriori*, or data of experience. They are rather mental creations, fanciful or arbitrary, which bring prominently into view that side of their author's character for which perhaps we have no appellation so apt as the French *idéologue*. And from these abstract conceptions, reached by no process of slow induction and cautious generalisation, he deduces a

general and comprehensive principle to be applied to the various relationships of life.

That a great work on Sociology of an inductive character by Mr. Spencer is in progress, or at least in contemplation, may be inferred from the elaborate preparations, of which an imposing specimen is furnished in the parts already published of 'Descriptive Sociology,'—a vast collection of materials 'classified and arranged' by Mr. Spencer, though 'compiled and abstracted' by Mr. Collier, Dr. Scheppig, and Professor Duncan, of Madras. These volumes, as well as some of Mr. Spencer's own, do not present a due discrimination between the kinds and ranks of different authorities. The most thoroughly qualified witnesses are placed side by side, and on the same footing, apparently, with others of less special qualification, or at least reputation. But apart from their merits as a body of evidence, these parts of 'Descriptive Sociology' are of course only descriptive, not scientific, and, however they may serve as a foundation, do not pretend to form or represent the edifice. Nor can that which is to be done alter the character of what has been done; and, besides the fact that our strictures are directed against 'Social Statics,' and not against another work, least of all against a book yet in embryo, their justification is to be found in the consideration that this projected inductive work, however it may defend and support the conclusions arrived at in the earlier publication, cannot have been in any sense its groundwork; as there is no reason—but the contrary—to suppose that it was begun, or planned, at the time Mr. Spencer committed himself in 'Social Statics' to a very pronounced social theory. What we say is, that 'Social Statics' is deductive (for illustration, however copious, is not induction), and that in it the author has laid down the principles and even sketched the great leading outlines of his scheme. Even supposing the induction with which it is to be followed up should supply details that can be fitted into this *cadre*, so far from that original design being suggested or determined by these details, is there not a danger that the preconceptions of an accepted scheme may react unconsciously on the selection and grouping, or on the recognised significance and the manipulation of these tabulated materials, which are to be worked up into a positive science?

The importance of a working hypothesis is not disputed. A blind and promiscuous massing of isolated facts, uncoordinated by the thought that moulds them into an organised unity and quickens them into life and meaning, is often but elaborate blundering and vain toil, which, for a vehicle, creates an impediment. But the theory of 'Social Statics' is put forward not as a working hypothesis, but as a securely-established principle, affording the law of social life that is interpretative of the past and absolutely obligatory for the regulation of conduct now; not as something tentative and provisional, but as a scientific system of equity, supported by numerous converging lines of evidence. The error lies, not in having an hypothesis and working faithfully under its guidance, but in the process and quarter from which it has been obtained. It has been sought on the subjective side rather than on the objective. It is not a light struck out by the contact of facts, but a gleam—be it of fancy or of any other faculty—by which they are illuminated. All thought may be said to come from the mind. But the question here is, has the thought been suggested, awakened, by the facts, or is it merely the result of a mental activity cast forth upon them, and imparting to them their lights and shadows, instead of truly responding to their impress? Whether thought by which objective realities are to be interpreted may have a subjective origin is not now the point. If it may, it must at least be vindicated on a philosophical foundation,—certainly must not be employed to build up a science to form part of a system which professedly negatives such a foundation. It is not to the deductive method as such that exception is being taken, but that such a method is inconsistent with the general scope and character of Mr. Spencer's scientific thought.

If the world is but realised Reason, then, indeed, Reason logically developed must correspond with the external form in which it is actualised. But according to this view, Reason is that which truly *is*, and which determines the external; whereas, in Mr. Spencer's view, Reason itself seems to be in all its forms and laws but an elaboration of experience. He believes 'the intuition of space possessed by any living individual to have arisen from organised and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals who bequeathed to him their slowly-

'developed nervous organisation, and that that intuition requires to be made definite and complete by personal experiences.'* On such a principle, surely, the legitimate procedure is from experience to thought, and not *vice versâ*. The latter is a reversal of the fundamental order, and seeks to elucidate and explain facts by that which owes all its coherency and consistency to them. Even were Reason recognised as an eternal and objective entity, prior to and directive of evolution, the correspondence of the subjective intelligence therewith must first be made out. But if Reason is but a part of the general order of things, generated in the universal process of evolution, and itself regulated by the principle of that evolution, what warrant can there be for applying a partial product as the norm of the whole?

In corroboration of what has been said of the non-inductive character of the book, it is to be further remarked that while the illustration is often profuse, it seems also sometimes selected and special. The question is not whether many facts can be adduced in harmony with the theory, but whether none can be adduced against it. Need we refer to the passage in Lord Bacon: '*Inductio per enumerationem simplicem, ubi non reperitur instantia contradictoria*'? This is a point very difficult to establish, and it may plausibly be said that until adverse facts are brought forward, it is not unfair to infer that there are none. But though an absolutely exhaustive examination of facts is impossible, we have a right to expect an examination of those that look most doubtful and suspicious. It seems to us, however, there is sometimes a disposition to seek illustrations in quarters where no one would be likely to dispute their existence, without an equal solicitude to scrutinise cases of a kind where exceptions might be expected. With the view of showing that all legislative interference is injurious, for example, it is little to the purpose to refer to protective enactments, which now at least hardly any one will be found to defend. That the Act of 1773, passed at the instance of the Spitalfield weavers, fixing a minimum rate of wages for them, was disastrous in its results, is what no one will call in question, but is far from being a telling case just on that

* See his letter to Mr. Mill, disavowing the imputation of being an anti-utilitarian.

account. It would have been much more to the point if it could have been shown that the various Factory Acts, especially Lord Ashley's in 1833, and its subsequent extension (for however nobly meant, neither Sir R. Peel's original Act in 1819, nor Sir J. Hobhouse's in 1825, can be said to have secured their object), and the other restrictions on the employment of labour, or the sanitary measures that had been adopted by the Legislature, had been really prejudicial. That many Acts of the Statute Book have been foolish, meddlesome, and detrimental, may be very true, but does not prove that they all are so; and to remind us of the *most* foolish and detrimental, may be popular and striking, but far less critical and decisive than to have traced the operation of the apparently most wise and beneficial, and shown that even they on the whole have been mischievous. The thorough investigation of two or three instances that may be regarded as crucial is worth more than a long catalogue of a different sort confessedly non-crucial. In testing the strength of a chain composed of links of various kinds and sizes, it is of no use to show that the obviously strongest cannot be broken: what is required is to try whether what seems the weakest will bear the necessary strain. 'Monetary panics, South Sea bubbles, railway manias, Irish rebellions, French revolutions'—such are hardly the kind of cases in which any dubiety on the point is likely to lurk. These are cheap, but, for the purpose, ineffectual missiles.

The same evasion of the really vital point is observable in what Mr. Spencer says in illustration and enforcement of his doctrine of a law of adaptation underlying all organic creation. No one denies such a law. The only question is as to its range of action. Is it limited or unlimited—not only as to the inclusion of subjects, but as to the extent of its operation? He brings forward a variety of cases which may go to show that there is some such law; but he never touches any case that might decisively determine its sweep,—which any one would be disposed to place beyond its radius. What his own belief on the point may be is not very obvious. In some places he reasons very much as if he considered it competent to effect almost any transformation. But if so, that should have been clearly stated and substantiated: if not, then the fact

at least, if not the where, of its limitation, should have been acknowledged and allowed for. On the one alternative, he must tacitly infer a universal conclusion from a very limited induction: on the other, some of the conclusions, for establishing which it is employed, must be subject to very considerable qualification. We grant a law of modification: we do not grant that man is susceptible of indefinitely great modification.

Not only is there some suspicion of partiality as to the facts presented, but there is undoubtedly a certain unguardedness in the mode of presentation. In saying this, no intentional misrepresentation on Mr. Spencer's part is implied; and it must be taken into account that he has warned his readers that to make 'purely intellectual considerations operative,' he has designedly 'enforced them by direct or implied 'appeals to the sentiments.' But whether warranted by such an express motive or not, many of his statements appear to have the character of exaggeration or distortion, or, at least, there is a certain hardness and narrowness of construction of actions and events which has very much the same effect. It may be literally correct to say that the measures adopted by England for the suppression of the slave trade on the Coast of Africa did in some cases 'aggravate the horrors, without 'sensibly mitigating the extent of the traffic; that they 'generated fast-sailing slavers, with decks one foot six inches 'apart, suffocation from close packing, miserable diseases, 'and a mortality of thirty-five per cent; that they have led to 'slavers throwing a whole cargo of five hundred negroes into 'the sea, and to the disappointed chiefs putting to death two 'hundred men and women, and sticking their heads on poles, 'along shore, in sight of the squadron.' For the actual averments, indeed, Mr. Spencer refers to the Anti-Slavery Society's Report for 1847 and to the evidence before a Parliamentary Committee in 1848. But it is one thing to state these circumstances as if the natural, if not unavoidable, consequence of our interference, and another to state them as evidence of the perilous and critical task in which we had engaged, and of the insufficient vigilance and means we had employed. Instead of proving that our action in the matter should be abandoned, or rather never have been undertaken, such facts

may only serve to prove that our action had not been nearly strict and energetic enough. This at least is the kind of inference Mr. Spencer sees his way readily enough to draw when the fact of the United States continuing to countenance slavery, after every other civilised country had condemned and abolished it, is foolishly pointed to as an argument against Democracy. 'Put in a definite form,' he says, 'this would aptly serve the logician as a specimen of absurdity. A pseudo-democracy is found not democratic enough, and it is therefore inferred that democracy is a bad thing.'

Is there not a falsetto tone in this again?—

'The veneration which produces submission to a Government unavoidably invests that Government with proportionately high attributes; for being, in essence, a worship of power, it can be strongly drawn out towards that only which has great power, or is believed to have it. . . . Hence the still current fallacies about mitigating distress, easing monetary pressures, and curing over-population by law. Hence also the monstrous, though generally received doctrine that a legislature may equitably take people's property, to such extent and for such purposes as it thinks fit, for maintaining State Churches, feeding paupers, paying schoolmasters, founding colonies,' &c.

Does Mr. Spencer mean that distress and monetary crises and other evils are unmitigable? Or does he doubt that remedies in such cases can be better devised and applied through co-operation and organised action than by desultory individual efforts? He speaks as if he believed Government committed robbery against the people for its own ends, and seems to overlook the fact that the proceeds of taxation are applied for the people's behalf, and that, whether always wisely and successfully or not, Churches, paupers, and schoolmasters are upheld with a view to the general good—the good of the whole State as a unit. It is not meant that corruption has not often invaded high places, and that there have never been governments that were oppressive, unjust, disregardful of the subjects' interests, nor that good intentions are sufficient to legitimise or excuse every act of our rulers. But there is an acerbity in Mr. Spencer's tone as if he felt 'the powers that be' his natural enemy, and as if it were an uncalled-for refinement to distinguish between Governments generally condemned as wicked, and others that are regarded as righteous and beneficent.

On his view of government, considered simply as such, the impression we have ascribed to his words may not indeed be very different from what he intends to convey, and they may be defended on the ground that they correctly enough express his sentiments. But what we contend for is, that if cases are adduced in confirmation or support of an opinion, they must not have the confirmatory sense read into them, they must be read fairly and dispassionately. They must not be used both to lead up to a general proposition as affording it probability, and at the same time as examples of that general proposition under the significance which they derive from it. *Their* light may be either reflected on it as a focus, or *its* light may be radiated on them; but a general truth must not be attempted to be made out from them by means of an interpretation they borrow from it. Let us clearly understand whether facts are presented as mere examples of what is otherwise established, or as individual truths, by the concurrence of which a general theorem is to be rendered probable.

There is something in Mr. Spencer's treatment of evidence that recalls that of the late Mr. Buckle. Testimonies of very different order and rank are appealed to without due care to distinguish their relative character and value. Whatever makes for the point is welcome, irrespective of the source or the acknowledged competency of the witness. A newspaper paragraph or the statement of a little known author is as confidently produced as the deliberate sentence of a learned and conscientious historian. Solitary and exceptional cases are introduced as if they were rife and commonplace, and while gathered from regions the most different and remote, are heaped together in a way that may leave the impression that they may have some common connection, and so as to give a consenting and cumulative effect, though their various conditions may in reality confer equally various significance. Facts are detached from their collateral circumstances, and it seems to be overlooked that in records of the past certain circumstances are prominently mentioned, not because they are prevalent and exhibit the general tenour of things, but because they are rare and remarkable. When, as examples of 'the giant abominations of our judicial system,' we are 'informed of £800 having been expended in the recovery of

'forty shillings' worth of property; and again of a cause 'that was lost because an affirmation could not be received 'instead of an oath,' it should be remembered that that individual expenditure was part of a great system which in the main renders secure to its possessors many millions of pounds sterling worth of property, and that the requirement of evidence on oath has on the whole subserved the ends of justice immeasurably more than would its dispensation in any particular case. When, again, we are told that 'in Scotland, 'less than two centuries ago, it was the custom of lairds to 'kidnap the common people and export them as slaves,' are we seriously intended to consider this a fair picture of the times? Facts in their own place will tell their own tale, but in a new and artificial setting, though they themselves may be preserved intact,—nay, on that account sometimes all the more, because the perspective and proportion are destroyed—may become misleading enough.

In proving a particular and limited proposition Mr. Spencer is very apt to slip into a general conclusion. The fixity of human nature is a case in point. Because it does not hold good in some senses, he seems to argue that it is not true in any. The essential sameness of humanity is a proverb: 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.' Is it just because this is a popular belief, or because the contrary suits his purpose, that Mr. Spencer so laboriously contests it, instead of simply defining it?

'Man obeys the laws of indefinite variation. . . . Mark the grotesque frescoes of the Egyptians, or the shadowless drawings of the Chinese. Does the contrast between these and the works of European artists indicate no difference in the perceptive powers of the races? . . . The Greeks and Romans had a deity to sanction and patronise every conceivable iniquity, and Polynesian tribes believe that their gods feed upon the souls of the departed. Surely the characters indicated by such conceptions of Divinity differ somewhat from ours! Surely we may claim some essential superiority over those Tartars who leave infirm parents to die of hunger in the desert; and over those Feejee islanders amongst whom members of the same family have to keep watch against each others' treachery. It is not the custom of an Englishman to dine, like a Carrib, upon a roasted captive; or even, as the Abyssinian, on a quivering slice from the haunch of a live ox. Neither does he, like a red Indian, delight in the writhing of a victim at the stake; nor, like a Hindoo, burn his wife, that her spirit may haunt his enemy.'

And so on through several pages, in which it is shown by equally apposite examples that the alleged sameness does not consist in rationality, nor justice, nor honesty, nor want of mercy, nor vindictiveness; neither in actions, nor in manners, nor in opinions. Certainly not, any one would say, but in self, in nature, in idea; those are but the accidents of humanity, which as externals play in endless variety over the constant essence.

In such reasoning he is either misled and carried away by the force and tyranny of words, or he is disingenuous and unfair. He either fails to understand what is meant, and falls into an idle logomachy; or, seeing what is meant, he affects to be a precisian, and tries to wring a refutation out of a popular use of language. Does he not know that the greatest stickler for the fixity and uniformity of human nature also recognises varieties and modifications? and that what is meant is, that under all that variety there is still a unity and sameness? Or perceiving this, is it not trifling and pedantic, as well as unfair, to feign that this implies a real inconsistency, and thereon to found an argument against such a view? It is a mistake to seek various illustrations in the changes of savage to civilised life, in the dissimilarities of different nationalities, and such like. The very points in which constancy might have been found are avoided. There may be differences enough in assigning particular causes and determining particular duties: there will be none in recognising Duty and Causation. The deepest, the simplest, the most human utterances find echoes in every heart and attest the common root of manhood in us all. Homer and Moses are not only intelligible, they are stimulating still, and the responses they ever awaken in us proclaim identity of nature through all the ages and under every superficial diversity.

There seems in truth a fondness on Mr. Spencer's part for saying something striking and different from the general drift of public opinion, which, especially when it seems to help out his case, leads him into a measure of extravagance. He has a weakness for making a point—if with an air of paradox, all the better. He delights in presenting familiar facts under odd lights and sometimes with a degree of grotesque distortion, and solitary out-of-the-way facts with an air of

familiarity, as if they were of everyday occurrence and fairly represented the bulk, instead of being exceptional and foreign to it. The result is often caricature, but unfortunately without a trace of humour, and is hardly conducive to achromatic views and impartial judgments. Legislative action has no doubt often been mistaken and unfortunate; but is the following gross travesty meant seriously, or is it a misplaced attempt at persiflage?

'It is said of a certain personage that he wished he had been consulted when the world was being made, for that he could have given good advice; and not a little historical celebrity has attached to this personage, in virtue of his so-thought unparalleled arrogance. Shallow, shallow! Why, the great majority of our statesmen and politicians do as much every day. Advice, indeed! they do not stop at advice. They actively interpose, take into their own hands matters that God seems to be mismanaging, and undertake to set them right!'

These again are surely 'swelling words'—may we add 'of vanity'?

'Unquestionably war is immoral. But so likewise is the violence used in the execution of justice; so is all coercion. Ethical law is as certainly broken by the judicial authorities as by those of a defensive army. . . . The doings of the battle-field merely exhibit in a concentrated form that immorality which is inherent in government and attaches to all its functions. What is so manifest in its military acts is true of its civil acts, that it uses wrong to put down wrong.'

Is it intended as a figure of speech, or does Mr. Spencer mean it plainly and apart from all hyperbole, as his italics would suggest, when he declares 'that, in establishing any religion, a government *does* claim to be infallible scarcely 'needs proof'? It is not the part of this Review to uphold the cause of religious establishments by the State; but as little is it in accordance with its principles to sympathise with a treatment of the question in this style. It might pass for clever derision of Church establishments by a smart partisan to ask—'After centuries of Church culture, has Christianity got so little root in men's hearts that but 'for government watering-pots it must wither away?' But it would be just about as reasonable (the question of taste being set aside altogether), and about as much to the purpose, when Mr. Spencer invites any of his friends to dinner, to

inquire if he thought they would die of inanition but for his officious hospitality? Such a style of address may be effective rhetoric for a popular platform, but is not the sober, restrained, and scrupulously exact language of Philosophy.

We must remind our readers that such instances as these are referred to for the sake of indicating a tone and tendency of the author's mind, rather than for any importance they may have in themselves, or for any essential bearing they may individually have on his system. One more reference of this kind we shall make to a partiality and exaggeration of statement that amounts almost to wayward perversity, and affords at the same time a transition to the feature next to be alluded to—inconsistency. That mere instruction will not prevent crime is what the most enthusiastic advocate of education will not dispute. But so intent is Mr. Spencer on proving that too much reliance and hope are placed on such a means of human improvement, that he not only ascribes a belief in its boundless efficacy to its advocates indiscriminately, but goes the length of almost, if not altogether, arguing that it is no means at all to such an end, but is on the contrary obstructive and pernicious. The full impression of his argument cannot be conveyed by a quotation, for it extends over pages in the chapter on 'National Education,' and the same theme is enlarged on with even more extreme one-sidedness and intensified sophistry in 'The Study of Sociology,—Preparation in Psychology.' 'What is the root-notion,' he asks, in the latter, 'common to Secularists and Denominationalists, 'but the notion that spread of knowledge is the one thing 'needful for bettering behaviour?' Delete the definite article which makes 'one thing' *exclusively* needful, and this may be true. In the former, he asserts: 'So far from proving that 'morality is increased by education, the facts prove, if any-thing, the reverse;' and in confirmation of that statement he cites reports from prison chaplains, government returns, newspaper articles, and authors English and Continental. Even on certain admissions in the course of the argument itself, it might not be difficult to redargue its conclusion. But it is not now our purpose to discuss the point, but merely to call attention to the tortuous uses Mr. Spencer sometimes makes of elaborately marshalled facts and compiled statistics.

'We smile,' he assures us, 'when told that savages consider writing as a kind of magic; and we laugh at the story of the negro who hid a letter under a stone, that it might not inform against him when he devoured the fruit he was sent with. Yet the current notions about printed information betray a kindred delusion: a kind of magical efficacy is ascribed to ideas gained through artificial appliances, as compared with ideas otherwise gained.'

One is almost tempted in irritation at such perversity to ask: Why, then, in the name of common sense, foster, or at least gratify, this delusion by his own contributions to 'printed information'? The ground of all this tirade against education is that 'behaviour is not determined by knowledge, but by emotion.' Hence 'whatever moral benefit *can* be effected by education, must be effected by an education which is emotional rather than preceptive.' With what astonishment, then, may we read his sarcasm, when, in opposition to his views, feeling is appealed to as the regulator of our actions.

'The same plea [viz., feeling] has been urged in defence of a thousand absurdities, and if valid in one case is equally so in all others. Should a traveller in the East inquire of a Turk why women in his country conceal their faces, he would be told that for them to go unveiled would be considered indecent, would offend the *feelings* of the spectators. In Russia, female voices are never heard in church, women not being thought worthy "to sing the praises of God in the presence of men," and the disregard of this regulation would be censured as an outrage upon public *feeling*. There was a time in France when men were so enamoured of ignorance [would Mr. Spencer wish to restore its reign, that he so satirizes the strenuous efforts to conquer both the admiration and the existence of ignorance?], that a lady who pronounced any but the commonest words correctly, was blushed for by her companions; a tolerable proof that people's *feelings* then blamed in a woman that literateness which it is now thought a disgrace for her to be without. In China, cramped feet are essential to female refinement; and so strong is the *feeling* in this matter, that a Chinese will not believe that an English-woman who walks naturally can be one of a superior class. It was once held unfeminine for a lady to write a book, and no doubt those who thought it so would have quoted *feelings* in support of their opinion. Yet, with facts like these on every hand, people assume that the enfranchisement of women cannot be right, because it is repugnant to their *feelings*.'

So little is feeling, sentiment, emotion, impulse, to be trusted; and yet it is from feeling, not knowledge, we must look for any improvement in conduct. But it will be answered, There

are feelings that are right and feelings that are wrong, and the improvement in conduct is to be secured by education of the feelings. And what, pray, is to guide us in this process—feeling or knowledge, impulse or reason, emotion or enlightenment? ‘Rational action alone can be moral,’ it has been truly said, ‘for it can distinguish its objects.’ This, indeed, in another connection, and when it suits his immediate purpose, Mr. Spencer himself not only admits, but insists on. Referring to a certain school of moralists, he says, ‘Confounding the functions of feeling and reason, they required a sentiment to do that which should have been left to the intellect. They were right in believing that there exists some governing instinct generating in us an approval of certain actions we call *good*, and a repugnance to certain others we call *bad*. But they were not right in assuming such instinct to be capable of intuitively solving every ethical problem submitted to it. To suppose this was to suppose that moral sense could supply the place of logic.’ That feeling furnishes motive power is universally acknowledged, and that knowledge cannot supply the place of appetency need not be insisted on. But by Mr. Spencer, one side only of the question is, for the time, contemplated, and that, not merely to the postponement of the other, but to its exclusion and denial.

Of his proneness to contradict himself or shift his ground many examples might be presented, but our space compels us to limit our selection to a few. He himself notices, and attempts to explain away, the inconsistency of admitting the possibility—much more the need—of government, and of devoting several long chapters to settle its constitution and function, in the exposition of a system of perfect social morality, the fundamental principles of which declare government to be an immoral and imperfect institution. This is too palpable to be enlarged on. Nor can it be evaded by reducing government, as he proposes, to a condition of passivity and fence in which morality can ‘tolerate it;’ for he declares even ‘the violence used in the execution of justice is immoral,’ which nevertheless if government fails to secure, it is useless and can find no justification whatever, and that ‘immorality is inherent in government, and attaches to all its functions.’

Morality and rectitude he repeatedly speaks of in most forcible language as fixed and unbending, yet there are few things that in his hands vary their aspects more. In one place we have this definition: 'Morality is a code of rules proper for the guidance of humanity in its highest conceivable perfection.' But in previous pages he has described rightness to be the judgments, immediate or deduced, that are excited reflexly in the intellect by desire towards certain actions. 'Every feeling is accompanied by a sense of the rightness of those actions which give it gratification, tends to generate convictions that things are good or bad, according as they bring to it pleasure or pain.' Now this conviction, these judgments, must ever be in direct relation to the desires of which they are the reflex, the offspring, and consequently must ever be in harmony with the existing average humanity, instead of with an ideally and as yet never attained perfect state of humanity. Morality cannot both be placed on the level of human feeling and judgment existing at any given time, and also identified with perfection in human conduct. Once more the position is shifted, and the 'abstractedly right comes to mean not what our desires, in regard to a certain class of actions dictate, and the relative sense or judgment approves, but what we, in some way or other perceive to be the established arrangements of Divine rule.'

Of the application of his 'First Principle,' by which actions may be classified into lawful and unlawful, he affirms generally:—

'Difficulties may now and then occur in the performance of this process. We shall, perhaps, occasionally find ourselves unable to decide whether a given action does or does not trespass against the law of equal freedom. But such an admission by no means implies any defect in that law. It merely implies human incapacity.' Accordingly 'the right of property in ideas' is recognised as subject to a qualification 'which it seems difficult and even impossible to specify definitely. The laws of patent and copyright express this qualification by confining the inventor's or author's privilege within a certain term of years. But in what way the length of that term may be found with correctness there is no saying. In the mean time, as already pointed out, such a difficulty does not in the least militate against the right itself.'

When, however, it is suggested that liberty of action and

extent of rights should vary with worth and the power of using them, the reverse conclusion is drawn, for the reason that relative merits cannot be determined, though that is only another instance of human incapacity. It is also maintained that the rights of women are equal to those of men, because it is impossible to say exactly by how much they differ.

'What is the exact ratio between the legitimate claims of the two sexes? How shall we tell which rights are common to both, and where those of the male exceed those of the female? Who can show us a scale that will serve for the apportionment? . . . Some principle rooted in the nature of things has to be found by which they may be scientifically decided—decided not on grounds of expediency, but in some definite, philosophical way. If not, there remains no alternative but that the rights of women are equal with those of men.'

So of children, whose rights must also be held to be equal to those of men, for the double reason that it is impossible to determine when a child ceases to be a child and becomes a man, and that while it cannot be denied that children have some rights, else it would be justifiable to rob, enslave, or even murder a child; it is impossible 'to draw the line, to 'explain, to define.'

'Shall the youth be entitled to the rights of humanity when the pitch of his voice sinks an octave? or when he begins to shave? or when he ceases growing? or when he can lift a hundredweight? Are we to adopt the test of age, of stature, of weight, of strength, or virility, or of intelligence? . . . What rights are common to children and adults, and why? Where do the rights of adults exceed those of children, and why? And the answers to these queries must be drawn, not from considerations of expediency, but from the original constitution of things.'

Again, the absolute freedom of speech and of the press must not be in any way limited by considerations of what may be demanded in the interests of 'security and a sense of security.' If such considerations are to have weight,

'Where shall the cares of the statesman end? Must he listen to the apprehensions of every hypochondriac, in whose morbid imagination reform is pictured as a grim ogre of anthropophagous propensities, with pikes for claws and guillotines for teeth? If not, why not? . . . Old women of both sexes, working themselves into a state of great tribulation over the terrible vaticinations of a "Standard" or the wailings of a "Herald," would fain have put down the Free Trade propaganda; and if their "sense of security" had been duly consulted, they should have had their way. Religious disabilities, too, ought, for the like reason, to have

been still maintained, for the proposal to repeal them was productive of extreme consternation to multitudes of weak-minded people. . . . And therefore the authorities ought to have stopped the movement for Catholic Emancipation by gagging all its advocates, fettering its press, and preventing its meetings. It is useless to say that these are exaggerations, and that the alarms of nervous valetudinarians or foolish bigots are to be disregarded. If the fears of a hundred are not to be attended to, why those of a thousand? If not those of a thousand, why those of ten thousand? How shall the line be drawn? Where is the requisite standard? Who shall tell when the sense of *insecurity* has become general enough to merit respect? Is it to be when the majority participate in it? If so, who shall decide when they do this? Perhaps it will be said that the apprehensions must be reasonable ones. Good; but who is to determine whether they are so or not? Where is the pope who shall give an infallible judgment on such a matter?

Why, it may be asked, of these and other cases, is it necessary to give a precise and infallible judgment, any more than in the cases of copyright and patents? Of those may it not be said no less than of these, or else of these quite as little as of those,—‘In what way the length of term’—the exact definition—‘may be found with correctness, there is no saying. In ‘the mean time such a difficulty does not in the least militate ‘against the right itself’? Every case in question surely falls under the classification of ‘actions into lawful and unlawful,’ and what is affirmed of all in general applies to each in particular, viz., that the admission that we find ourselves unable to decide whether a given action is lawful or unlawful, merely implies human incapacity. In some of the passages cited, the expenditure of rhetoric is perhaps rather needless, except in serving to conceal from both author and reader that the same kind of facts are at one time adduced as a valid objection, and at another set aside as invalid in that relation, according to convenience rather than consistency.

Inconsistencies in details, blemishes though they ever must be reckoned in any work of reasoned thought, are not always without a value. They serve to remind the reader that there are more aspects of the subject possible, and even plausible, than the one that is in the main being enforced on his acceptance; they tend to rouse the mind from that state of passive receptivity and acquiescence apt to supervene in following the train of argument pursued by a persuasive and powerful writer, and stimulate the reader to judge for himself and

more actively to sift the arguments and scrutinise the positions and course of his guide. On the part of the author himself, if they imply a certain want of consequentiality and insistency of judgment, they indicate at the same time a mind not so wholly possessed by its own ideas as to be practically blind to aspects of the subject, which naturally present themselves, if not veiled by prepossessions,—an openness and impartiality of vision which are one of the first requirements in a thinker and a teacher. Such incongruities, moreover, often lie on the surface, nay, are almost extraneous, and do not affect the main line of argument, or, though vitiating the reasons, leave the opinions and conclusions untouched. Examples of such are to be met with in 'Social Statics.'

But there are discrepancies of another sort to which Mr. Spencer is prone—discords that are not superficial, but radical. They are not perceptible at the circumference, or in the segments taken severally, but break out at the centre, and become apparent when the attempt is made to realise the *ensemble* as a coalescent and consentient whole. In each department, for the time being, he holds to his grip with the tenacity of a mastiff, and applies his principles then in hand with an unflinching rigour and thoroughness which are only equalled by the dexterity and clearness; and if he does not shrink from following out his path to the utmost, he generally justifies his confidence by the large measure of apparent success. The view never changes; his course never bends: from the position assumed he proceeds, unhalting and without deviation, right on to the end, fearless of the issue. In another section and from another standpoint a similar process is conducted with like stringency and precision, and so also it may be with others. Each for the time occupies the field of view exclusively, but is also in its turn removed and shut out in favour of its successor. The final task, however, of uniting and harmonising the various provinces into one empire of thought, governed by one supreme and central authority, is overlooked, and the result is, they will not cohere, sometimes not even suffer each other's presence. Each apart seems wondrous fair and firm, but together they fail to give the impression of a perfect, homogeneous, indivisible whole. They jar, and in their very freeness from flaw

none is crushed, but all are mutually neutralised. Mr. Spencer maintains, for instance, on the one hand, that human knowledge is confined to the phenomenal, and that the truest and most worthy object of worship is an unknown God; but claims, on the other, such acquaintance with the Divine mind and intention as to ground his whole moral system on the 'creative purpose.' Now he asserts that 'man obeys the law of indefinite variation. His circumstances are ever altering, and he is ever adapting himself to them.' 'The social state is a necessity. The conditions of greatest happiness under that state are fixed. Our characters are the only things not fixed.' Anon he recognises 'essential elements in the nature of each man, and necessary feelings, before which conventional circumstances must give way.' Again, the very corner-stone of the 'Social Statics' is the doctrine that man originally was anti-social, selfish, solitary, predatory, philocidal, and that it was 'by the increase of population the social state was necessitated:' and yet he acknowledges 'some natural affinity in its [society's] members for such a union; that the characteristics exhibited by beings in an associated state cannot arise from the accident of combination, but must be the consequences of certain inherent properties of the beings themselves;' that 'the gathering together may call out these characteristics, but evidently does not produce them;' and that there are 'seeds of civilisation existing in aboriginal man.' In fact, so explicit, so sharp is the contradiction in respect to this last point, that there may be ground for raising the question, whether the principle he holds by is that primitive humanity was really quite *antisocial*, or veritably social at bottom, though imperfectly or rather implicitly so,—or whether, indeed, it be not sometimes the one and sometimes the other.

The explanation apparently is, that Mr. Spencer has not reached the true centre, and works from points too near the surface, so that though the arcs he describes appear accurate within certain limits, they are seen when extended to intersect and bar each other instead of melting into the confluent and harmonious curvature of a line of Truth. It has been said of works of art that they require to be fused in the mind of their creator; not riveted, nor even welded together: every element

must have been held in fusion in the heat of the imagination. Must not philosophy pass through a similar process in the crucible of the reason? But this is a process Mr. Spencer's speculations have not been sufficiently subjected to. Philosophically he is a riveter—and a rare workman at the craft; nay, at times, by the deftness and persistence of his stroke he may succeed in welding sundry pieces of his material; but he is not a *founder*. His thought wants solidarity. This defect is not peculiar to the book with which our attention is specially concerned, but is apparent in the author's works generally: it belongs to the man, and not to any individual performances. A critic of the 'Principles of Psychology' has very lucidly and forcibly exposed its presence in that division of his system of Philosophy, and showed that the author's outlook is materialistic, idealistic, and dualistic by turns.

'Mr. Spencer's system,' says the writer alluded to, 'has the incurable defect of fundamental incoherence; or, rather, it is not a system at all; it is a composition of fragments belonging to different systems. Most of the different points of view, principles, and methods that are now competing and conflicting in the arena of philosophical discussion appear to have been unreservedly adopted—each in its turn—in one part or other of Mr. Spencer's exposition. Nor yet can we call him an Eclectic, for an Eclectic means to reconcile the different methods that he combines, whereas Mr. Spencer has not perceived the need of any reconciliation. But, again, in speaking of his system as incoherent, we must not be understood to imply that Mr. Spencer's treatment is ever vague or confused. In fact it is just the clearness and precision, even the boldness and originality, with which he expounds each principle in its own place, the thoroughness with which he pursues each method for a certain stage of his course, that presents his incoherence in the clearest form, and brings the reader's bewilderment to its height . . . The truth is, that though Mr. Spencer's mind is so far eminently philosophical that it is always striving after universality of view and completeness of synthesis, in another sense it shows signs of an imperfect philosophical (or perhaps we should rather say *dialectical*) training. He has laboured much to penetrate and inform with general ideas the large masses of fact accumulated by empirical observation; but he has not laboured equally at the more delicate, though not more difficult, task of harmonising the different aspects of his own fundamental notions, as they present themselves in varying relations in the different parts of his system.' *

We shall mention only one more mental proclivity. It might almost half-fancifully be considered as a sort of instinctive

effort to control the operation or to neutralise the effects of the one last alluded to. As if to hold all together and to insure consistency, there seems an aim to make the same thought—and in the same form—run right through. All shall be made connected and sequent by hanging all on a central stem, like beads on a string. What we refer to is no doubt an application of the principle of generalisation—a principle essential to all scientific thought, and indeed to all advance in knowledge beyond merely rudimentary stages. But it is hardly a fair or legitimate application of it. It is a tendency to seek an interpretation of the higher in the lower, and to impose upon the former the terms of the latter.

There is, it may be, some connection between Mr. Spencer's procedure in this respect and his leading conceptions of Evolution, in which the more complex and affluent is ever made to appear to be but the simplest and poorest in ampler development; substantially and genetically the same, only moulded under advancing conditions. This scientific idea he seems so filled and possessed with, that it utterly dominates his thought and determines its character. It is thus that he attempts to apply the laws and conceptions, which are found to be a more or less adequate rendering of those modes of existence which suggested them, as no less true, in all their rigidity and limitation, to other modes. Instead of construing high and low alike by the great containing thought which is partially manifested in each, he seizes upon the fragmentary and limited expression which the simplest and humblest can yield, and would reduce all else to varieties and modifications of that. Thought is vital, and lends itself to every grade and condition. But to take it in the stiff mould and limitation of one condition, especially the less elevated, and thrust that upon all others, as their type and spirit, is to do violence to nature in her infinite modulations. That the law of any one province has its analogy in others is not to be doubted; but the formula obtained by study of the one will not, even in the most abstract terms, fit the requirements of the other. The great central truth that underlies and animates all, when we attain to it, can alone, with its living and elastic capabilities, do that.

Nor is it a quite satisfactory answer to say that, inasmuch

as the higher provinces embrace the elements of the lower, the principles regulative here must, so far as these same factors go, rule there also. This might be true if we really knew *the principle*. But by investigation of limited spheres we can obtain only proximate expressions of the principle—expressions which, in greater spheres, the presence of the higher constituents must temper and modify. It would be a rash and unwise obtrusion of conceptions appropriate to one sphere into another and superior, were we to conclude that the formula for evil and injury, so far as material and inanimate things are concerned, must also be the law of evil and detriment to man, on the ground that material existence and animal life enter into his composition. For what is most essential, what chiefly makes him man, introduces new elements into the problem, and the conditions of what is most characteristic must not only modify, but may override, those of what is accidental, temporary, or subordinate. Amputation would be fatal to a limb, but might be salutary, or even necessary, to the life of the body as a whole. The higher considerations must therefore not only be taken into account, but must prevail. The physically good may be the morally and spiritually bad, and that which is right for the body may be wrong for the soul. It would be nearer the truth to reverse the order of consideration, to read the lower in the light of the higher, and seek the law for all in that which answers to the supreme and complete, which might then be untrue or inappropriate only in proving, as regards some of its bearings, simply non-effective in more limited cases, where they could find no application. As Professor Frohschammer says of Darwinism :—
 ‘ Even supposing that man really had his origin in this universal natural process, he must not be regarded as the mere product of eternal matter and force, but as the realisation and revelation of the original idea of humanity, which is the determining principle for which all external things served only as means. Instead of making man the product of the animal world, it is far more likely that the animal world is evolved from the idea of humanity.’

A literal and unidealistic extension of notions beyond their native province is unphilosophical and perilous to truth. It can be pursued only in disregard of the new facts—the differ-

entia of the new province ; and the synthesis must be untrue because the analysis is incomplete.

'The spirit of the woods and hills,
Of all of life, of now, of yore,
Its function yet in me fulfils :
I am them all—and something more.'

To sum up, then, we say Mr. Spencer seems wonderfully absolute in spirit for one who would disown such a principle. His method, phenomenalist as he is, is subjective, *à priori* though without metaphysical basis, deductive ; and while he overwhelms us with examples from actual life, he approaches the concrete only in illustration after he has developed his conclusions from the most general and abstract principles. It is well, no doubt, that in corroboration of his results he should liberally adduce arguments drawn from his reading of fact and history ; but coming in the wake, instead of in advance, of the propositions they are summoned to support, it is sometimes difficult to shake off the suspicion that these facts may have been selected and their significance explained in the light of a foregone conclusion. That there is much that calls for admiration in the subtlety of his analysis and the boldness of his unflinching application of results, as well as that there are valuable and weighty truths in his teaching, though sometimes it may be partial and exaggerated, we should be the last to call in question. But the very keenness and ingenuity of his dialectic—though sometimes as narrow and partial as it is sharp and clever—is apt to captivate and mislead himself, no less than to enslave his readers or to startle them into antagonism. His tone and attitude are too much those of the *doctrinaire* ; and in the application of a high abstract principle he sometimes seems to ignore or forget patent facts or obvious enough considerations. A certain flexibility of mind and openness to receive impressions is no less important in the student of science than a genius for divining the underlying principles by which facts are connected and explained, and it is in that direction Mr. Spencer's deficiency appears to lie. He seems first to seize his principles and then seek out his facts ; and there is in such a method a danger that the theoretic principle may act the part of a loadstone among the facts, and attract

those of them only which have affinity for it, and that whatever will not range itself round such a centre may be denied to be fact, and denied on that account rather than for any independent evidence.

That Law reigns in the social sphere as truly and completely as in the mechanical or chemical, is a prerequisite admission to his subject: otherwise there could be no social science. But his notion of Law is too much formed on the material and physical type, and his scientific conceptions are applied to living and moral beings with the same directness and untempered rigidity as to stellar masses or chemical atoms, without due regard to the variety, subtlety, and complexity of the conditions,—of which he is nevertheless so careful to remind all would-be expediency philosophers, in urging the need there is for the study of Sociology. Whether in mere disregard of the involved and recondite character of the data he has to deal with, or—can it be?—in the belief that they are so involved and recondite that it is hopeless to look for light and direction from their study till they are first illuminated, he ascends to what he considers First Principles—which the data can hardly be said to have suggested—and thence confers on them an order and significance they do not possess. Retiring into the region of the abstract, he becomes so powerfully and exclusively possessed by a scientific conception, once firmly apprehended, as to overlook considerations which might not fail to strike a mind of far inferior grasp, and which, while not invalidating the conclusion otherwise arrived at, might nevertheless point to a rectified form of the truth it but imperfectly expresses.

ART. II.—*Among the Prophets.*

IN spite of the tendency of modern progress to sweep away all traces of ancient usage, many customs, superstitions, and festivals still exist among the Christian nations of Europe, which, though little understood by those who practise and celebrate them, are really the perpetuation of some pagan rites or observances, the origin of which is lost in the remotest antiquity. But of all things which withstand the

ravages of time, and resist the inroads of modern civilisation, the most imperishable are those mystic doctrines and occult sciences which pretend to lift the veil from the secrets of futurity, or to reveal to mortal eyes the unknown and invisible world. Science may profess to fix the limits of the knowable ; it may demolish the fabric of superstition with the irresistible artillery of truth ; the reason may be convinced, and man may smile scornfully at the credulity of his forefathers, and Pharisaically rejoice that he himself is free from such folly ; but after all the void remains unfilled, the spirit still yearns to know what is beyond the limit of material perception, speculation again asserts itself, and sooner or later superstition, perhaps insensibly, resumes its sway. Thus it is that the old mystic ideas never really die out, but constantly reappear, often in a modern and commonplace dress, often identifying themselves with the very results of that science which would exterminate them, yet never breaking the continuity of the chain that links them with the past. The history of Freemasonry, for instance, may be traced to a comparatively modern European origin ; its ritual and legends may be shown to be mere *pièces de manufacture* ; the stories of its existence among remote tribes, and of its boasted antiquity, may be proved to be entirely without foundation ; but after all this merciless analysis there is a residuum, an unknown quantity connecting it, however slightly, with older mysteries, with Alchemists, Rosicrucians, Templars, Gnostics, and thence by an easily traceable genealogy with the Eleusinian and Egyptian mysteries themselves. But if these remarks are true of Europe, where progress and change appear to be the universal law, with how much more force do they apply to the East, where centuries do not alter so much as the fashion of a head-dress or the shape of a water-jar ? There we meet with habits and institutions which can be proved to demonstration to have prevailed unaltered in a single particular from a period earlier than that of which history takes cognizance.

We would select from the innumerable examples which the East affords one instance of an institution which exists at the present day in the Moslem world, and which has preserved intact the traditions and practices of a remote antiquity. We allude to the institution of the Dervish orders in Islam, which

undoubtedly represent the 'Schools of the Prophets' familiar to all readers of the Old Testament; for both are ascetic religious orders, both workers of miracles, both holding public *séances*, with the object of exciting religious enthusiasm by music, dance, and song; and both, under the influence of the ecstasy thus attained, uttering sentiments and pouring forth poetry which claim to be inspired. It may be objected that there is no comparison between the grand denunciation of the inspired Jewish Prophets and the quietist, speculative poetry of the Persian Dervishes. There is an obvious reason for the distinction. The Jews were a fierce, warlike people, involved in one continual struggle to maintain their nationality and independence. Their country was the border-land between east and west, the real *Derb el Ghazawât* (a 'road of raids'), the battle-field of nations striving for the empire of the world. Judæa was never for a moment secure, for if enemies from without ceased to vex the land, luxury and carelessness threatened it from within; and nothing could save the Jewish nation but to maintain inviolate that Constitution which they had received at the hands of God, and the key-stone of which was the name of Jehovah. With the establishment of the monarchy, and the corruption of the primitive simplicity, the safeguards of the national prosperity were weakened or destroyed. What wonder, then, that the Prophet poured forth passionate verses, and denounced the wrath of God against the offending people? With the comparatively modern Dervishes of Persia at the establishment of Islam the case was different. Persia's grandeur was a thing of the past; its geographical position removed it from the great struggles and revolutions that were elsewhere convulsing society; its national religion was suppressed if not destroyed; an alien faith and an alien people held indisputable sway. There was no scope for political agitation, for with the conquerors active religion and active politics were one and the same thing. The only direction, therefore, left for national enthusiasm was to seek to reconcile the new state of things with the old. The factions between the partizans of Ali and Omar, which divided Islam at the very outset of its career, offered an easy point of departure, and the result was the birth of a system, half speculative philosophy and half

religious dogma, which presented the old Persian ideas under the garb of the new Arabian creed. Secret orders were formed to perpetuate and expound these tenets, and from this amalgamation of Persian theory and Semitic practice there arose a new race of prophets, the Dervishes. Unlike their Jewish predecessors, however, they dared not appeal to the national feelings, but were forced to content themselves with appealing to the imagination.

The poetry of the Dervishes was therefore of necessity wanting in vehemence and grandeur, but what it lacks in this respect it makes up for in refined and lofty conceptions and deep emotions. The Jewish prophets sought to attain prophetic faculty by fasting and other ascetic performances; and, like the Delphic priestess, uttered their oracles when under the influence of frenzied inspiration. The Dervishes employ the same means to attain to the ecstatic state; some by agitation of the body, others by silent contemplation and the gentle influences of soft and calming music. Of these two classes, the Rifāi Dervishes are the typical representatives of the first; the Mevlevi of the second. European travellers have bestowed upon them the uneuphonious titles of 'Howling Dervishes' and 'Dancing Dervishes' respectively.

The public act of worship, whether performed by the Rifāis or the Mevlevi, is called *zikr*, a word which in Arabic means both 'mention' and 'remembrance,' *scilicet*, of the name of God, by the utterance of which the effect is supposed to be produced. A Turkish writer has well defined the word *zikr* as 'the union of the heart and tongue in invoking the name of the Deity.' We need not point out the profound reverence with which the Holy Name is regarded by the Jews, nor the miraculous powers attributed by them to the knowledge or utterance of it, as another point of resemblance between the two systems.

The *zikr*, as practised by the Rifāis, commences by the Dervishes present forming a kind of procession, and respectfully saluting the skeikh or chief of the order, as well as the tablet on which is inscribed the name of the founder, after which they take their seats in a circle and chant the Tekbîr (*i.e.*, the words *Allāhu akbar*), and the Fātiha, or opening chapter of the Corán. The sheikh then repeats many times in succession

the formula, *la iláha ill' Alláh*, 'there is no god but God;' and the rest of the performers respond by incessantly crying 'Alláh!' rocking themselves backwards and forwards as they pronounce the word.

Next a hymn in praise of the Prophet is sung by an officer who stands to the right of the sheikh; the Dervishes stand up; their motions become more violent, and the words *ya Allah, ya hú*, are repeated with more vehemence than before. As they become more excited, one of the number steps into the middle of the circle, leading their movements to the cadence of a kind of anthem, called an *iláhi*, which is chanted the while. The religious fun now grows fast and furious, the performers take off their turbans, and, still keeping in a circle, take close order, press their arms and shoulders together, and in that position make the circuit of the hall. All this time they continue their howlings, spring altogether from the ground, rock themselves backwards and forwards till their long hair sweeps the floor behind and before them, and, in fine, behave as we might expect a party of Colney Hatch incurables to do if addressed when drunk by a sensational preacher. But as there is a limit to human endurance even under the intoxication of religious excitement, the climax is soon reached; a certain number reach the ecstatic, or rather epileptic state, and the *zík*r is complete. The effect of these exhibitions is very contagious, and spectators are often so violently affected as to be drawn by an irresistible impulse to take part in them.

It is during the last stage of violent, maniacal excitement, that the feats of glass and fire and snake-eating, cutting the body with knives, &c., in which some orders indulge, are performed. The dance above described is called the *deur*, or 'circle.'

The Mevleviyeh, as becomes a contemplative sect, are much more calm and dignified in their mode of conducting the *zík*r: indeed, in spite of the somewhat ludicrous spectacle of a number of grave and reverend gentlemen in long petticoats endeavouring to emulate the motions of a teetotum, their performance is not without a certain impressive, devotional gravity. This dance is called *Semá*, and the hall in which it takes place the *Semá Kháneh*. They commence by seating

themselves on sheep-skins placed at equal distances on the floor, and remain for about half an hour in an attitude of profound meditation. Then the sheikh chants a hymn in praise of the Deity, and the whole assembly, which seldom consists of more than twelve or thirteen individuals, follows suit with the *Fātiha*. Next comes a 'bidding prayer,' in which the saints and worthies of El Islam in general, and of their order in particular, are commemorated, and a blessing is invoked upon 'our lord the Sultan,' and the other estates of the realm, concluding with a prayer for all sorts and conditions of Muslims. It is, in fact, a Mohammedan counterpart of the 'bidding prayer' which prefaces the university sermons at Oxford and Cambridge. Now comes the *Semá* itself. Marching in single file, with folded arms, they range themselves on the left of the superior, and then one after another making a profound obeisance to that officer and to the tablet containing the name of 'Hazrati Mevlána,' the founder, they begin to spin round the hall with closed eyes, head slightly inclined, and arms spread wide apart, the right palm turned upwards and the left downwards.

Towards the end of the *Semá* the sheikh himself takes part in it, and when it is over he dismisses the assembly with another 'bidding prayer,' and another repetition of the *Fātiha*. During the whole of the entertainment the orchestra, consisting of fifes (*nai*) and small drums, continues to play a monotonous and plaintive air.

That the assemblies of the Jewish prophets were of a similar character,—exhibitions of sacred songs, music, dancing, and religious enthusiasm, calculated to produce ecstatic excitement in both performer and spectator,—we know from the Bible itself. When Samuel anoints Saul, we find him saying:—

'After that thou shalt come to the hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines: and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy: and the spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man.'*

* 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.

And later on :—

‘And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again the third time, and they prophesied also. Then went he also to Ramah: . . . and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?’ *

The parallel between this description and the account above given of a Dervishes’ Zikr is too obvious to need comment. Of course I do not mean to assert that such men as Samuel and Elijah merely nurtured or organised societies for the development of a system of religion founded upon emotional excitement alone. The Bible history no doubt conveys the distinct impression that they were religious reformers, acting under direct Divine inspiration, and their connection with the schools of the prophets is independent of their higher mission. The sacred narrative, however, at the same time, more than hints that these schools were to a certain extent the secular means or organisation through which the prophets carried out their mission, and without derogating from the sanctity of the prophetic office, or the grandeur of the character of individual prophets, we may with advantage inquire into the nature of this secular organisation. In the absence of any express account, then, of the ‘schools of the prophets’ in Holy Writ, we have endeavoured to contribute something towards the study of them, by describing an analogous organisation existing in the East at the present day. The key-note to the system of Dervish philosophy is that the human soul is an emanation from God, and that it is always seeking and yearning to rejoin the source from which it sprung. Ecstasy is the means by which a nearer intercourse is attained, total absorption in the Deity the ultimate object to be desired.

But perhaps the best way of elucidating these mystic doctrines is to let the poets, their legitimate exponents, tell their own tale. It is always under this allegorical poetical

* 1 Sam. xix. 20-24.

veil that the mysteries of the sect are presented to the non-initiated.

Mevlaví Rûmí, the founder of the Mevlaví order, is the author of a poem called the 'Mesnavi,' in six long books, in which the entire system is expounded. Like most oriental works, the principal ideas in the volume are few, but they are repeated over and over again in every possible combination, and illustrated by innumerable tales, legends, and conceits. A complete analysis of the Mesnavi would require a large volume by itself, but the translation of a few of the opening pages will suffice to give a notion of the contents and of the style in which the dogmas are inculcated by precept and parable, by alternations from 'grave to gay, from lively to severe.'

As the *semá*, a mystic dance which is the distinguishing feature in a Mevlaviyeh *zîkr*, commences with the plaintive music of the *nai* or reed-pipe, so the Mesnavi opens with the Song of the Reed—a description of the power of music. In the following version we have considerably abridged the original, neglecting the frequent repetitions and digressions, but we have not ventured to alter a single expression or to introduce a new idea.

THE SONG OF THE REED.

List to the reed that now with gentle strains
Of separation from its home complains.

Down where the waving rushes grow,
I murmured with the passing blast;
And ever in my notes of woe
There live the echoes of the past.

My breast is pierced with sorrow's dart,
That I my piercing wail may raise;
Ah me! the lone and widowed heart
Must ever weep for bygone days.

My voice is heard in every throng,
Where mourners weep and guests rejoice;
And men interpret still my song
In concert with their passion's voice.

Though plainly cometh forth my wail,
'Tis never bared to mortal ken;
As soul from body hath no veil,
Yet is the soul unseen of men.

Not simple airs my lips expire,
 But blasts that carry death or life ;
 That blow with love's tempestuous fire,
 That rage with love's tempestuous strife.

I soothe the absent lover's pain,
 The jealous suitor's breast I move ;
 At once the antidote and bane,
 I favour and I conquer love.

So sings the reed, but its mysterious song
 No ear attuned to harmony devours ;
 Music that doth not to the age belong,
 Dies out symphonious with the dying hours.
 Tastes are proportioned to the natural powers ;
 None but the fishes revel in the stream,
 And none take pleasure in these words of ours
 Whose hearts are strangers to the heavenly beam.
 Peace ! it were better we should seek another theme.

Take back this goblet, boy,—thy boasted wine
 Sparkles less brightly than our sparkling wit ;
 Nay ! we succumb not to the drink divine,
 'Tis we that steal away the sense of it.
 'We live and die,' ye say. It were more fit
 To say that we ourselves are life and death ;
 Here is the very rock on which ye split—
 Matter and spirit. But I waste my breath,
 The ears of deaf men hear not what the preacher saith.

Wherefore blind captives will ye hug your chain,
 And bless the net that doth your limbs enfold ?
 Why will ye live the slaves of loss and gain,
 And barter precious liberty for gold ?
 What though your water-jar the ocean hold ?
 'Tis but the scanty pittance of a day,
 Compared with long eternity. Behold,
 Fast as ye fill, the waters waste away,
 Seek then the fount of Love, for Love flows on for aye.

Even the lowly earth hath dared to rise,
 For that in Love she taketh such delight,
 And sits enthroned above the darkling skies,
 Gazing for ever on His rising light.
 Moses, erewhile, fell fainting * at the sight
 Of that fierce flame descended from above,
 Which thrilled the very mountains with affright,
 And made grey Sinai's firm foundations move—
 'Twas but a scintillation from the fire of Love.

* Corán, vii. 139. 'But when his Lord appeared with glory in the mount,
 ' He reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down fainting.'

How shall I hope to make my meaning plain,
Who sing thus faintly as the rushes moan ?
Ah, me ! the sweetest singer sings in vain
Unless the language of his song be known.
The garden's beauty has for ever flown,
No perfumed odours float upon the air,
But the sad nightingale * who sits alone,
Upon the rose-tree singeth still, how fair
The tender blossoms and the sweet young flow'rets were.

Nature's great secret let me now rehearse—
Long have I pondered o'er the wondrous tale,
How Love immortal fills the universe,
Tarrying till mortals shall His presence hail ;
But man, alas ! hath interposed a veil,
And Love behind the lover's self doth hide.
Shall Love's great kindness prove of no avail ?
When will ye cast the veil of sense aside,
Content, in finding Love, to lose all else beside ?

Love's radiance shineth round about our heads
As sportive sunbeams on the waters play ;
Alas, we revel in the light He sheds,
Without reflecting back a single ray.
The human soul, so reverend preachers say,
Is as a mirror to reflect God's grace.
Keep then its surface bright while yet ye may,
For in a mirror with a dusty face
The brightest object leaveth not the faintest trace.

STORY OF THE KING AND THE MAIDEN.

Facts may perchance more eloquently speak,
When love by language cannot be defined,
When verses fail, and words are all too weak ;
Wherefore give ear with an attentive mind.
A mighty monarch (so the tale I find
In ancient writings), on a summer day,
Rode forth to chase the nimble-footed hind :
But in a forest where he chanced to stray,
Love's treacherous toils were spread, and he became the prey.

A lovely maiden by a cottage door
With sudden passion fired his amorous breast ;
The girl was coy, but then her sire was poor,
And she ambitious : need I tell the rest,

* The bulbul in Eastern poetry is always fabled to be in love with the rose, and its plaintive note is supposed to be a lamentation for unrequited passion.

How both soon yielded to the king's request ?
 But human pleasures so uncertain are,
 Soon that fair maid lay sick and sore distressed.
 So doth one oft seek water from afar,
 And having found it, straightway break his water-jar.

The chief physicians of the country round
 Came to the court to exercise their skill ;
 But those whose practice was the most renowned,
 In this case, strange to say, succeeded ill ;
 For simple, drench, electuary, and pill,
 Served but to heighten the fair maid's disease :
 And inasmuch as boastful man's ' I will '
 Availeth nought without ' if Allah please,'
 The learned doctors failed to give the damsel ease.

When his beloved could get no relief,
 The king did straightway to the mosque repair,
 To make atonement, and pour out his grief
 To Him who only could remove his care ;
 And as he lay upon the pavement there,
 With sighs and weeping his appeal he urged,
 When on Love's waters he had cast his prayer,
 That sea divine with sympathy upsurged,
 And from its troubled waves a halcyon form emerged.

An ancient man with garments snowy white
 Appeared before his fascinated eyes,
 And said : ' Thou hast found favour in the sight
 Of Allah, wherefore I command thee rise
 And wait the issue.' In intense surprise,
 The royal suppliant to his feet upstarted
 He had laid down to sleep in woful guise,
 Slave of a slave girl, wan and broken-hearted,
 He rose a king, and to his home departed.

Next morn a stranger to the palace came,
 An ancient man, but dignified in mien ;
 His face—his snowy garb the very same
 Which erst the king had in his vision seen.
 But little tarrying made the king, I ween,
 To ask his errand ; but, obeisance made,
 He led the way, and passed behind the screen
 Into the chamber where the beauteous maid
 Like a bruised lily on her bed of pain was laid.

A hasty glance that strange physician threw
 Upon the maid, and speedily divined
 The secret source of all her ills, and knew
 That hers was but a sickness of the mind,

A broken heart, that only love could bind.
No words he spake, but motioned with his head,
That all should go forth, leaving him behind.
Then sat him down beside the maiden's bed,
And to the theme of love the conversation led.

Gently he took her hand within his own,
And bade her tell the sorrows of her heart;
But she, persisting there was nought to own,
Parried his questions with a woman's art,
Nor of her history would one word impart.
Then spake he to her of her native land,
Yet did no teardrop at the mention start,
Till at the last, while yet he held her hand,
He whispered in her ear the name of Samarcand.

Scarce had he uttered that beloved name
Ere the weak pulse which in his hand he held
Throbb'd with quick beats, her colour went and came,
While to her lustrous eyes the teardrops welled,
And her fair bosom with emotion swelled.
'Oh! Samarcand,' she cried, and wept full sore,
For now the secret could not be withheld,
'Shall I behold thy Ghâtifar* no more,'
Where my brave goldsmith dwelt in happy times of yore?

Bidding her dry her tears, the sage withdrew,
And with these strange unwelcome tidings fraught,
Rejoined the king, who when the facts he knew
Held his own bosom's happiness as naught
Compared with hers he loved, nor did a thought
Of jealous meanness rankle in his breast;
But for a trusty messenger he sought,
And charged him straightway to depart in quest
Of him whose absence robbed that fair young maid of rest.

The simple goldsmith, easily deceived
By the fair promises that envoy made,
Set out upon his journey, and believed
The treacherous voice within his breast which said,
'Now shalt thou join thine own beloved maid,
Now doth thy sleeping luck at length awake!'
Alas! he knew not he had been betrayed,
That 'twas Azraël's† gloomy self that spake,
And urged him on this fatal step with joy to take.

With her young lover once more at her side,
The girl recovered, and the longed-for day
That should transform her to a happy bride
Was drawing nigh; when to their great dismay

* Name of a certain quarter in Samarcand.

† The angel of death.

The youth in turn upon a sick bed lay ;
 His manly beauty and the roseate hue
 Of health and freshness faded all away ;
 And she who erst had panted for the view,
 Shuddered to look on him, so weak and wan he grew.

A deadly potion had wrought all this ill,
 By that physician secretly prepared ;
 For well he knew in his mysterious skill
 That the fair maid had been by beauty snared,
 And for the youth without it nothing cared.
 Poor lad ! his fair face brought him all this pain !
 But thus with many another has it fared,
 The peacock's plumage proves the creature's bane,
 And for his pomp and power is many a monarch slain.

She who for love of him had well nigh died,
 Unmoved at last beheld him pass away ;
 'To-day Death marks me for its own,' he cried,
 'To-morrow ye in turn shall be its prey !
 Shadows move on, but each returning day
 Upon their former places are they found.
 Life is a rock, and all we do or say
 Is echoed back ; for rocks re-echo sound,
 And Nature ever moves in one unvarying round.'

Herein behold a wondrous mystery :
 The simple soul hath wasted all her love
 On earthly things that fade away and die,
 Nor heedeth aught of better things above,
 Till Reason smites the idol down to prove
 How foul may be the thing for which she prays.
 Ye know not how the Immortal Councils move,
 And yet ye say this is no just God's ways ;
 He heals the maid, 'tis true, but her beloved He slays.

So when that ancient Prophet Khizr * slew
 A youth, though unprovoked by word or deed,
 Not even Moses, Heaven's own spokesman,† knew
 That heaven's justice caused the lad to bleed.
 All ye who move in one small sphere, take heed
 That ye judge not of things beyond your ken,
 As did the Bagdad parrot—you may read
 The tale again, for these are moments when
 Even a parrot, as oft they do, may preach to men.

* Elias, see Corán, chap. v.

† Moses is called *Kelím Allah*, God's spokesman.

THE PARROT OF BAGDAD.

In far-famed Bagdad, in a druggist's shop,
There lived a parrot, such a clever bird,
That passengers in the bazaar would stop
To hear him ; he could utter every word
Of the ' First Chapter ; ' I have even heard
That the Imam was seriously vexed
Because the parrot's reading was preferred
To his own services, on this pretext,
That Polly threw so much more feeling in the text.

One day a cat intent upon a mouse
Caused the poor parrot a tremendous fright,
By dashing unawares into the house ;
Extremely disconcerted at the sight,
Our parrot spreads his wings, and taking flight
Upwards towards the ceiling, straight proposes
Aloft and out of danger to alight
Upon a shelf, where stood some oil of roses,
Destined for Beys' and Pashas' plutocratic noses.

He gained the shelf, but in his haste, alas !
Upset the bottles with a dreadful crash ;
His master turned and saw the gilded glass
With all its precious contents gone to smash ;
And being a man by nature rather rash,
And apt to be by quick impulses led,
He seized his pipe-stem, made a sudden dash
At the offender, struck him on the head,
And stretched him on the ground, to all appearance dead.

He was not killed, but from that very day
A change came over the unlucky brute.
His crest and topmost feathers fell away,
Leaving him bald as the proverbial coot ;
But, worse than that, he had become quite mute.
That pious language for which heretofore
The folks had held him in such high repute—
His quips and jokes were silenced, and no more
Attracted crowds of buyers round the druggist's door.

Alike in vain the wretched druggist tries
To make him speak, by foul means and by fair ;
Even a mirror held before his eyes
Elicits nothing but a vacant stare.

When all else failed, the druggist took to prayer,
And then to cursing ; but it did no good,
For Heaven refused to meddle in the affair.
'Tis strange that men should act as though they could
Cajole or frighten Heaven into a yielding mood.

At length, when he had given the matter up,
 There came an old man in a dervish' cloak,
 With head as bare as any china cup,
 Whereon the bird, who always liked a joke,
 Chuckled aloud, his sulky silence broke
 For the first time since the untoward event,
 And thus in sympathising accents spoke—
 Though with an air of ill-disguised content—
 'Halloo, old boy! have you upset your master's scent?'

He carried his analogy too far—
 And so do more than half the world beside :
 They say that such things are not, or they are,
 And on experience alone decide.
 Thus the immortal Abdals who preside
 Over the spheres can be perceived of few,
 Yet their existence cannot be denied ;
 And of two things submitted to their view,
 Men still receive the false one and reject the true.

Two insects on the selfsame blossom thrive,
 Equal in form and hue and strength of wing ;
 Yet this one brings home honey to the hive,
 While that one carries nothing but a sting.
 So from one bank two beds of rushes spring,
 Drawing their moisture from the selfsame rill ;
 Yet as the months the alternate seasons bring,
 The stalks of one kind will with sugar fill,
 The other kind will be but hollow rushes still.

Soil, whether rich or poor, is one to see ;
 Two men may be alike in outward show ;
 Yet one an angel and a friend may be,
 And one a devil and a mortal foe.
 Two streams may in the selfsame valley flow,
 With equal clearness may their waters run ;
 But he who tastes of them alone may know
 Which is the sweet and which the bitter one ;
 For nought is what it seems of all things 'neath the sun.

A prophet's miracles when brought to test
 Will conquer the magician's vain pretence ;
 And yet alike the claims of either rest
 On contravening our experience,
 And foiling our imperfect human sense.
 Behold, when Israel's freedom is at stake,
 Moses throws down his rod in their defence ;
 Their rods, too, Pharaoh's skilled magicians take,
 Nor is the difference seen till his becomes a snake.

See how the tricky ape will imitate
Each human being he may chance to see,
And fancy, in his self-conceited pate,
'I do this action quite as well as he.'
Thus does the sinner oftentimes bend the knee,
And in the mosque prefer his sad complaint,
Till in his own eyes he appears to be
No whit less pious than the humble saint—
Ay, and the world believes his sanctimonious feint.

You call him saint, and he is well content
To be a hardened sinner all the same ;
But call him sinner, he will straight resent
The insult, and repudiate the name,
As though 'twere in the *word* that lay the shame,
And not in him to whom the name applies.
The senseless pitcher should not bear the blame,
When in the well itself the foulness lies.
But man still seeks to cheat his own and others' eyes.

I saw a man who laid him down to sleep
Beside a fire one cold and wintry night,
When lo ! a burning cinder chanced to leap
Out of the hearth, and on his lips alight ;
Whereat he started up in sudden fright,
And spat it out, and roared aloud with pain.
Without perceiving them, that luckless wight
Had swallowed cinders o'er and o'er again,
But the first one that burnt him made its presence plain.

To save the body from what harms or kills
Wise Providence this sense of pain employs ;
So too the spirit's various griefs and ills
May prove at last a stepping-stone to joys.
In earthly pain this hope the sufferer buoys,
That skilful leeches make the body whole ;
But when some overpow'ring grief destroys
Our peace, we fly to Him who heals the soul—
Who holds both life and death in His supreme control.

Physicians mend whate'er has gone amiss,
To give sick men relief from present woe
He overturns the crumbling edifice,
That he may build it up again—as though
A man his dwelling-place might overthrow,
And find a treasure where the cottage stood,
With which to build a palace ;—even so
To cleanse the river-bed you dam the flood—
To heal the wound, you pare the flesh that taints the blood.

Among the Prophets.

But how shall we define the infinite?
 How shall we fix each fresh and varying phase
 That flits for aye across our baffled sight,
 And makes us faint and giddy as we gaze?
 Yet, with his call, the fowler oft essays
 To bring the errant hawk within his reach;
 So when men wander in life's devious ways,
 The dervish, too, may utter human speech,
 And in mere mortal words immortal truths may teach.

Ye who would search into the truth, beware
 Of false instructors, who assume the name
 Of dervish, and the woollen garment wear
 Only to hide their inward sin and shame.
 Like false Muselimas,* who dared to claim
 The honours due to Ahmed's † self alone;
 Till in God's time the retribution came.
 Good wine and bad are by their perfume known,
 And only in results are truth and falsehood shown.

THE JEWISH VIZIER.

Once on a time there lived a king—a Jew,
 Who held so firmly by the ancient law,
 That nought could make him recognise the new;
 In Moses and in Jesus he but saw
 Rivals—and knew not that these planets draw
 Their borrowed light from God's all glorious sun.
 He, in whose eyesight there should be a flaw,
 Seeth two objects where there is but one;
 Alas! that perfect senses are vouchsafed to none.

The monarch's vizier, a soft-spoken man,
 Thus gave him counsel: 'Sire, the commonweal
 Profiteth nothing by thy present plan.
 Putting the Christians down by fire and steel
 But makes the misbelieving dogs conceal
 Their strange beliefs, while holding to them still.
 I have a deeper project to reveal,
 Whereby these Christians shall each other kill,
 And on the impious brood the king shall have his will.

'I will stand up before thy majesty,
 And plead in this oppressed folks defence;
 Whereat thou shalt in seeming choler be,
 As who would punish me for such offence.

* A rival of Mohammed in pretensions to prophesy.

† Mohammed.

But lest they gauge the depths of our pretence,
Nor give us credence, do not hold thy hand,
But maim and torture me with violence,
And on my forehead set a shameful brand,
And drive me forth with ignominy from the land.'

The king agreed, and drove the vizier forth,
As one in tribulation and disgrace.
The Christians, deeming him a man of worth,
A martyr to his kindness for their race,
Gave him a shelter, and the foremost place
In their assemblies; nay, his advent there
Seemed like an earnest of fresh heavenly grace;
Alas! they knew not that his words so fair
Would prove nought else but a delusion and a snare.

O God, our pathway is with snares beset,
And we, borne earthward by our sensual greed,
Like birds are tangled in the fowler's net.
Again our spirits by Thy hand are freed,
Again lured into the toils we speed;
We catch the mice that rob our threshing-floor
With traps and springes, but we take no heed
Though each day pilfers from our heavenly store,
And opportunities are lost for evermore.

The steel once smitten, many a brilliant spark
Emits, and these the willing heart receives;
When lo! the thief approaches in the dark
And puts the sparks out one by one, and leaves
The heart all unilluminated. But the thieves
Are powerless, Lord! if only Thou art nigh,
If Thou art with us, Lord, no man deceives;
And though a thousand in our pathway lie,
Not one can e'er escape the Heaven-directed eye.

Thy hand of power doth every night set free
Unnumbered souls from their corporeal snares;
And prisoners taste the sweets of liberty,
And emperors shake off their imperial cares.
Such is the semblance which the dervish wears,
'Asleep, yet waking,' * to the eyes of men.
Each natural law a false construction bears,
The hand that writes it is unseen, and then
The world ascribes the action to the moving pen.

* Corán, xviii. 17.

When deepest slumber doth the sense enfold,
 Into the desert of the Infinite
 Men's spirits wander free and uncontrolled;
 But when the Morning, armed for the fight
 With golden buckler and with sword of light,
 Drives off his dusky foeman Night, the herd
 Of souls return to their accustomed site:
 Then is the falconer's shrill whistle heard,
 And to his master's hand returns the errant bird.

When morning's beams illumine all the earth,
 And the bright eaglet plumes his radiant wings,
 Then, like the angel who presides at birth,*
 'He, who divideth light from darkness,'† brings
 The spirits back from their late wanderings.
 But though He loose their bridles, He doth keep
 The spirits tethered by mysterious strings
 Each to its body.—Such a mystery deep
 Lies in the thought of 'Death and his twin-brother, Sleep.'

Thus doth He keep them free from every harm;
 Like the 'Companions of the Cave'‡ they lie—
 Or like the ark of Noah, serene and calm,
 While life's fierce tempests pass unheeded by.
 Ah! if no 'seal were set upon thine eye
 And on thine ear,'§ thou mightest surely learn
 That watchful Providence is ever nigh;
 Did He not make their safety His concern,
 Ne'er would the Seven Sleepers to the world return.'

It is not good to be too wide awake;
 Hear what poor Laila to the Prince replies.
 'Is it,' he asks in wonder, 'for thy sake
 'Majnún distracted to the desert flies?'
 'Ah,' said the maid, 'thou hast not Majnún's eyes.'
 Nor is it good to trust too much in dreams,
 For phantoms oft before the sleeper rise:
 He clasps a form that like an angel seems,
 And wakes to curse the fiends with which the dreamland
 teems.

The bird is flying in the heaven above,
 Its shadow flitteth on the earth beneath,
 Like to the living substance doth it move,
 Yet none but fools would ever waste their breath

* Isráíl.

† Corán, vi. 96.

‡ The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Corán.

§ Ibid. ii.

In hunting shadows, emptying out the sheath
That holds the precious arrows of their life,
Till they themselves shall fall a prey to death.
With such delusions is existence rife,
And he who hunts them findeth nought but bitter strife.

But to return to him of whom I spoke,
Ere many days that crafty-souled vizier
Had won the hearts of all that simple folk
By pious tricks and practices austere.
For his discourse was always good to hear,
And though the few might chance perceive the cheat,
Yet to the many it did not appear ;
So, without tasting it, the peasant eats
A spice of garlic in the daintiest dish of sweets.

Whate'er a man is, will his converse be ;
Can good proceed out of a bad man's head ?
Or living words be poured forth warm and free
From lips that long since have been cold and dead ?
By specious speeches is mankind misled,
Although their wickedness may be unseen,
They work sure ruin—'tis as Ali said,
' A dunghill may be covered o'er with green,
But no one who shall sit thereon may still be clean.

Twelve elders o'er the Christian counsels ruled,
Twelve elders pious, reverend, and gray ;
And these the vizier had so well befooled,
That even his slightest hint they would obey.
Taking them severally aside one day,
He said, ' I would that thou alone shouldst teach
Here in my stead when I am taken away ;
Take then my last instructions what to preach : '
So saying, he gave a sealed paper unto each.

THE CONTENTS OF THE TWELVE PAPERS.

1. *Christians shall fast with all austerity.*
2. *Fasting availeth not : but charity.*
3. *Works are as nought, but faith is all in all.*
4. *Faith without works shall make a man to fall.*
5. *God biddeth every man to do His will,
But leaveth each one a free agent still.*
6. *Man hath no free-will of his own to use,
But only doeth that which God may choose.*
7. *Whoso extinguisheth the candle's light,
Leaveth his soul in spiritual night.**

* Καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ λόγου, τὰ τοῦ σκότου πράττειν βουλόμενοι, σβεννύουσι
μεν τὸ φῶς, ἕκαστος δὲ τῇ παρατυχούσῃ μίγνεται.—' Origen contra Celsum.' I. lb, vi.

8. *He who puts out the earthly candle's ray,
God's heavenly light shall be with him alway.*
9. *Young men and maids, if ye would fain do well,
In all things seek your elders' sage counsel.*
10. *To others' judgment ye shall not submit,
Or why hath God endowed a man with wit?*
11. *God is but one, although of Persons three.*
12. *Three Gods in one ! this thing can never be.*

How long will people thus misunderstand,
And wilfully pervert God's high decrees,
Wresting the sense, and to each plain command
Giving just such construction as they please ?
Christ could 'make scarlet white as snow,'* but these
Would make a black out of the purest white.
O for the single eye that only sees
One hue—one atmosphere serene and bright,
Bathing all earthly things in seas of heavenly light.

'The sea is His,' and lo ! it giveth birth
To pearls, when taught by His all-bounteous rain ;
'The earth is His also,' and lo ! the earth,
Warmed by His rays, doth render up again
Seeds that have long within its bosom lain.
Ah ! that dull earth such gratitude should show,
While man's great blessings are bestowed in vain !
That things inanimate should feel the glow,
And man alone be cold of all things here below.

Who would not rather yield at once and die,
Than struggle with Omnipotence—with Fate—
With One who in the twinkling of an eye
Createth worlds in myriads—as great
As this which doth your souls incarcerate ?
(Oh ! that the prisoner had the will to rove
Beyond the limits of his prison gate ;
What joys ineffable might he not prove),
Yet even 'gainst that One the foolish vizier strove.

They weep full sore who strive, yet strive in vain,
And they rejoice whom victory doth befriend ;—
Yet is thy loss oftentimes thy greatest gain,
And that whereon thou wouldst thy blood expend
Brings thee but misery in the bitter end.
What is success but a vain paltry thing ?
What are thy years, that thou wouldst fain extend
Their weary length—or life, that thou shouldst fling
Thy noblest hopes into its hopeless eddying.

* The Muslims, taking the prophecy literally, assert that our Lord exercised the trade of a dyer.

Men have of old to grovelling beasts been turned,
Yet of all transmigrations is there none
Worse than this life for which thy soul hath yearned.
Thou whose angelic flight had well-nigh won
The highest heaven—ere yet the task was done
Ceased and swooped downward to this house of clay—
Now thou art Adam's short-lived toiling son,
Whose soul was present on that primal day
When angels did to Adam adoration pay !*

Now when the vizier's plot was thus prepared,
He shut himself within a lonely place,
Whither no one of his disciples dared
To follow him—nor would he show his face.
But as the days and hours rolled on apace,
And things without his guidance went not well,
His simple followers took heart of grace,
And clustered round the doorway of his cell,
And begged he would no more withhold his wise counsel.

'We are as birds untaught to fly,' said they,
'Who needs must perish if we still abide
Within the nest—we wander from the way :
Do thou, who erre'st not, become our guide.'
'If, as ye say, I err not,' he replied,
'Why do ye question or dispute my word ?'
'The fault,' they answered, 'is not on our side,
We are but pieces on the chequered board ;
Nor have we power to move but what thy hands afford.

'Thou art a lion, couching for a spring,
And we who imitate thee can but show
A lion's figure such as Persia's King
Bears on his standard, bounding to and fro
But as the standard waves or breezes blow.'
'Alas !' the vizier cried, 'in vain ye call,
Yet enter in if it must needs be so,
For now I turn my face unto the wall.'
They came—to see his corpse upon the cavern fall.

Then o'er the body a dispute arose
Who should succeed him—words waxed fierce and high
Amongst the elders ; and each one of those
Who held the papers shouted, 'It is I !'
And brought his writing forth as warranty.
Thus, with a scroll and sword in either hand,
In bloody battle they the issue try—
Until by internecine war the band
Is broken up, and perishes from out the land.

* Corán, c. 5.

**THE JEWISH KING AND THE CHILD WHO WAS THROWN
INTO THE FIERY FURNACE.**

Now when that Jewish King was dead
(May curses rest upon his head)
Another monarch filled his place,
Who on the simple Christian race
Did wreak his spite and vengeance more
Than any who had gone before.

Now when, despite the monarch's word,
The Christians prayed to Christ their Lord,
His anger waxed exceeding hot,
And he bethought him of a plot
Whereby the race might be destroyed.
A cunning artist was employed
To make an idol all in brass,
And set it up where folks should pass.
And by that idol's side there stood
A furnace filled with blazing wood ;
And all men who should come that way
Were bidden to kneel down and pray
Unto the image—and the man
(’Twas thus the impious mandate ran)
Who should refuse to bend the knee
Unto the brazen deity,
Should, for the disobedience shown,
Be in that fiery furnace thrown.

The idol in the market stands,
Wrought deftly by the graver's hands,
And visible to every eye.
Yet doth a truer idol lie
That monarch's cruel heart within,
And fashioned out of his great sin.
SELF is the name by which they call
That idol—type of idols all ;
These are the sparks that blaze and die,
SELF is the flint from whence they fly.
The flames the force of water feel—
But what can quench the flint and steel ?
But if ye should desire to know
The various phases SELF can show,
The records of this thing are writ
Upon the rolls of Tophet's pit.

A mother and her child one day,
A Christian, chanced to pass that way,

And saw the furnace blazing high,
And heard the people's hollow cry
Of cowardice and blasphemy.
All shuddering at the sound, she prest
Her little infant to her breast,
And on the rabble turned her back.
When lo! that moment on her track
The minions of the monarch came,
And brought her to that raging flame,
And threw her at the idol's feet.

Now for that life is very sweet,
And woman's heart is prone to fears,
She did begin, with many tears,
To worship as the tyrant bade.
When that young infant that had laid
Until that moment in her arms,
Unconscious of her wild alarms,
A baby without speech, and weak,
Was gifted with the power to speak,
And raised a warning voice aloud,
And prophesied before the crowd,
And uttered, in his Maker's name,
A protest on this sin and shame.

Now they who wrought the king's decree
Much marvelled at the prodigy,
That by a babe, a suckling's tongue,
God's praises should be plainly sung.
But one spake out, a soldier stern,
'I faith, we have a deal to learn ;
And children as they now are born
Are taught to hold those things in scorn
To which their fathers used to cling.
At least, this puny, puling thing
Shall never flout our idols more.'
Therewith the little child he bore,
And flung it in that mimic hell.

But now a wondrous thing befel ;
The child, unharmed and undismayed,
Stood up within the flames that played
Around his head in lambent whirls,
And twined and twisted with his curls.
Then from the midst of fire and smoke
He lifted up his voice, and spoke
In accents void of pain or fear :
'Mourn not for me, my mother dear ;

Mourn not for me, for now I know
 The flames that erst I dreaded so
 Were but the veil that did conceal
 The thousand joys which now I feel.
 Come, and with me these pleasures share.
 See how God's chosen people fare !
 Thy world, which seems to thy desire
 Like coolest water, is but fire ;
 While this, which doth like burning seem,
 Is cooler than the coolest stream.
 Come, then, and bathe therein with me !
 Here shalt thou learn the mystery
 Of Ibrahim, whom Nimrod threw
 Into a fiery furnace too,*
 And that which late so fiercely burned,
 Into a bed of roses turned.
 Yest're'en, before thou gavest me birth,
 I feared to venture on the earth ;
 But, fallen from thy maternal womb,
 Methought it was a living tomb
 Which I had left behind me then ;
 And now the earth of mortal men
 Appeareth like a dungeon pit,
 Such joy have I at leaving it.
 A second mother's womb was this,
 And I am born again to bliss.
 Here is the world can never fade,
 Thy world is but a fleeting shade.
 Come hither, then, my mother dear !
 Nay, never deem I *need thee* here,
 Or that thy presence I entreat,
 To make my happiness complete.
 I would but share the joys I prove
 With those I reverence and love.
 Come then, and see this marvel strange,
 How fiercest natures God can change,
 When Bahman,† grizzly winter's king,
 Thus ushers in the mildest spring.'

He ceased, and for a moment's space
 No sound was heard in all that place,
 Save as the faggots leapt and split
 And crackled in that burning pit,
 Such silence fell upon the crowd.
 Then with an outcry long and loud,

* Corán, c. v.

† In Persian this is the name both of a month in mid-winter and of a fire demon.

As cattle on a river's brink
Press forward eagerly to drink;
They threw themselves into the blaze.

Thereon the king, in dire amaze,
Did bid his men-at-arms advance,
And drive them back with sword and lance,
And round the furnace make a stand,
Lest all the people in the land
Should in a single day be burned.

Then to the fire himself he turned :
' O fire ! what have I done to thee,
That thou shouldst be mine enemy ?
Shall Christians who deny thy name
Feel not the vengeance of thy flame ?
And I—who worship at thy shrine—
Shall injury and loss be mine ?
Hath witchery been o'er thee cast,
Or is thy power of burning past ? '
' Nay,' said the fire, ' I have it still,
And ye shall test it an ye will.
Nor yet does any change at all
Upon my ardent nature fall.
I am Elohim's fiery brand,
And lo ! I cleave at His command !
The dog that in the tent doth rest,
Will fawn upon his master's guest ;
But if a stranger cometh there,
His limbs the trusty hound will tear.
And shall the elements be found
Less faithful than a Tartar's hound ?
Or God demand less honest work
Than any Bedawi or Turk ? '

The elements their God obey,
Not lifeless and inert are they,
But living servants of His will,
Prepared to comfort or to kill,
As He commandeth. For our use,
The flint and steel a fire produce,
But God it is that gives the light.
Our reasoning how weak and vain !
A bucket hangs upon a chain,
Which by a turning wheel we move.
Does such a rude contrivance prove
That 'tis the wheel of chance which draws
The endless chain of nature's laws ?

Among the Prophets.

Has not the wondrous tale been told,
 How in the evil days of old
 The Prophet was to Yemen sent,
 To bid the men of 'Ad repent?
 And how he drew his staff around,
 And traced a circle on the ground;
 And when the blast of wrath arose
 It injured not a hair of those
 Who stood within that charmed ring,
 Because the wind had owned its King,
 And bowed before His messenger.
 When God has ta'en us in His care,
 The cold and stormy wind of death
 Is softer than a zephyr's breath.

Fire, Water, Earth, are ever thus
 Subservient to the righteous :
 Fire harmeth not the Friend of God,*
 The sea obeyeth Moses' rod,
 Earth swalloweth Corah at His nod.

Christ breathed upon the birds of clay,
 And lo ! they lived and flew away. †
 Ye too may work this miracle ;
 With lips of clay His praises tell,
 And turn them with a pure heart's sighs
 To living birds of Paradise.
 A mountain quivered at the sight
 Of Moses' superhuman light,
 And he—a lump of earth—a clod—
 Could commune face to face with God.

But nathless, sirs, ye fain would see
 The ending of this history.
 'Twas thus : the Demon of the Fire
 Rose up as one in sudden ire,
 And swallowed up that tyrant king,
 With all his godless following.
 They were but sons of fire, and went
 Back to their native element,
*For matter, though it fleeteth fast,
 Returneth to its source at last.*
 So water, howsoever confined,
 Is borne in vapour on the wind ;
 Then falling, finds within the earth
 The spring from which it had its birth.

* Abraham.

† Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy.

We too, degenerate though we be,
Are portions of the Deity;
And faith is a magnetic power,
That doth attract us every hour,
And draw us up to God again :
See that it draw us not in vain.

These few passages contain the essence of the Dervish philosophy, the last words embodying the ultimate aspiration of the Muslim ascetic. A few verses gathered from the works of other eminent Sufi poets will serve to complete the picture. The Sufi idea of the Deity, which, if somewhat mystical, is nevertheless a sublime one, is thus expressed in some verses of the Persian poet Anwari.

GOD.

'Tis He by His wisdom can view in
The future the secrets of fate,
Who spreads out the meshes of ruin,
And lures with prosperity's bait ;
Whose influence can, if He pleases,
Besprinkle the stars o'er the sky,
As the rose-petals, stirred by the breezes,
Are scattered and fly.

The dragon-toothed thorn in the garden
A sting like a scorpion shows ;
He hath posted it there as a warden
To watch o'er the delicate rose ;
Till over the neck of the Heaven
The ringlets of evening flow,
Night veils with locks like the raven
Day's maidenly glow.

Then lo ! from the hemisphere darkling
Night's tresses He deftly doth part,
And from Heaven's arched eyebrows outsparkling
Eyes bright as narcissuses dart.
The sun sinketh down in the ocean,
And azure-hued vapours arise,
'Tis the incense of nature's devotion
Perfuming the skies.

Ere atoms were yet in existence
His ' be and it was so ' had birth ;
He needed not matter's assistance
In forming this beautiful earth.

Yet its shape is symmetrical rigour,
 Its hues are most pleasing and bright,
 For a sphere is perfection in figure,
 In colouring, light.

To the fishes bright armour He giveth,
 Unto chanticleer giveth a crest ;
 His praise by no creature that liveth
 Shall ever be duly expressed.
 Till the dumb man shall make an oration,
 Till the stocks and the stones shall find voice,
 Till the whole of the silent creation
 In language rejoice.

All nations and languages know Him,
 Even infancy lispeneth His name ;
 Allah, Tangari, Yezdán, Elohim—
 'Tis the earliest sound we can frame.
 All space and all limits excelling,
 To the roof of the universe soar,
 And you may see one tile of His dwelling—
 One tile, and no more.

In illustration of the effect produced by music upon the
 Oriental mind we may quote from Háfiz :—

But yestere'en upon mine ear
 There fell a pleasing, gentle strain,
 With melody so soft and clear,
 That straightway fell the glistening tear
 To tell my rapturous inward pain.

For such a deep harmonious flood
 Came gushing as she swept the string ;
 It melted all my harsher mood,
 Nor could my glance, as rapt I stood,
 Fall pitiless on anything.

To make my growing weakness weak,
 The Saki crossed my dazzled sight,
 Upon whose bright and glowing cheek,
 And perfumed tresses dark and sleek,
 Were strangely blended shade and light.

Fair maid, I murmured, as she passed,
 The goblet which thy bounty fills
 Such magic spell hath o'er me cast,
 Methinks my soul is free at last
 From human life and human ills.

The view constantly adopted by the Dervishes of the mystic life under the form of a journey, is thus developed in the opening ode of the same poet :—

Oh, cup-bearer, fill up the goblet, and hand it around to us all ;
For to love that seemed easy at first these unforeseen troubles befall.

In the hope that the breeze of the south will blow yon dark tresses apart,
And diffuse their sweet perfume around, oh ! what anguish is caused to
the heart !

Ay, sully your prayer-mat with wine, if the elder encourage such sin ;
For the traveller surely should know all the manners and ways of the inn.

What rest or what comfort for me can there be in the loved one's abode,
When the bell is incessantly tolling, to bid us each pack up his load ?

The darkness of night, and the fear of the waves and the waters that
roar—
How should they be aware of our state who are roaming in safety
ashore ?

I yielded me up to delight, and it brought me ill fame at the last—
Shall a secret be hidden which into a general topic has passed ?

If you wish not to dwell in His presence, yourself unto absence betake ;
Till you meet with the one whom you love, the world and its pleasures
forsake.

Here again is a well-known song from Háfiz, embodying the same idea of the longing of the soul after God, and dwelling on the ever fresh and varying pleasures to be derived from the ecstatic contemplation of Divine Love :—

Oh, minstrel, wake thy lay divine,
Freshly fresh and newly new !
Bring me the heart-expanding wine,
Freshly fresh and newly new !

Seated beside a maiden fair,
I gaze with loving, raptured view,
And I sip her lip and caress her hair,
Freshly fresh and newly new !

Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink the grape's sweet dew ?
Then drain a cup to thy mistress fair,
Freshly fresh and newly new !

She who has stolen my heart away
 Heightens her beauty's rosy hue,
 Decketh herself in rich array,
 Freshly fresh and newly new !

Balmy breath of the western gale,
 Waft to her ear my love-song true ;
 Tell her poor love-lorn Háfiz' tale,
 Freshly fresh and newly new !

The Simurgh, the mysterious immortal bird which rests on the summit of Mount Kaf, far from the toil and turmoil of human life, is a favourite figure in which this notion of contemplation is embodied. It is thus addressed by a Dervish poet :—

In the realms of non-existence should thy footsteps chance to fall,
 Bear this message, oh, my spirit, to the Simurgh's silent hall—
 ' Never leave yon happy quiet for a world of sin and strife,
 But beware thee, calm immortal, of the weary paths of life.'

The loves of the nightingale and the rose is another favourite theme with the Dervish poets. The celebrated Sufi writer, Husein Váiz, has embodied this allegory in a pretty parable, in which he introduces also the question of fatalism. It is worth giving entire, as a specimen of oriental imagery, as well as an illustration of the tenets which we are endeavouring to expound.

Where murmuring Rukna rolls his silvery stream
 Beneath the azure of a cloudless sky ;
 Where gilded spires that in the sunlight gleam

'Midst tow'ring palm-trees charm the lingering eye—
 Where every zephyr on its balmy wings
 To blushing roses wafts the bulbul's sigh ;

Where nature's choir in notes harmonious sings,
 Making sweet music to the rustling grove ;
 And not a sight and not a sound but brings

Its meed of beauty, melody, and love ;
 There bloomed a garden such as they behold
 Who dwell by Silsabil's blest streams above.

Not lovelier Iram, which, as bards have told,
 In far Arabia's scorching desert lies,
 Where false Sheddad's fair gardens glare with gold.

Though mystery shrouds them now from mortal eyes,
Save when upon some lone lost wanderer's sight,
Its diamond turrets like a day-dream rise.

Here in a corner, shrinking from the light,
A rosebud blossomed, whose enchanting hue
Rivalled the cheeks of her whose beauty bright *

O'er earth's great conqueror such enchantment threw.
Each morn, when issuing from his ocean bed,
Bright Phœbus beaming burst upon the view ;

And o'er the awakening world his radiance shed.
The garden's guardian left his humble room,
And paced the parterres by the path that led

To that calm nook which saw the floweret bloom ;
As some fond lover to an arbour creeps,
Where, lulled to rest by eve's encircling gloom,

The maid he loves in guileless beauty sleeps,
And lingering looks, till at his soft sigh's sound
Her startled eye from out its curtain peeps.

So gazed the gardener as the days wore round,
And watched the bud its opening charms disclose,
And breathed the perfume it diffused around.

But lo ! one luckless morn, beside the rose
A mournful nightingale, with grief o'erpressed,
In wistful warblings wailed his wearying woes,

And sought in song to soothe his saddened breast,
And in the wantonness of wild despair,
Still plucked the leaflets from their fragrant nest,

Till all the tree was desolate and bare.
The rose was ruined, but the thorn remained,
Stern sentry still, though no fair charge was there.

With bitter sighs the gardener complained,
And cursed the culprit in his maddening rage ;
His passion's steed no gentle patience reined,

And nought but vengeance could his wrath assuage.
With treacherous traps the hapless bird he lured,
And kept him captive in a cruel cage,

* Nurmahall, the wife of Jehanger, Emperor of Hindustan, for whom the celebrated mausoleum known as the Taj Mahall at Agra was built.

Mocking the pangs his prisoner endured,
 To whom the nightingale thus made his moan :
 ' Ah, wherefore now within these bars immured

' Am I thus left to mourn and die alone?
 Dost thou then fancy that my notes will ring
 Here in this prison with a sweeter tone

' Than 'midst the branches where I sit and sing?
 Or is there nothing that can heal the smart
 Of thy great loss, but my poor breast to wring,

' From all I love thus dooming me to part?
 If one rose ruined costs so dear to me,
 What shalt thou suffer for a broken heart?'

The plaintive prisoner by this piteous plea
 So moved his captor, that the selfsame hour
 He loosed his fetters, and dismissed him free,

To flutter fearless 'midst each favourite flower.
 Then sang the bulbul from the tangled wood,
 ' The great archangel on the " night of power "

' Revealed that " good must be repaid with good ; "
 So for thy kindness will I make return.
 Beneath the tree whereon at first I stood

' There lies a treasure in a hidden urn.'
 The gardener, digging, found the precious prize,
 And thus responded, ' I would gladly learn

' How thou divinedst what thus buried lies,
 Yet dust spread lightly o'er a clumsy snare
 Should be sufficient to deceive thine eyes?'

To whom the bulbul, ' Thou shouldst be aware
 That when from heaven the high decrees descend,
 'Tis vain to struggle ; man his fate must bear,
 For God shapes all things to some useful end.'

But with all their mysticism and speculative philosophy, the Sufi poets are by no means deficient in an appreciation of the beauties of nature. What can be more fresh or spontaneous than the following—Hafiz's description of a morning walk in a garden?

'Twas morning, and the lord of day
Had shed his light o'er Shiraz' towers,
Where bulbuls trill their love-lorn lay,
To serenade the maiden flowers.

Like them, oppressed with love's sweet pain,
I wander in a garden fair ;
And there, to cool my throbbing brain,
I woo the perfumed morning air.

The damask rose with beauty gleams,
Its face all bathed in ruddy light,
And shines like some bright star that beams
From out the sombre veil of night.

The very bulbul, as the glow
Of youth and passion warms his breast,
Forgets awhile his former woe,
In pride that conquers love's unrest.

Yon lily seemed to menace me,
And showed its curled and quivering blade ;
While every frail anemone
A gossip's open mouth displayed.

And here and there a little group
Of flowers, like men who worship wine,
Each holding up his little stoup,
To catch the dewdrop's draught divine.

And others yet like Hebes stand,
Their dripping vases downward turned ;
As if dispensing to the band
The wine for which their hearts had burned.

This moral it is mine to sing,
Go learn a lesson of the flowers ;
Joy's season is in life's young spring,
Then seize like them the fleeting hours.

However, we have quoted enough of the poetry to prove that the Dervishes are not devoid of poetical inspiration, however strange to us the mode in which they woo it may appear. In conclusion, we must anticipate the question which the reader of this article will no doubt ask—Whither does all this tend ? This we can only do by a very brief recapitulation of the chief points of our hypothesis.

The Oriental nature is sluggish and impassive until roused, when it becomes impulsive and emotional ; and this would

almost of necessity lead to an emotional and physically demonstrative kind of religious service,—that kind of worship which we are accustomed to call revivalism, and which even upon Northern temperaments produces such striking results. It is easy then to understand that meetings might be held, and societies formed, for the express purpose of encouraging the development of this *enthusiasm*; and that such was the case, is evident from the existence of the Schools of the Prophets in the ancient times, and of the Dervish Colleges of the present day, with the numerous sects and secret societies which have existed during the intermediate period throughout the East. We may therefore, without carrying the theory too far, look upon prophecy—that is, upon emotional religious utterance under the influence of physical religious excitement, as the natural form of worship amongst Eastern peoples; and, having obtained this standpoint, we shall, we venture to believe, be better able to realise the accounts which history, sacred and profane, gives us of the working of the system.

So long as these services were merely perfunctory, and so long as they were performed by men of ordinary calibre, their effect was small; but when they were conducted by master minds, when the prophetic utterances were great truths, then their influence began to be really felt, and the schools became the centres of most important religious and political movements. In support of this view, we would call attention to the fact that the first mention of the prophets in the Bible is almost simultaneous with the appearance of Samuel upon the scene, although the schools must already have been in existence for a considerable time previously.

No doubt the very association of the names Dervish and Prophet will sound shocking to some readers, but it must not be supposed that because we maintain the identity of the two institutions, we do not appreciate the difference between the utterances of the one and the other. The immense impulse given to religious thought and action amongst their contemporaries by such inspired preachers as Samuel and Elijah, can never be over-estimated; while the influence their teaching has had upon the religious life and thought of so many different races in after ages, is alone sufficient to prove the absurdity of endeavouring to reduce them to the level of

ordinary Mussulman Moulvies or Sheikhs. What we contend for is simply this—that *the system through which the Jewish prophets worked was in the main the same as that which the modern dervishes employ.* If this proposition be true, an examination of the modern system will be of similar use to the theologian and philosopher to that which the physician finds in the researches of comparative anatomy ; and although the lucubrations of a Dervish poet may not be comparable with the outpourings of the inspired soul of a Hebrew prophet, yet they will possess a greater importance in our eyes if we recognize them as generated by the same system, and developed by similar external surroundings.

ART. III.—*The Hindu Woman, Real and Ideal.*

- (1.) *The Hindu Pantheon.* By EDWARD MOOR, F.R.S. Madras : 1864.
- (2.) *La Femme dans L'Inde Antique.* Par Mlle. C. BADER, Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris. Paris : Duprat. 1864.

IN presence of the steadily increasing study of the ancient literature of India, the question is often upon our lips : What will be the ultimate impression upon European thought of the 'discovery of Sanskrit,' as it has not been inaptly termed ? When we think of the vast influence of the classics of Greece and Rome upon the modern world, of how they colour and permeate, in one form or another, almost all our ideas, can we refrain from seriously inquiring whether this new source of an earlier antiquity, from which we are every day drawing deeper and yet deeper draughts, will affect the world's intellect in anything like the same degree or with anything approaching a similar intensity ? No conclusive answer may yet be given, for although some eighty or ninety years have elapsed since Sir William Jones 'discovered' Sanskrit, and notwithstanding the unbroken succession of great Sanskrit scholars from his day to the present time, from Colebrooke and Wilson to Burnouf and Fauche, down to Goldstücker and Max Müller, it is only now that the general public is beginning to take a real interest in Indian lore, or that any signs can be detected of the possibility of a

certain knowledge of Sanskrit being included in the curriculum of a liberal education.

However, it requires no prophet to foresee that the Indian classics will never become so universally popular, so endeared to the hearts of all educated people, as those of Rome and, above all those of Greece. They want the satisfying, the enchanting qualities of symmetry and proportion, which have made the Ancients an undying delight to cultured minds, a solace from the fever, the *désillusionnement* of active life, a relaxation after many a hard fought battle in the political arena. To compare the poetry of India with the poetry of Greece, is to liken the undergrowth of a South American forest to the beauties of an exquisite garden.

Still, to a century which has learnt to admire the weird, the savage, and even the grotesque in nature, there is surely a sort of appropriateness in the revelation of a literature which, if it has blemishes that any man can point to, has also a novelty and a grandeur that are entirely its own. The Indian student thinks at first that he is entering chaos. After long application and research, much remains inexplicable to him; much more is inevitably disappointing. Here indeed the ludicrous and the sublime are divided but by a step. And for those who should seek to fathom the inner meaning that seems so often to underlie the surface, what confusion! what enigmas! what tantalising glimmers of truth! what ignes-fatui leading us astray from our path! what luminous stars shining on us through the darkness, whenever we manage to rise above the clouds which so obstinately obscure our vision!

There is a saying of Göthe's which has always appeared to us to be true alike of the study of Indian literature and of the spirit which must have filled the creators of it. It is to the effect that an epoch occurs in our lives when the comprehensible becomes common and insipid, an epoch 'which may well be called glorious, for it is the middle stage between despair and deification.' The calm, fruitful, and essentially happy pursuit of perfection such as the Greeks taught, could never have been understood by an Indian poet seer. For whoever goes in quest of perfection, must begin by renouncing the everlastingly unattainable, and must let alone the insoluble

and the unknowable, to a great measure at least, which the Indian mind seems totally incapable of doing.

But there is one practical consequence to the study of Sanskrit and of its offspring, philology, which, if we are not much mistaken, is already manifest; and that is the birth of a kindlier and more generous feeling towards our fellow-subjects in India. It may be rather a fanciful and irrational sentiment at bottom, but who can withhold a new and unaccustomed sympathy from the race which science proclaims our elder brother; from the people whose ancestors, with our own, listened, whilst they watched the sun go down behind the giant altitudes of the Hindu Kush, to the same old-world, or to speak correctly, young-world stories, which gladdened our hearts when we ourselves were children?

When we examine those initial records of the Aryan race, the ancient Vedic chants which the superstitious reverence of the Hindu people has handed down in awe and mystery, from millennium to millennium, their preservation seeming indeed to have been the providential *raison d'être* of the whole system of Brahmanical society, even its worst features, caste, and sacerdotal supremacy, having probably conduced to this end, we discover two distinct but clearly reconcilable tendencies, the one towards a metaphysical Pantheism, the other towards a materialistic idolatry.

There, in the childhood of humanity, in that which truest of all we may call *Juventus Mundi*, we find the eternal extremes of the human mind, the one to confound God with nature, the other to dissolve nature in God.

We see in all its primitive pathos the inspiration of thanksgiving, which caused man as he opened his eyes from sleep, and beheld the dawn irradiating the morning star, to salute it as divine; as he watched the sun rising like a conqueror in the east and dispelling night from the Morning land, to bow before its majesty; as he warmed his hands by the heat-giving and purifying fire, to sing a hymn to it the while; as he breathed the limitless ether which enabled him to live, to adore it; as he looked upon the bounteous earth, to bless it for its abundance. Yet alongside of this sprang up the tremendous consciousness that although every excellence and dignity might be rightly ascribed to Aruna and Súrya, to

Agni, Indra, and Aditi, they were not, nor was anything in heaven or on earth, self-existent, increate, and indestructible, save only the Supreme Spirit who was in all, and by whom all things had their being.

‘Der Allumfasser,
Der Allerhalter,
Fasst und erhält er nicht,
Dich, mich, sich selbst?’

‘I reverence Thee in the sun, which is Thine Image, whilst
‘it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the
‘universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness;
‘nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes
‘Thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence
‘Him who is the source of joy to all living creatures; whose
‘nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of
‘age. To Him and all that springs from Him I owe reverence
‘and honour.’

So runs a Sanskrit prayer, which was translated into Persian by a son of Shah Jehan, Emperor of Hindustan, from whence it was done into English some time during the last century. Again, we read these words, spoken in the person of the Deity:—‘I always was, I always am, and
‘always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you,
‘I am like him. In this ME is the inward essence and the
‘exterior substance of all things. I am the primitive cause of
‘all. All things that exist in east or west, or north or south,
‘above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I
‘am King of kings. I am Truth. I am the Spirit of creation.
‘I am the Creator.’

To follow these germs of religious belief as they gradually developed and diversified would be far beyond the scope of this article, the purpose of which is merely to sketch out the part played by woman in the different stages of Hindu society; but we must never forget that in the East nothing is secular, and for any Indian subject to become intelligible it must be viewed by the light of the religious circumstances which are sure to attend it.

Perhaps the very first bit of positive knowledge we possess about the women of any branch of the Aryan race is that it was the province of the maidens of India to milk the kine—

a fact disclosed when the Sanskrit word *duhitri* (*दुहित्री*, daughter), placed under the philologist's microscope, revealed an origin akin to milkmaid. It was no doubt considered a highly honourable office, since the cow, the most invaluable animal to pastoral communities, soon came to be regarded as endowed with supernatural attributes.

In Vedic times, to respect woman was not only thought to be right and proper, but was also enjoined as a sacred and most important duty. Hard out-door work was not to be apportioned to her, for her place was at the domestic hearth, making it happy by her presence, soothing man in his labours, consoling him in his sorrows, and moderating his reason by her wisdom. Man is commanded to protect her with tenderness and to please her with beautiful gifts. If he laughs at her sufferings, woe be unto him at his hour of need! If he despises her he 'despises his mother.' If he takes advantage of her weakness to persecute her or to despoil her of her property, he is guilty of an odious crime. If he incurs her curse it will bring down the vengeance of God.

The young girl is free to select the bridegroom of her choice, and her family is bound to provide for her a suitable dowry, to which her brother is recommended to add out of his own portion the finest heifer of his herd, the purest saffron of his crop, the loveliest jewel in his casket. Her husband should treat her with deference and consideration; he should be unto her amongst her children even as one of them. Husband and wife go hand in hand into the temple, where the woman offers up fragrant incense upon the altar. Her prayers and hymns are acceptable in the sight of the Deity.

In the transition period which intervened between the Vedas and Brahmanism, the condition of woman deteriorated by degrees, though we have a striking testimony to the esteem in which even then she was held, and the intellectual powers with which she was credited, in the splendid dialogue (contained in the Sūtras) wherein the sage Yajñavalkya explains to his wife the highest knowledge, to understand which is immortality. 'It is with us,' he says, 'when we enter into the Divine Spirit, as if a lump of salt was thrown into the sea: it becomes dissolved into the water from which it was

'produced, and is not to be taken out again; but wherever you take the water and taste it, it is salt. Thus is this great, endless, and boundless Being but one mass of knowledge. As the water becomes salt, and the salt becomes water again, thus has the Divine Spirit appeared from out the elements and disappeared again into them.'

The next landmark that can direct us in our inquiry is the Code of Manu, that is to say, the formal promulgation of the Brahmanic faith. To the natural preference for a male posterity which is common to all early states of society, had now succeeded a religious horror at not leaving behind a son, who alone could perform certain ceremonies which were deemed essential to secure the parent's final beatitude. In Mann's Institutes we read indeed that women should be shielded by the fostering care of their fathers and their brothers, of their husbands and their brothers-in-law; that fearful disasters befall the family in which they live in affliction; and that eternal misery is in store for whoever robs them of their possessions; that every happiness attends the home in which they are happy; and lastly, that the right-minded man should have but one wife, as the virtuous woman should have but one husband. Manu even declares that 'one mother is more venerable than a thousand fathers,' and no encouragement to the practice of the Suttee can be found in his writings. But whereas the Vedas call woman the soul of humanity, Manu drags her down to the position of a religious nonentity, incapable of obtaining grace through her own efforts, forbidden to offer up prayer or sacrifice, prohibited from reading the Scriptures; in a word, corresponding in matters of religion to the members of the Sudra or lowest caste.

After Manu came Buddha, the mighty prophet who raised the cry of revolt against caste tyranny and Brahmanical sacerdotalism over the length and breadth of the peninsula. Man and woman were equals according to his doctrine, but it was not in the pure and hopeful happiness of home that he would have had them seek out their salvation. Rather should they immerse themselves in the austere seclusion of monastic life, and by destroying passion and contemplating the Divine Infinity, make ready to enter Nirvana, the absorption of the soul into the Universal Spirit. Sakya Muni admitted that

some hopes might be entertained for the man who took to himself but one wife. Still, his mind was entirely possessed by the fascination of a conventual existence, and there can be no question that this was one of the reasons that Buddhism lost nearly all of its quickly conquered empire in India, and was replaced by the older faith in the novel and corrupt shape of Krishna worship, which to this day is one of the most popular varieties of Brahmanical idolatry.*

In the Bhagavata Purana there is a beautiful picture of the young shepherd in whom was incarnate the second person of the Hindu Triad (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva), taking his virgin mother into the solitary woods, and there instructing her in the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, which should open to her the gates of eternal life. But on the whole, as we have said, the results of Krishna worship were corrupt, and woman profited nothing by its introduction. Next to the purely scriptural writings, the Sanskrit epic poetry is held in the highest veneration amongst the Hindus. The greatest of these poems, the Ramayana, may be called one long canticle of praise in honour of a woman's virtue. It is now very generally known, but in treating of the Hindu woman, real or ideal, a brief notice of it cannot well be omitted.

Rama, son and heir to King Dasaratha, sovereign of Ayodhia, is predestined by the Creator to be the destroyer of the scourge of the world; but upon reaching manhood, his stepmother, Kekeyi, incited by a wicked handmaiden, conceives a scheme for driving him from the kingdom, and causing her own son, Bharata, to be made heir-apparent in his stead. On the occasion of her royal consort being wounded in battle, Kekeyi, who nursed him, had received his promise that he would grant her any two requests she might make; and she now demands the banishment of Rama and the elevation of Bharata, in fulfilment of the monarch's long-forgotten vow. At the moment that she puts forward her plea, the old king, who is

* It is worth noting that in Burmah, where Buddhism has survived, and has moreover preserved something of its original character, women enjoy a large measure of social freedom. They are not in any way restricted from conversing with men who do not belong to their own families. The daughters of a house receive the guests, and are allowed every opportunity of seeing their suitors, out of whom they are quite at liberty to marry the one they like best, whether he be rich or poor. Most of the shops in Burmah are kept by women.

in failing health, has just resolved to abdicate his powers in favour of his firstborn, and Rama is preparing for the ceremony of being anointed with the sacred oil. But the given word is inviolable, and, bowed down with grief, Dasaratha pronounces the sentence which exiles his beloved son for fourteen years and deprives him of his birthright. With streaming eyes he informs Rama of the fact, but no word of reproach escapes the lips of the blameless prince : without a second's wavering he submits to the paternal decree. The hot-headed, warm-hearted Lakshmana, Rama's devoted half-brother, who is yet in the fire of early youth, implores him to resist the unrighteous edict ; his mother joins in the entreaty ; the whole people are ready to approve such an act ! Rama tells them sternly that duty is far worthier to be followed than any dreams of worldly prosperity, and that his duty as a son compels him to obey his father's will. He says to the indignant Lakshmana, ' Do not be angry even in thought with Kekeyi.'

He leaves them and goes to his sweet young wife, the high-born and beautiful Sita. He finds her joyously arraying herself for the approaching solemnity. When she hears of the reverse of fortune, she utters no useless sighs or lamentations, but simply says, ' Take me with you !' Rama declares that he will do nothing of the kind. What ! could she throw aside her costly apparel and assume the sackcloth garb of an anchorite ? Could a king's daughter go into the fearful forest, inhabited by wild beasts ? ' Thou art my lord, my priest, my way, my God ; thee will I follow,' she says. What ! he persists, could her tender feet traverse the thorny wilderness ? ' I will walk before thee, and make a path for thee through the dense jungle,' she replies. She tells him not to think that she will repine in the forest. What could be more delightful than to dwell in the midst of leafy trees and perfume-wafting flowers ? Rama tries to satisfy her by saying that his body only will go into exile, his soul will remain with her ; but again she cries, ' Save me ! take me !' At last Rama consents to Sita going with him, and also Lakshmana, who cannot be induced to leave his brother.

They have not been gone long when Bharata returns to Ayodhia from a journey, and discovers what has happened during his absence. His displeasure knows no bounds.

'Thou hast murdered me with thy cruelty; no more shalt thou call me thy son,' he says to his guilty mother. The handmaiden who instigated Kekeyi's crime is about to be killed by Bharata's brother, but the prince arrests his hand, saying, 'She is infirm, and above all she is a woman!'

The poor old king dies disconsolate, and Bharata proceeds to invite Rama to ascend the throne; but the latter declines to break his father's oath, and begs his brother to govern the country till the years of exile are over. They embrace at parting, and Rama tells Bharata to cherish his mother, and to bear her no ill will,—'To this thou art conjured, both by me and Sita.'

Ten years pass away in the calm solitudes of the vast forests, when Ravana, the demon monarch of Lanka, becomes enamoured of Sita, and, aided by magic and deceit, contrives to throw her protectors off their guard and carry her away to his island kingdom. The prince's strong heart well nigh breaks when he becomes aware of the catastrophe; it is now Lakshmana's turn to comfort and support him. In time he rallies from his stupor, and swears a terrible vengeance upon the head of his adversary. He obtains the alliance of the monkey inhabitants of the forests, commanded by their general, Hanumen. As soon as Sita's whereabouts has been ascertained, Rama and his legions invade the island of Lanka, in which the beautiful princess languishes, guarded by dreadful hags and cruelly persecuted, in the hopes of shaking her unalterable fidelity. The demons are fierce men of war, and Ravana is the conqueror of both gods and men. For a while the issue of the campaign seems doubtful, but finally the star of Rama rises in the ascendant, and all the omens go to prove that the day has come, foreseen by an ancient prophet, when 'Lanka shall fall through a woman.' Ravana's favourite wife and his eldest son beseech him to stay the avenging arm and sue for peace. Rama will surely grant it, for 'he loves even his enemies.' Proudly the monarch answers that Ravana knows how to die, but he knows not how to yield. So he leads his army into the jaws of death, and falls at evening mortally wounded by the arrow of Rama.

The scourge of the world is laid low, and the whole earth seems to smile on its predestined deliverer. Rama commands

that the tenderest respect be shown to the widows of the slain, and that his conquered foe should have a funeral befitting his rank. The climax of the story is reached; Sita is brought forward clad in magnificent garments, with her face uncovered. 'A woman's virtue is her best veil,' says Rama.

The great assemblage is positively dazzled by the royal captive's resplendent beauty. But Rama, instead of clasping her to his heart, coldly tells her that, since he can have no warrant of her fidelity whilst in the custody of the monarch of Lanka, she must henceforth seek some other home, for that he will have nothing to do with her. Sita's courage and devotion do not give way; she turns to Lakshmana and asks him, as a supreme act of friendship, to prepare for her the fiery ordeal. Sorrowfully he obeys, and the faultless wife throws herself upon the flaming pile. Then the heavens open, and the incorruptible Agni snatches Sita from the flames, and placing her in Rama's arms, proclaims her to be pure and without stain. The years of banishment are past, and the exiles return to their own land, and are received with the acclamations of the entire people.

Such is an outline of the masterpiece attributed to Valmiki. There is no difficulty in proving that the story of the Ramayana is founded upon the tradition of a series of real events. Ayodhia stands for Oude, Lanka for Ceylon; Rama is the representative of the invincible and civilising Aryan race; his monkey allies are the yellow aboriginal tree tribes, of which there are still some remnants in India; and Ravana with his subjects are the brave but barbarous black aborigines of Ceylon. Portions of the bridge by which Rama is supposed to have crossed over to Lanka are still in existence: the Portuguese travellers called it Adam's bridge, because they believed Ceylon to be the veritable site of Eden.

The profound significance of the Ramayana in relation to our subject is too evident to need much comment, though we must remember that the principle of judging an epoch by its poetry should be followed with all reserve. Poets are not unfrequently more truly 'the citizens of ages yet unborn' than of their own; and at most they illustrate rather than reflect the manners and morals of the times they live in. Still, it seems probable that Sita's character (and it is with

this that we are chiefly concerned) was not so much a sublime poetic ideal as it was a type of womanly excellence according to the estimate of Valmiki's cotemporaries. We are sure that the poet must have known a living counterpart to his heroine, so very real is she with all her perfections, so very human, despite the element of the marvellous which surrounds her. We feel a personal animus against Rama for his treatment of her in the final scene; nor are we altogether satisfied with his subsequent explanation, in which he anticipates Cæsar's famous line of argument: 'Domum meam volo et 'suspicione carere.' With such a treasure of a wife he should not even have pretended to doubt her fidelity. However, it is indisputable that the high and unbending standard of morality which Valmiki made the rule of his hero's conduct displays a more advanced state of opinion in such matters, than that easy-going disposition to saddle the gods with every unpleasant responsibility, which deprived the Homeric Menelaus of any scruples as to the propriety of taking back his fair but inconstant spouse.

The other Indian epic, the Mahabharata, though it is believed to belong to a later and less enlightened period than that of the Ramayana, nevertheless contains a whole gallery of exquisite female portraits. Perhaps we can do no better than give the episode of Savitri, the Indian Alkestes, by way of example.

There was once a great king who had an only child named Savitri. She was beautiful and good, and when she came to be of a marriageable age, her father bade her go forth, attended by his most trusty counsellors, to seek a bridegroom who should be worthy of her. Savitri did not direct her steps to the palaces of the great, but sought out in the forest the abode of hermits and anchorites. After some time had elapsed she returned to her father's court, and told him that her choice had fallen upon Satyavan, the son of an old blind monarch who had been robbed of all his dominions, and who lived in the solitary woods. 'Ah, woe! Ah, woe,' exclaims the sage Narada, who happens to be present. He is implored to explain his forebodings, and he reveals the melancholy fact that Satyavan, handsome, brave, and virtuous though he be, is doomed to die as soon as one year has passed away! The

king advises his daughter to make a happier choice, but Savitri remains firm. 'Once, and once only in life can the heart give itself to another, and fortune or misfortune has nothing to do with it.' So the king, her father, presents himself to the father of Satyavan, and arranges the marriage, though grief weighs down his spirit.

Savitri brings light and joy into her husband's family; she is cheer and comfort to all, in spite of the unspoken anguish which her terrible secret causes her. The day comes at length when she says to herself: 'In four days he must die!' Hope and despair struggle within her; she determines to undergo a cruel penance until the fatal day arrives.

The fourth day dawns; Savitri begs permission to accompany her husband when he goes as usual to cut wood and gather fruit in the forest. Satyavan seems well and vigorous; he enjoys the fresh morning air as they wend their way together between the tall trees. But as midday approaches, a burning lassitude comes over him; Savitri sits down beside him, and places his head upon her bosom. He moves not; consciousness has already fled.

A fearful and august stranger now appears before Savitri, clad in crimson, of a shining countenance. His name is Yama, Prince of Death! The apparition proceeds to unfasten the soul of the hapless youth, and binding a rope around it, he drags it forward to the realms of shadow.

Savitri follows the god of death as he carries off her husband's soul. In all humility, but undaunted, she disputes with the redoubtable Yama for her beloved one's life. Yama is astonished at her devotion, but he bids her go back: death cannot yield his prey! Still she follows him. Over many a mile of the rough and dangerous path which leads to the land of ghosts the young wife and Death contend. The Mighty One commands her to withdraw, but she never ceases to repeat her prayer: 'Let my Satyavan live!' She tells the god how noble is the quality of mercy; she argues that to give is more divine than to take; to preserve is mightier than to destroy.

Love overcomes death. The god releases the young man's soul, and grants, besides, every other boon which Savitri's heart can desire. As the dark night is falling upon the earth,

Savitri retraces her steps to the spot where Satyavan lay. Life has come back into his body, and he opens his eyes and looks tenderly upon his wife. He knows nothing of what has happened, only he fancies that he has had a distressing dream. Savitri lets him continue in his illusion, and says to him: 'Rise, O my beloved; thy sleep is over; let us go to thy father's house; and as thou art yet weak, I will carry thy hatchet and thy basket, and thou shalt rest thy head upon my shoulder.'

This pretty story speaks for itself; we will only add to it the words of a personage in the *Mahabharata*: 'The wife is the honour of the family, she who presents the children. The wife is the man's vital spirit, is the man's half, is his best friend, and the source of all his felicity. The wife, with her endearing discourse, is the friend in solitude, the mother to the oppressed, and a refreshment on the journey in the wilderness of life.'

Kalidas, the illustrious Indian dramatist, who lived contemporaneously with the Augustan age of Rome, made one of the episodes of the *Mahabharata* the basis of his drama *Sakontala*, of the merits of which Göthe's celebrated eulogy, as below, can scarcely be called exaggerated.

'Wilt thou the flowers of spring and autumn's plentiful treasures?

Wilt thou what gladdens and charms, what enlivens the heart and refreshes?

Earth, heaven, all they contain, in a single word wilt thou utter?

Only *Sakontala* name, then thou wilt nothing omit.'

The first signs of the degradation of woman in India date back to a time far anterior to the Christian era; its consummation was the work of those repeated Moslem invasions of the peninsula which took place during the tenth and succeeding centuries. An impression is gaining ground that Mohammed has been very undeservedly blamed in respect to woman, since in reality he approved of only four wives and an extremely moderate amount of wife-beating. It cannot be asserted that his ideas concerning Paradise were either elevating or edifying, but it is urged, and not without success, that the sum of his endeavours was to raise and not to lower the condition of woman such as he found it in Arabia; yet when all is said that can be said in his defence, the irrefragable truth remains, that religious reformers should not

make a sort of concordat with 'the world, the flesh, and the devil,' but attack them *à outrance*. Compromise is the watch-word of statesmen, not of apostles. Besides, 'the world's history is the world's judgment,' and whatever may or may not have been Mohammed's own designs, the march of Islâm has proved the bane of woman; a fact which is nowhere more strongly exemplified than in the history of its ascendancy in India, where its evil effects were not confined to the cases in which conversion followed upon conquest, but showed themselves also in the impetus it gave to the unscrupulous Brahman priesthood to pander to man's worst passions, so as to set up a counter attraction to the corrupt teaching of the proselytising invaders. And this is the self-evident reply to those who hold the chimerical hypothesis that India's best and brightest future rests upon her chances of complete conversion to the tenets of the prophet.

Yet—slave and victim, prisoner and holocaust though she became, we venture to think that the Hindu woman did not wholly lose possession of those good gifts with which heaven appears to have blest her in former ages—a rare faculty of judgment—a courage that knows no brook—a sweetness of disposition that cannot be excelled. John Stuart Mill stated from his own experience that in three out of four instances in which an Indian government was conducted with integrity and decency, where the arts of peace were practised and the principles of reasonable order were upheld, the *de facto* ruler was a woman. Sir Hope Grant relates an incident of the Sepoy war in which a rebel's wife stood by her husband throughout a furious struggle for the capture of his house, and when he fell, snatched the musket from his dead hands, and received her own death-blow in a wild attempt to prolong the resistance. Recorded opinions and anecdotes such as these do not tally with the notion of a degenerate womanhood, yet though carrying their own weight, they throw but a glimpse of light upon the Hindu woman's character as it now exists, and we are for the most part in total ignorance of the traits and idiosyncrasies that lie hidden behind the national *Burqa* of millions of her Majesty's subjects. And this leads us to believe that a few extracts from the private letters of sundry living Hindu ladies, simply and literally translated from the

original Bengali, may not be devoid of a certain general interest. The correspondence which has been placed at our disposal by the English lady to whom it is addressed is from members of the Brahmo Somaj, and it will be seen that the writers are not in the least Anglicised in their prejudices or mode of life.

‘Dear English sister,’ writes one of these ladies, ‘having received your letter full of love, I gained indescribable joy. I have never for one moment dreamt in my mind that it would be possible for me to receive so much kindness from a sweet sincere-hearted sister like you : all this is from the unasked-for kindness of the merciful God. With gratitude do I bow at the feet of our Father, who is an ocean of tenderness, and through whose liberal kindness I have been able to enjoy such pleasure. Dear sister, I greet all of you with inward gratitude, you who strive so much for our good. To God do I pray that the merciful Father may bring to pass the fulfilment of the good wishes of all of you for the happiness of the world. I hope that you will not fail to accomplish what you propose to do for your Indian sisters’ good. How much friendship do you all give my dear husband ; for that, I from my heart render gratitude to you all. I am always anxious about him, because in that distant country there are none related to us who can attend on him in time of sickness and console him in time of grief. Now, seeing such goodness in you, I have some hope that you will from time to time look after him. To hear that to converse with him pleases you all very much, what news for me could give me pleasure surpassing this ? You all can show very much friendship for people who are without a home in a foreign land. Within our hearts there is that sort of affection, but because the customs of our country prevent us, we cannot show it so much. We cannot converse with people who are not nearly related to us. You are learning Bengali : seeing your handwriting, I was very much pleased. I have a great wish to learn English, but many things hinder me so much, I am not able to do it. When my dear husband comes back to our country, I think I shall be able to learn. I now however study in Bengali. In our country, acquirement of learning is very difficult for a female.

'There are no schools for young women. If her husband is near, she may learn a little, or from a brother or other near relation a little may be learnt; otherwise it is not easy to learn anything. I formerly when my husband was close by used to learn a little; now that he has to dwell in a foreign country I am not learning anything. I do every day some household work, and in leisure time occasionally write and read. We with our own hands cook and prepare food for our relations. I am living with my father and mother-in-law and other near relations. Make known to me with whom you live.

'Most people call me P——; one or two call me Tara * (those who are very fond of me); many use both my names. What more shall I say? I think the letters of the honoured wives of —— and —— and others have pleased you very much, and my letter will not be like theirs, for compared with me they must be better taught. They are ladies living in the capital, and learning in the school for young ladies called the Female Normal School. It is otherwise with me, who, living in a village, learn by myself alone; therefore that this writing will be able to give your mind a little joy, of that I cannot be sure: however this be, I send this little letter, trusting to your kindness. If you accept it, I shall be happy. Sister, I now take leave. May God fulfil your good wishes. May He daily spread the sisterly feeling, by increasing your affection for us; this is my great prayer to the protecting Father whose tenderness is deep as the ocean. May all happiness be given to you by God.'

We have been able to give this letter almost entire. We regret that in the extracts that follow from various hands the private nature of the contents has compelled us to omit much that is in itself eminently characteristic.

'1. How surprising it is to hear how children are taught in your country. Unless we begin to instruct children when they are quite young about religion and about other things, the mind, the heart, and the soul are not expanded in the best way. Our country suffers because here there are no proper arrangements for teaching children; there is no regularity about it here. As with older girls there is much difficulty

* Stella.

'in their gaining instruction, so it is with children. Learning is made too difficult to their tender minds, and this discourages them much. It is an astonishing thing that in our country there are so many learned men, but they do not trouble themselves in the least about the education of children. Once, when I asked my husband, he told me that in England there are many schools for children. I think this may be the reason Englishmen are so wise and just. I begged my husband to open a school for little children. He said, "I have laboured to found several schools; if I can make them successful, I think I shall have used my life as well as I can."

'2. It is a long time since I have been happy at the receipt of your affectionate letter. I cannot write how much sorrow and regret I feel at this long delay in my answering your letter. I had a sister born the very same day that I got your letter. She is now a merry little playful thing: whenever I see her playing, it reminds me how long it is since I received your letter. We have been very happy at having got amongst us a kind friend since December last. You no doubt know Miss — well. I cannot tell you with what grateful hearts we have received her in this country. Since her coming she has been trying very much to establish a boarding-school. There is no doubt that a great want of this country will be removed by this school if its work answers to its present plans. I am looking forward to this school with the greatest hope. From November last to April I was at Calcutta for my education, and attended a school regularly, but about two months ago I have been obliged by circumstances to leave the school and come here. This has occasioned great loss to my studies. It is true I have begun to learn English, but so many obstacles present themselves in the way from time to time, that there has been in consequence hardly any progress in my studies. This thought makes my mind always unhappy. That I shall ever be able really to know your language appears to be a presumptuous hope.'

'3. I received your loving and beautiful letter when I was at Calcutta, and was exceedingly delighted by it. How happy should I have been if I could have written in English

'what I have in my mind in this letter. Perhaps I shall
'have to wait for it yet a long time, for I am hardly able to
'make any progress with my studies, owing to want of any
'one to teach me. I am doing only what I am able to do
'by my own exertion. I also consider English at times as
'very difficult, and do not hope that I shall ever master it; but
'when I recollect that nothing is impossible for care and
'labour, energy and perseverance again fill the heart. You
'had written some portion of your letter in Bengali, which I
'was much pleased to read. That you have been able to
'express such good ideas in Bengali, after learning it only for
'a short time, is a matter that affords great pleasure. I can-
'not tell you from this distance how delighted my heart has
'been at the frank simplicity and largeness of mind which
'your letter reveals.

" "There are briars besetting every path," &c.

'I was very much pleased at reading this piece of poetry
'in your letter. "A lowly heart that rests in God is happy
'everywhere," is a very true saying. From nothing in this
'world can we ever derive that happiness and peace which
'reigns in a heart which has set its entire trust in God. I
'cannot conceive how a man can be happy with the world
'alone, without God. You ask how I enjoy peace, being away
'from my husband? It is only because I have placed my firm
'trust in our merciful Father, and my dependence on His
'kindness, that my heart is always filled with peace. When
'the thought of His love, which has not its equal, rises in the
'mind, it dispels every anxiety from the heart. Do you know
'this line in our hymn-book, "Thou art the source of good,
'and art dispensing it; why trouble I then my mind with
'thoughts of what is to come?" What cause can there be
'for sorrow when this belief reigns in the heart, that the
'Father will never do harm to His child? Without my trust
'in God, by no means else could I have enjoyed peace in my
'mind. When I ponder over every event in my life, then
'can I realise how infinite has been His mercy for His
'daughter.

'It is nearly a month since we came to this place from
'Calcutta. The part we are living in is pretty to look at.
'Our house is situated in the midst of a large garden, where

'we can go, whenever we like, but we have not many flowers in it. There is a Roman Catholic church near our house, three hundred years old. We can hear the beautiful music of the organ every morning from Friday to Sunday.'

'4. I am very much pleased and obliged at receiving your kind gifts of drawing, &c. Knowledge of drawing is very interesting, that I can well understand, but such are the bad customs of our country, that not only for women's learning drawing, but also for any learning, there are no especial arrangements. I render thanksgiving to our common Father, that delivering us from the cruel hands of the wicked Mussulmans, He has placed us under the civilised English. Although, in the times of the Hindu kings, the Hindus had made great progress, under the Mussulman's rule all our learning was dying out. Amongst the special duties of women were learning, walking about, choosing a husband of one's own will, hospitality to an uninvited guest wearied and tired in travelling, &c.; but all these disappeared in the middle age. Now, by degrees, a revival is taking place, and is doing so no doubt through your kindness. I shall, however, endeavour much to learn to draw, though it will take me a long time to learn it. I relate below the cause of this.

'I have two sons and one daughter. One son is six years old, he is the eldest; another boy smaller than he is nearly four years old; and my daughter is only ten months old. In the morning, rising before six, according to our family rules, I offer my prayer. I begin some household work. I wake the boy and little boy, and the eldest, having said a prayer written by my husband, washes his face and puts on his clothes. This is that prayer:—"O Protector of the unprotected I remember Thee. Father, listen to the prayer of the weak one. I have happily passed the fearful night, surrounded by love of my father and of my mother. When all animate beings are like the inanimate, Thou Friend takest care that they still live. Thou art as a bridge of mercy. Great God, Thou hast kept me during the defenceless night time. Merciful Father, I thank Thee. Thou hast protected the helpless weak one. All that I have I wish to use in Thy service. Guard, guard me, weak as I am."

‘ Thus the eldest child prays to God, and goes, mounted on
 ‘ a horse, to breathe the pure air. The little one goes to walk
 ‘ with a servant or else in a carriage. During this leisure time
 ‘ I help the cook in cooking, and begin to serve the old mother-
 ‘ in-law; and then, if I find some leisure from these household
 ‘ occupations, I spend a little while in reading books—those
 ‘ books which teach women about natural things.

‘ Now at about nine o’clock the boys come home, either after
 ‘ walking or learning their school lessons; then, feeding the
 ‘ elder boy, I send him to school with my husband. After this,
 ‘ having done my own household work and taken a meal, I sit
 ‘ teaching the girls of the female school: some days I work
 ‘ with them, some days I read. The boys appear. The elder
 ‘ one comes back from school, the younger gets up from sleep
 ‘ and play. I send the girls away and let the boys have their
 ‘ lunch (or light food taken before the night meal), and then
 ‘ send them to play and walk: meanwhile I make preparations
 ‘ for cooking in the evening. In this I am helped by my
 ‘ younger sister-in-law. At dusk we finish our meals—at this
 ‘ time the boys take their evening meal, then my husband and
 ‘ his brothers, and last my sister-in-law and myself. Then the
 ‘ elder boy goes to his tutor to learn his lessons for the next
 ‘ day. My husband also having talked some time with his
 ‘ friends, &c., goes to teach in the evening school. Then the
 ‘ elder boy comes in and goes to bed, after prayer. This is the
 ‘ prayer:—“With the end of the day the star of the day is set.
 ‘ In towns and forests living things are sleeping. In this
 ‘ world—a storehouse of dangers in Thy absence—I have
 ‘ spent this day in Thy remembrance. Through Thy mercy I
 ‘ gain all happiness, and without Thee, O Friend of the help-
 ‘ less, all are helpless. O Father, destroyer of dangers, the
 ‘ night is come, protect me, O protect me.”

‘ Praying thus, the boys sleep at about eight o’clock. Then
 ‘ my husband comes home from the evening school, and we
 ‘ read together some Bengali book (I do not know English):
 ‘ either I read and he listens, or he reads and I listen. At ten,
 ‘ after prayer, we go to bed. You have asked me if I can in
 ‘ any way help my husband. We, the women of India, it
 ‘ may be said, are mere prisoners. I cannot go out of my
 ‘ house or speak freely with any man; for this reason I can-

'not go to all his schools, but I give some sort of instruction to his girls' school. What I do is very little. To imitate my husband does not lie within my power. Besides, his work is not the work of an ordinary man: he devotes his life to others, and labours from morning till night, and thinks constantly of the education and improvement of poor boys.'

'5. I cannot fully describe the joy I have found on receiving your sweet and priceless letter.* What can please me more than that you have addressed one as your sister who was a stranger to you. I shall never forget in my life the kindness you have evinced towards my helpless condition. But it is a matter of regret that I cannot read or write English. When I took your letter into my hand, I thought, why had I not learnt English? why was I so ignorant? Had I been able to read it myself how great would have been my joy. I should not have had to wait for anybody, and I could have written to you whenever I liked. Your mind being bright with education is enhancing the beauty of religion; but the beauty of religion cannot readily display itself amid the darkness of ignorance. Whether this statement is true or not, the Babu† knows. I find it to be so after comparing my mind with yours. For the love you give my children they give you their thanks. The eldest son goes to school; the eldest daughter used to read at home, but for some reason she does not read now. The youngest girl plays about, the youngest son has just learnt to walk, and is happy in that. What shall I say about my mind? I am in a most miserable condition. I read some Bengali books. There is no systematic study. If I do study now and then, it cannot do me much good, as I learn very little. When I think of my education, I feel grieved, for my time is spent in vain. I have done no good works; I know nothing can be done without education.'

It has been repeated again and again that any reform which has for its aim the regeneration of India must begin

* This reiterated praise of the person addressed may perhaps be found tedious or even misplaced here, but we are loth to leave it out, as it strikes us as peculiarly expressive of that dignified humility and quick sensitive response to sympathy which distinguish one and all of the writers of these letters.

† Her husband.

by improving the condition of its women, and all honour to those who are willing to devote their lives and labours to this end ; but as regards the general statement, it would be more accurate to say that progress in India or elsewhere, if it is to bring forth lasting fruits, must consist in the collective moving forward of the whole body politic, not in the isolated advance of a single section of it.

Those movements which have changed the face of the world have been, with few exceptions, profoundly religious ; and we do not conceive it possible that by bread alone—that is, by the legislator and the schoolmaster—Indian society can be remodelled. The privileges of women fell away one after the other, as the abuses of Brahmanism—caste, sacerdotal tyranny, and a corrupt idol-worship—came into force ; the restoration of those privileges may hardly be looked for, till the hydra-heads of polytheism be decrowned, and all men are acknowledged equals in the free service of God. Gloomy as is the prospect which at present confronts us in India, there is some encouragement in the thought that the unity of the Supreme Being is no strange doctrine to the Hindu mind, since a perception of it—not any pseudo-celestial patent for pious jugglery—is the transcendent secret which the Brahman priesthood have consciously transmitted from one generation to another, and of which their order has been the enduring, if unworthy reliquary.

We see in India a system of life pricked out with gross and idolatrous rites. We see Juggernat'h's car, Kali's necklace of human skulls, immorality abetted, and woman degraded. We know our proudest dependency to be sunk in a mass of prejudice and superstition which may any day fire the torch to a new mutiny. By very slow degrees, all this is being undermined by the advancing tide of western civilisation. What is growing up in its stead ? What manner of faith are we substituting to the vast religious organisation which has ruled every thought, every action, of its countless votaries from unremembered ages, even to this day ? Is it Christianity ? Who that knows India will answer in the affirmative ? The causes, it is not for us to seek to explain, but this much we will say : that those who hold England to be gravely to blame in this matter, should bear in mind the difficulty of the task ;

the tact, the genius—in one word, the inspiration needed to transform the religion of an ancient and utterly dissimilar civilisation, which has for us, and we for it, much of the nature of an illegible inscription in an unknown tongue. ‘If it was rumoured,’ writes La Bruyère, in the 17th century, ‘that the real object of the Oriental embassy which lately visited Paris was to convert the most Christian king and all his subjects to the religion of the monarch of Siam, how absurd we should think it! How we should laugh at the notion of erecting brazen images in our towns for us to fall down before, and permitting heathen sectaries to penetrate into our homes, in order to direct the consciences of our wives and daughters! Nevertheless,’ he adds—what is still in the main true—‘such an idea cannot appear more ridiculous to us than our own efforts to introduce Christianity into the East must seem to the people of that quarter of the globe.’

By rational government, by education, by intimate contact, we are breaking down the idols of the higher classes of Hindu society. It is a most positive fact that our attempts to spread the gospel have been attended by no commensurate success. There can be no good in nursing illusions on this serious subject, more especially as the acknowledgment of past failures, so far from leading us to despair, should incite us to fresh endeavours. Meanwhile it cannot be doubted that the gulf is widening. British rule seems to be converting the Hindus, not to Christianity, but to an Atheism thinly cloaked by an outward conformity to the old observances. The crumbling authority of immemorial custom threatens to be replaced by the anarchy of a hopeless unbelief, and we behold India in the position of a prisoner, who, escaping from his dungeon, is lost in a desert. In this crisis it is our plain duty, without abating our own exertions, thankfully to welcome those of men, pure-minded and courageous, whatever may be their religious opinions, who strive no less than we for the time when regenerate India shall give voice to the silent orison of every pious Brahman: ‘Greater than the sun, that sun’s supremacy, God let us adore, which may well direct.’ *

* The Gayatri, or Mother of the Vedas, the Brahman repeats mentally after bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganges, expressing its words on the fingers of his right hand covered with a cloth, but he never utters the words with his

ART. IV—*Servia.*

- (1.) *The History of Servia and the Servian Revolution, with a Sketch of the Insurrection in Bosnia.* By LEOPOLD RANKE. Translated from the German by Mrs. ALEX. KERR. Bohn.
- (2.) *The History of Modern Servia.* By ELODIE LAWTON MIJATOVICS. W. Tweedie. 1872.
- (8.) *Die Serbien.* Wien, 1867. Kanitz.
- (4.) *Serbische Volks.* (National.) Talfy.
- (5.) *Les Serbes de Turquie.* Par A. UBICINI.

BUT a few months ago few Englishmen would have been able to describe precisely the position of Servia geographically or politically, few would have been able to say whether the country was a part of Austria or of Turkey, whether it was independent or an integral part of either empire, and still fewer would have been able to give the least account of its interesting political history during the last sixty years, during which it has become a not unimportant member of the European system. Within the last few weeks, however, Servia has claimed a large share in the telegrams of the morning papers. It has become of some consequence to Europe to be informed if Ristich still holds the post of Prime Minister in Belgrade,

lips. The Brahman priests seek in every way to keep the Gayatri undivulged, partly from their intense veneration for it as a mystical symbol, and partly, it is conjectured, from the dread lest a knowledge of it should guide the common multitude to the highest truth.

The following account of the manner in which Sir William Jones obtained the Gayatri in the Sanskrit character is taken from a MS. memorandum made at the time by his friend, Sir C. E. Carrington: 'May 10th, 1764.—About a fortnight before his death, Sir William Jones told me that he had procured the Gayatri of a Sunnyasi, to whom in return he gave all the money he then had in the house, and would have given, he said, ten times more, had more been within his reach at the moment. The Sunnyasi afterwards met one of Sir William's pundits, to whom he expressed himself amply *satisfied*, with much emphasis. Shortly after his death I begged Mr. Harrington to request his executor, Mr. Fairlie, to be careful that no pundits or Brahmans had access to his papers, as on starting to two Brahmans, as if by chance, the question what they would do with the Gayatri if they saw it in writing, they immediately answered, "Tear it, most certainly." Mr. Harrington thought Mr. Morris more able to interfere, to whom I related these circumstances, and who, in consequence of this information, on searching, found the object of my concern and fears; and on going myself, Mr. Fairlie. obligingly permitted me to take a copy.'

or if he has been replaced by Marinovich; and the news that the Skouptchina, or National Assembly, has been removed from Kraguevatz to Belgrade is almost important enough to affect the money market of Europe. Serbia, in short, has quite lately come before the world, and naturally people are beginning to ask, 'What is Serbia?'

The country is part of that incoherent and troublesome empire for whom we have during the last twenty years shed much blood and wasted millions of treasure—an empire the name of which at this moment carries pain and grief to many a desolate English home—it is part of the Ottoman Empire, but only nominally a province of Turkey, for it has fought for and won home rule, and now merely pays a fixed and annual tribute to the Sultan.

Geographically the country presents the form of a rough triangle. On the east and south-east it is bounded by Bulgaria, naturally a very rich country, but rendered poor by Turkish misgovernment. On the south-west Serbia is bordered by Albania and Bosnia, the former of which provinces is chiefly peopled by savage Moslems, more addicted to war than husbandry. On the north run the magnificent rivers the Save and the Danube, the latter almost as good an outlet as the sea, nay, better, if the seaboard has not good ports. Here is the progressive civilising side of Serbia; but here again she has not been highly favoured, for civilising influences have had to be filtered through the somewhat barbarous natives of Hungary, a nation whose culture is decidedly second-hand, for there is no question that the Germans or Saxons are the pioneers of human progress in these Danubian regions.

Servia, like Hungary, has been overrun by the most barbarous of those Mahomedan Powers which at one time menaced the civilisation and religion of Europe. This must be the apology for her backward condition. She is the youngest of the European family. The earliest part of the history of Servia, like that of our own country, is much mixed up with fable and confused with the stories of other tribes; but we are told that the Servians (or Serbs) are a race of Slavonians who emigrated from a district north of the Carpathians in Gallicia, and came as an organised community, commanded by chiefs, to the Danubian lands, being invited by the Emperor Heraclius

to people a desolated country laid waste by the Avars. These Servian colonists were politically very much in their present position, that is, living in suzerainty to the Emperor at Constantinople, though enjoying the advantages of autonomy, or self-government, under their native rulers. On their adoption of Christianity about half the tribe fell under the spiritual dominion of the Romish and half under that of the Greek Church, an unhappy event, which, by dividing the people and sowing the seeds of theological rancour in their midst, has had a sinister influence on their political life. As the Byzantine Empire grew weak the Slavonians grew strong (history repeats itself, for the same process is going on at the present time); they gained an independence so complete that the kingdom of Slavonia made its mark in mediæval history: its kings intermarried with the royal and imperial families of France, Venice, and Constantinople, and even waged war with the latter.

Mean time an Asiatic tribe of Tartary, having organised into a nation its numerous conquered tributaries, and received the fiery impulse of Mahomedanism, and, above all, having adopted the principle of a standing army in the form of the terrible Janissaries, recruited by levies of the finest Christian boys, was steadily advancing from the East. These new people were the Ottoman Turks. In place of the luxurious and feeble Byzantine Christian rule there was established the new Mahomedan power, nor was it long before it came into collision with the brave chivalry of the Servian Czar Stephen Dushan and his knightly following on the fatal field of Kossova in 1389, and there was lost the independence of Servia. And here we must needs leave a great gap in the history of Servia, which at that time included the present principality with Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and most of the neighbouring Pashaliks. The people became Ottoman subjects, the nobles adopted the Mahomedan religion, which henceforward became the State Church, in order to preserve their feudal privileges, and were hereafter called Turks, while the common people clung to their faith and submitted to ages of tyranny and oppression. A deep sleep of Asiatic torpor and barbarism settled on the doomed land, which became one of the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty; nor did

an awakening occur until the years 1806 and 1807, a date within the memory of many old folks now amongst us.

About the year 1804, when we were struggling with Napoleon, a simple peasant of a darker complexion than usual, hence named Kara George (Black George), having fled to the mountains a ruined man, leaving a home desolated by the Turk and with a heart on fire for revenge, gathered together a number of men made desperate like himself, and became a renowned '*haiduk*' or brigand, not of the modern Greek or Italian sort—neither a Manzi nor a Takos, but a kind of Robin Hood, who waged war on the rich; but as no one was or could be rich but the Turkish oppressor, the lawless acts of Kara George and his comrades assumed the complexion of heroic deeds in a righteous cause, so that to seize, plunder, and murder a wealthy Moslem was no sin in the eyes of the peasantry who fed and sheltered the patriot band.

Perhaps at no period of the Ottoman history has that power been in such a state of anarchy as about the period of 1798. The Dahis and Janissaries, to whom the empire had owed all its military force, had now become a source of weakness. Europe had copied their discipline and improved upon it, while these military organisations had thrown off all civil authority, recognising but faintly the obligations of their religion and obeying only their own officers. If war was declared against a foreign power the Janissaries had to be bribed to march, while during the intervals of war they wasted the districts in which they were quartered, ruined the peasantry by their exactions, and at times drove them to despair and revolt, as in the case of Servia. In some cases these Turkish chiefs pursued a remarkable method in their exactions: they marched through the villages, bound and tortured the proprietors, and made them sign certain title-deeds making over their landed property. The country was indeed ripe for revolt, but a long course of unresisted oppression had bred a profound contempt for these rayahs in the minds of the oppressors. When twenty mounted Servians would alight from their horses on meeting even a Turkish boy, they were naturally looked upon as sheep made to be fleeced and treated accordingly. The insubordination of the Dahis or Turkish chiefs had proceeded to such lengths that the Sultan was compelled to make war

upon them, and committed the fatal error of putting arms into the hands of the Christians against his rebellious Moslem subjects. The rage of these latter can only be compared to the indignation of the Southern planters in America when they saw opposed to them the 'nigger regiments.' Like the latter, the Christians fought well, and, what is more, the charm of superiority was broken, for more than once they saw Moslems fly before them; and when they had helped the Sultan to put down their old enemies, they demurred to giving up their arms and returning to their old condition. Nevertheless, in spite of checks administered to the Dahis and Janissaries from time to time, Servia remained a down-trodden oppressed country, the natives of which had so long endured the cruel tyranny of the Turks, that they seem to have acquired an hereditary instinct of submission observable at the present day amongst several Christian races in Asia Minor, Kurdistan, and in certain remote parts of Turkey in Europe. The immediate cause of the Servian revolt was said to be a diabolical scheme, probably the result of panic, to murder the notables of the nation in every town and village. Some murders of this sort actually did take place, and the report of an intended general massacre spread like wild fire; people fled in thousands to the mountains, arms were produced, and a crusade against the Turks decided on. In one of the gatherings of the patriots in the depths of a vast forest, the task assigned was the choice of a leader, and Kara George, who already had won the reputation of an energetic man, was called for by a sort of universal acclamation as their future chief. In answer to the popular cry, Kara George stepped out of the crowd and exclaimed, 'Brothers, why do you call for me? A Knes of Servs should be mild and good; I am an angry man, unable to keep my temper. Choose some one else.'

'We want an angry man; we want a man of iron,' was the reply.

'But, Bogomi' (by God), exclaimed Kara George, 'if I order a man to do a thing and he doeth it not, I will slash off his head; I am ferocious when contradicted,' answered the hero.

A universal shout was raised, 'You are the man we want; you are our chief; our Knes;' and so Kara George was

elected the head centre or chief of the revolutionary forces. No time was given him for any great preparations, for the Turks, hearing of the rising, sent a small force to apprehend Kara George, which was warmly received and defeated by the handful of armed peasants which he had gathered round him. Other insurrectionary movements took place in various parts of Servia, especially one in the canton of Valjevo, headed by Jacob Nenadovics, whose father had been murdered by the Turks.

The news of these risings, and especially of the success of Kara George, struck a panic into the ruling race, a panic which invariably follows the rising of a servile race which has bitter memories to avenge.

‘ Vor dem freien manne erzittre nicht,
Vor dem Sklaven wenn er die Kette zerbricht.’

There was a general rush of the Turks into the fortresses, and the Servians found themselves a free people, but with a terrible invasion impending, in which no mercy would be shown to man, woman, or child.

Kara George issued his proclamations, and every priest in every village who could painfully spell out the Slavonic document was called to read it to anxious fathers and husbands, and enthusiastic youths who were bringing out their rusty arms from their hiding-places, and furbishing up old swords and pikes; while smugglers were stealing over from Austria with horse-loads of gunpowder, eagerly bought up by the excited peasantry, and doled out to all who possessed a rusty firelock. The solitudes of forests and dells rang with the hammering of smiths, while swift-footed messengers threaded the mountain paths and swam the rivers with messages from chief to chief on which hung the fate of the nation. The Turks began to treat, and offered an enormous bribe to Kara George to betray his countrymen; but in vain, their promises and threats had no effect on the excited patriots. The sword was drawn, the scabbard thrown aside, the challenge given before the world.

It would be impossible to do more within our space than give the briefest possible outline of the insurrection. On the 28th February, 1804, Kara George besieged the fortified town of Rudnik, in Central Servia, and at the same time Nenadovics,

another Servian hero, destroyed the town of Valjevo, in the north-west.

When we speak of 'sieges,' 'fortified places,' and the like, we must bear in mind that these are comparative terms, the siege of Rudnik bearing about the same proportion to the siege of Sevastopol as that city would to Coomassie. Rudnik, called a town, was after all a village. The Turks of the place had but little modern organisation, scarce any artillery, and absolutely no science; neither had the Servians. The former would dig ditches and raise breastworks, firing from these. The Servians, in much larger force, would strictly blockade the place, and harass it by frequent sharp-shooting; but owing to the scarcity of fire-arms and gunpowder, and probably sorely straightened for provisions, their progress would be slow.

This civil war, once begun, soon wrapped the country in a blaze; and what were the Servians, after all, fighting for? Their demands were officially formulated as follows:—

'That the Dahis (viz., the Moslem military aristocracy) should leave Servia, and the Government be conducted by a Pasha nominated directly by the Sultan; that all the new imposts hitherto levied by the Dahis should be abolished, and only such taxes be paid hereafter as were fixed by the Sultan's Firman of 1798; that courts of justice should be established in all cantons; that the municipalities should choose their own mayors, who should thereupon be confirmed by the Belgrade Vizier; that the Servians should have perfect liberty in building churches and monasteries; that the people should choose their own chief, through whose hands should pass all communications between the Sublime Porte and the Servian nation.'

Surely these terms were reasonable enough; but as they were proffered by armed rebels, they were not listened to. Bekir Pasha was sent from Constantinople with 6,000 men, and orders to make short work of the insurgents; but Pashas sent to put down insurrections never do make short work of them. The job is too profitable, there are contracts to be made for the supply of the force, and the Pasha is a very poor hand at his trade if he cannot make a good thing out of the contracts, and there are Christian villages here and there to fleece, and so the affair is usually a very long one.

And so it was in this case. A languid civil war, alternated by negotiations, dragged on during the year 1804, which saw the Turks well-nigh driven from Servia, and Belgrade,

with its Turkish garrison, besieged by a patriot Servian army. In 1806, while this war was lingering, a momentous event occurred, which had long been looked for and desired, viz., the declaration of war between Russia and Turkey.

The Turks were now as eager to cede the moderate demands of the Servians as the latter had been to press them; but the tables were turned, the Servians broke off all negotiations, declaring they would not even pay tribute to, nor in any way acknowledge, the Sultan.

The war now recommenced in good earnest: the Servians, no longer in want of arms and ammunition, being well supplied by Russia, contrived to raise 60,000 men. They met and defeated a large army from the West, and followed it into Bosnia, but here they received a check from 3,000 French, then in alliance with Turkey; but falling back on the Drina, they there checked their pursuers. The war continued till 1807, when peace was arranged, on the historic raft at Tilsit, between Russia and France, and consequently Turkey, the ally of the latter, was set free to quell her rebellious provinces. The peace only endured until 1809, when war again broke out between Russia and Turkey. During the following years, especially 1811 and 1812, Servia, while fighting for her independence, was torn by bitter domestic feuds. The original chief, Kara George, had been eclipsed by the equally daring but more astute Obrenovics, so that the foundations of a dynastic civil war were laid, as each hero commanded an immense following.

At the conclusion of the war between Russia and Turkey, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed in May, 1812, and in it the Servians were mentioned as follows:—

‘Though there is no doubt of the benevolent and magnanimous dispositions of the Sublime Porte with respect to Servia, a nation from old time subject to Turkey, and paying tribute to her, yet taking into consideration the participation of the Servians in the last war, it has been found needful to lay down special conditions for their security. Consequently the Sublime Porte will pledge itself to pardon the Servians and give them a general amnesty for all acts past against her.’

But the new fortresses were to be destroyed and the old ones were to be garrisoned by Turkish troops. The Sultan, however, promised to allow an independent internal adminis-

tration, and himself to fix the amount of tribute to be paid. But the times were deplorably against the Servians, for Russia was tired of the war, and thought she had done enough for her protégés, and so they found that the treaty was construed in such a way that the patriots were to submit unconditionally though they were promised clemency. They determined to continue the fight. The forces let loose upon the devoted nation were overwhelming. Valour cannot avail against overwhelming odds, and so the Servians lost battle after battle, and the Turks advanced steadily into the heart of the country, their tracks being marked by burning villages and slaughtered peasants. The panic-stricken people fled in crowds into Austria. Servia was once more conquered, and lay wounded and bleeding at the feet of the Asiatic soldiers.

The several leaders of the people were now broken fugitives gloomily brooding over their miseries in Austria. But where was Milosch Obrenovitch, the rival of Kara George? He was still in Servia. Having a wife and family, he was determined to remain and brave the anger of the victorious Turks, rather than abandon those who had every claim on his protection. Being urged to fly, he exclaimed, 'No, I will never live in a foreign land while my wife and children are being sold into slavery;' and so he nobly remained, daily expecting to be thrown into prison, or shot off hand, by the exultant conquerors. He was sent for by the Pasha. The latter, exhibiting him to his people, said, 'Look, how quiet he is; and yet how he fought! He once wounded me;' and baring his arm, he showed the cicatrice. Milosch answered, 'Thy wounded arm, O Pasha, I will turn into gold,' a figurative expression which, as was intended, excited the Pasha's avarice. He knew that Milosch was rich, and he knew, moreover, that he could be of infinite use to him in quieting the people and aiding him to fleece them; so Milosch was taken into favour, and became a sort of go-between. The Turks in their dealings with their Christian subjects have always made great use of Christian intermediaries, and most of these agents are men of a very low caste. Milosch, however, was of another sort. He was no saint, nor even a philanthropist. He made good use of his opportunities for enriching himself, but he had a fund of patriotism and an immense amount of cunning, and

so he contrived to aid his countrymen, to ward off punishments from them, to liberate captives, and yet to appear to be of immense use to the Turks. These latter treated the conquered Christians as they always had done, and inflicted on them no small amount of misery. Suleiman Pasha impaled at one time 170 men in front of the fortress of Belgrade. Moreover, he issued a strict search for arms, and numerous peasants were put to frightful tortures to make them show where they had concealed their muskets. Men were roasted over slow fires, hung up by the heels, bastinadoed, and variously tormented, to induce them to give up their weapons, but the result was insignificant.

Mean time the Turks lived in constant fear of another outbreak. Cowardice is proverbially cruel, and those who dreaded a rising were incessantly taking the best means of causing it by their brutalities. Milosch was kept as a sort of hostage in the fortress of Belgrade, and he had the daily pain of seeing what sufferings his people were undergoing. He of course was the object of intense suspicion, and was in hourly expectation of death. The Turkish suspicions were not unfounded, for the wily Servian lost no opportunity of plotting for another rising. He was only maturing his plans and waiting until the time was ripe. As he was entering the gate of the fortress, a Turkish soldier pointed to the fresh and ghastly head of a patriot placed on a pike as a warning. The Turk said, 'Your turn next;' and the hint was not lost on Milosch. He determined to put himself at the head of another rising, but how to get out of Belgrade, where he was incessantly watched?

He knew the Pasha's weakness, and framed his plans accordingly. He offered a large sum for the ransom of some Servian prisoners, and offered to pay half the money at once on condition that he was allowed to pass over to Austria to sell some pigs to make up thereby the other half. The Pasha was very reluctant to lose sight of so useful a man; but then a large sum of gold was in question, so Milosch was allowed to go, and he plunged at once into the heart of Servia.

On Palm Sunday, 1815, while Europe was absorbed in the gigantic Napoleonic contest, there was a gathering of Servians in the heart of a forest summoned mysteriously from various

parts. Each came with hearts wrung with the miseries they had witnessed or suffered, yet with an eager longing for some encouraging news; none seemed to know why or by whom they had been summoned, for messages sent to suspected patriots were necessarily clouded in mystery. While thus assembled there was a murmur heard on the outskirts of the crowd which soon swelled into a shout of exultation. Milosch Obrenovitch, then in the full maturity of manhood, suddenly appeared before them, clad in his fighting costume, fully armed, and waving aloft the flag of Servia, with the white cross conspicuous on the field. In few and burning words he again called them to arms, and offered himself as their leader. Each warrior's heart leaped with stern joy at the summons. A thousand memories of unutterable wrongs lay rankling in their breasts, and they then and there swore to death or victory. And nobly did they redeem their pledge, for they sallied out of that forest, gathering recruits as they proceeded towards the camp of Kaya Pasha, whose soldiers had been revelling in blood and pillage. Like a thunderbolt they fell on the Turkish army near Palesch, although almost hopelessly overmatched; but the energy of desperation prevailed, the Servians won the day; but so frightful was the loss, that they were dismayed by their victory.

The civil war now went on raging, but the Servians achieved substantial successes. Milosch became renowned, and was everywhere recognised as the chief of the nation, and was treated as such by the Turks in negotiations. By dint of hard fighting, astute diplomacy, and Russian diplomatic intervention, the Turks were compelled to come to terms and agree to a sort of convention, the chief points of which were that 'justice in the cities was to be dispensed by a court composed equally of Turks and Servians, and taxes were to be imposed by the Servian National Assembly and levied by Servian officers.' There was a cessation of fighting, and matters seemed tolerably settled, and there was every hope of a durable peace on a satisfactory foundation, when again the whole sky was clouded by a most untoward occurrence. The old hero, Kara George, suddenly appeared near Semendria, and claimed hospitality of Vuitza, one of the heroes of the war. Before many hours had passed a number of heroic souls had

joined him, the country was again appealed to, and the Turks still remaining were denounced and threatened with extermination. Milosch wrote to Vuitza as well as to Kara George, bitterly reproaching the former, and imploring the latter to desist from his rash enterprise. Mean time the Turks prepared to recommence the war with relentless vigour. The storm subsided in a few hours. Kara George was murdered in his bed by his host Vuitza—a most foul but useful deed.

If crimes could be judged by their results this might be pardoned, for peace ensued and Milosch was recognised as the head of the nation. Enjoying enormous power, he set himself to work to organise the country and to amass wealth for himself, in both of which tasks he was eminently successful.

We have not space to go through the weary history of menaced war, secret intrigues, both domestic and foreign, in which Serbia has been engaged from the time of the murder of Kara George, about the year 1817, till now. Suffice it to say that her independence has been growing firmer and firmer ever since Milosch was driven from the country by his discontented subjects, whom he so oppressed as to efface from their memories all gratitude for his services. His son Milan succeeded him, but died immediately, when his second son, Michael, was called to the throne, governed badly, and was himself obliged to fly the country in 1842. Then the nation called Alexander Kara Georgevitch, the son of the first Servian hero, who had been murdered as we have described. This prince commenced his reign, like the others, full of good intentions, but soon disgusted the nation, as popular kings always do, from Masaniello to Gladstone, and so Kara Georgevitch was obliged to retire in 1858. The Skouptchina, or National Assembly, now summoned old Milosch from his Austrian retirement to Belgrade. He reigned rather more than a year, and then dying, left the throne to his son Michael, a mature man nearly forty, who was once more proclaimed Prince of Serbia.

In the year 1862 Europe was startled by the telegraphic announcement that the Turks were bombarding Belgrade from the fortress. There had been no declaration of war, and no rumours of any quarrel between the two nations, so that

Europe was mystified ; but as the bombardment did not last beyond a few hours, and no war of any kind followed, the event was no sooner heard of than it was effaced from the memory of busy Europeans by other occurrences in which they were more directly interested. European diplomacy, which has a mischievous habit of building up political walls with untempered mortar, and leaving the seeds of very pretty quarrels wherever it is called in, had left Serbia practically an independent nation, but with seven fortresses, garrisoned by the Sublime Porte with Asiatic savages, in her midst, the chief and strongest of which was that of Belgrade, a masterpiece of Vauban's, which had several times changed hands between the Turks and Austrians. This unfortunate arrangement, framed to solace the *amour propre* of the Sultan, was a source of perpetual misery and discord in the country. All the malefactors who were able took refuge in the fortresses, where they purchased protection, and these strongholds became so many points of lawlessness and brigandage. The bombardment of Belgrade arose from the quarrel between a Turkish soldier and a Servian youth, who was slain by the former. The Servian police laid hold of the soldier, and he was rescued by his comrades, not without much bloodshed. The people flew to arms and blockaded the fortress, and the commandant at once bombarded the city ; but, as the bombshells had been long amongst the damp old military stores, fortunately but little damage was done. A long diplomatic struggle ensued, the English and Austrians taking the part of Turkey, while France, Russia, and Prussia supported the Servians. The result of this was that Turkey was induced to evacuate the fortresses, in other words, to consent that they should be garrisoned by the Christian soldiers of the empire, and as there are none of this religion in Turkey but the Servians, they were allowed to garrison their own fortresses.

Prince Michael bent his whole energies to giving Serbia a new and really independent life. In the Firman which established her autonomy the Servians were allowed to keep an armed force for the sake of order. This armed force had hitherto been a rude and ill-organised militia, composed of peasants in no sort of uniform, and each armed with what weapons he could procure. Their muskets were for the most

part old Austrian firelocks, the refuse of the arsenals, or old Turkish rifles with no sort of uniformity of bore or ammunition. An effort was now made to procure arms from Birmingham; but our Foreign Office, acting on the tradition of supporting 'the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire,' succeeded in defeating the purchase of an armament in this country. The Prince next tried Russia, and here he was successful in purchasing about 200,000 old muskets, which were secretly conveyed across Wallachia, the prince of that country assisting by connivance. An arsenal was next established at Kraguevatz, where first-rate rifled cannon were cast and the old muskets repaired, and, in course of time, even transformed into breech-loaders. All this was due to the energy of Prince Michael, whose policy was to place his country in such a position that she might have a voice in the councils of Europe when her own interests or even existence were at stake. A nation of a million and a half unarmed peasants might be disposed of with as little regard to their interests as if they were so many sheep, but a nation that could summon to its standard 100,000 armed men tolerably drilled and organised, with 200 rifled artillery, besides a regular standing force of 5,000, would, as the Prince judged, be listened to. All these ambitious projects were realised, and Servia was placed by the determination, self sacrifice, and energy of Prince Michael, in a better position than she had ever been since the fatal field of Kossova, in 1389.

It is not to be supposed, however, that this daring reformer prince could pursue his radical career of patriotism without raising a host of enemies, all the more dangerous that they worked in the dark. It was his regular custom to relax from his administrative labours by a daily walk in the Park of Topchidéré, a lovely spot about three miles from Belgrade. Here he was wont to throw off all restraint, and, accompanied by some of the ladies of his family and perhaps an aide-de-camp, to spend an hour or two in the glades of the forest. In the afternoon of the 10th of June, 1868, the Prince was thus engaged when he met three individuals in European costume. As the park was open to any decent citizen this caused no surprise: they saluted his Highness and passed him. No sooner was his back turned than the crack of re-

volvers told of a tragedy. The Prince fell, and the murderers rushed on him, stabbing and gashing the dying man with their knives. The two ladies, his relatives, were also attacked, one being desperately wounded, the other killed. The younger one feigned death after the first wound, and so escaped being stabbed, though she had to struggle through a long convalescence.

Luckily the veteran Minister Garashanin was within hearing, and when he had ascertained the cause of the pistol-shots he leaped on a horse and galloped into Belgrade before the conspirators in the city were quite prepared, and having alarmed the authorities and got the troops under arms and the police on the alert, the assassins and their accomplices were seized, and thus was a civil dynastic war averted, for it became evident that the movement was in favour of the deposed dynasty—the Kara Georgevitch. A long trial of the conspirators ensued, and twenty men suffered death for participation in the plot. Servia owes much to the late Colonel Blaznavatz, for mainly through his efforts the succession of young Milan, the present prince, was secured, and a regency appointed to guard him and administer the country during his minority of four years. That Servia passed through such a trial without disorder is a triumphant proof of the soundness of her institutions and of the capability of the people to govern themselves.

About eight years have elapsed since the assassination, and during that time it has been confidently anticipated that, having got rid of the Turks, the progress of the country would be rapid in the development of its resources and in general progress. Servia has not fulfilled the sanguine anticipation of her friends. She has preserved intact her privileges, protected life and property, and kept the roads clear of brigands; but her resources have been neglected, her bridges unbuilt, her roads scarcely kept in order, while no railroad has advanced beyond the stage of discussion. The reasons for this lamentable stagnation are various, some of which we have already indicated. While foreigners are exempt from the laws of the country, the Servians will naturally be shy and jealous of them; and this feeling reacts again and makes foreigners shy of the Servians, and so it is difficult to intro-

duce foreign capital into the country. The military force, too, is out of all proportion to the population, and is a heavy burden on the exchequer, but owing to the unsettled condition of the Ottoman Empire it is considered necessary, and it is not for us to gainsay the decision of the native Government.

Let us briefly inquire into the Constitution of Servia. After the Knes, or Prince, who is subject to the laws as in other European countries, the next civil authority is that of the Senate. It is composed of seventeen members named by the Prince, all of whom have attained the age of thirty-five, and are invariably chosen from amongst the public functionaries. The president and vice-president are appointed by the Prince. The pay of the former is £700 a year, of the latter £500, while the ordinary senator receives £420. These are life appointments. There is also a financial Board of Control, composed of the president and three senators.

The most ancient and important institution in Servia is that of the Skouptchina, or House of Commons. There are two Skouptchinas, the ordinary and extraordinary. The former is elected by universal manhood suffrage, and meets regularly every three years, or, if the Prince chooses, oftener. Theoretically, at all events, this House of Commons has great power, and naturally, as civilisation advances, will have more. That the members keep a sharp control over the finances is evident from the modest pay of the members of Government and the Senate. No taxes can be legally imposed without the recorded sanction of the Skouptchina, nor can any modification in the constitution, or any organic laws, be made except after a due debate and recorded consent. Every two thousand voters elect a member, who must be thirty years of age. The privileges of the members are much the same as to arrest, &c., as those of all other civilised countries, and, as in most, but not all, such countries, the members are paid.

The extraordinary Skouptchina, as the name implies, is convoked on extraordinary occasions, such as the election of a new Prince, in case the throne is declared vacant. It is four times in number larger than the ordinary Skouptchina, and differs in a most important point besides; for whereas in the ordinary Skouptchina the Prince names the president,

vice-president, and other functionaries, in this, such officers are elected by the members. Thus when the Prince becomes more and more despotic, or more and more unpalatable to his subjects, they can rise, as it were, in legitimate insurrection, and depose him, or sharply call him to order. When we reflect that the nation is armed and organised, and can send 100,000 men into the field, or even more in extremity, while the standing army, under the command of the Prince, is only about 5,000 strong, it will be seen that these Servians have strong guarantees for their national liberties. The Ministers forming the executive Government are appointed by the Prince, and are responsible to him and to the Senate. They consist of the Premier (who is also the Minister of Foreign Affairs), the Ministers of Justice, of the Home Department, of Education and Public Worship, of Finance, of War, and lastly of Public Works. The last, which ought to be the most important, is more of a sinecure than any of the others, and the first, which, considering that Serbia is a suzerain principality, under the joint guarantee of the European Powers, ought to be almost entirely a nominal post, is in point of fact the most important of all.

Serbia is divided into eighteen departments, sixty sub-departments, and a thousand and forty-nine communes. Each department is administered by a *Natchalnik*, which answers to the French préfet. When the traveller arrives at the capital of a province or department, he will notice at the end of the town or village a house somewhat larger than the rest, and if he knocks at the door it will probably be opened by the master of the house, who has hastily donned a blue uniform coat with a red collar. This is the mayor, préfet, or *Natchalnik*, and he will bid the stranger a hospitable welcome, find him a room either in his own house or somewhere else, and will protect and aid him in every way in his power. He is at the head of the police, the post, telegraph, &c. His pay is small, from £100 to £200 a year.

When we come down to the village communes we have a striking remnant of a form of government whose origin is lost in antiquity, whose forms have survived Turkish tyranny and the extinction of nationality. It is best described by a Servian writer, as follows:—

'Each Sunday all the heads of houses congregate to form a Skoupe. The assembly is held in the open air, and lasts four or five hours. In the centre sits the *kmete*, surrounded by the *startsi* (elders). Aided by these expert elders, assisted by his two attendants, and controlled by all the heads of houses, the *kmete* publicly judges the disputes of the villagers, deliberates with them all on the wants of the village, and reads the decrees of the Government, which each head of a family communicates to his household.'

The base of the commune or municipality is the family, and from this organisation has sprung an extension of the same principle peculiar to Servians, and this is the *Zadrooga*. A number of families, usually connected by blood or marriage, but not necessarily so (though in isolated agricultural communities every one is more or less connected), join themselves together into a sort of social brotherhood, headed by the oldest patriarch amongst them (*Starechina*), who can delegate his authority to the man he thinks most capable. This community lives on, I believe, strictly communistic principles, like those mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. These associations are recognised by law, and have influenced legislation. As an example of the latter, women are not fairly treated with regard to property; a woman cannot inherit land, lest on marriage she should break up the *Zadrooga*. When a man marries, his wife is brought within the pale of the community. These *Zadroogas* were of great benefit to the people during the occupation of the Turks, for a marauding band of Delhis would bully and ravage a single family, but would hesitate to maltreat a *Zadrooga*. If a travelling stranger be admitted to the hospitality of a house within the association, he will observe that the *Starechina*, or chief, will sit at table with him while all the rest of the household dutifully wait on him.

As Servia is a nation of peasant proprietors, and, generally speaking, no hired labourers are to be found, these communities are admirably organised for cultivating the ground,—they are in fact co-operative associations, but the individuals of these *Zadroogas* seldom exceed fifty of both sexes.

The tax assessors of the community are named by the *Skoupe*, an exception to most other appointments, which proceed direct from the Prince.

A certain number of country doctors are paid and appointed by Government, which carefully places them in those positions

where a doctor would not be likely to settle, and they are obliged to attend the poor gratis. Their pay is extremely small.

The country is well supplied with telegraph wires, and there is a regular post, which, however, is far from being as perfect as those organised in the Western nations.

The judicial system of the Servians is well worth the study of those learned in the law. There is an excellent popular account of it to be found in '*Les Serbes de Turquie*,' by A. Ubicini. He says, speaking of Legislation penale: '*Les peines edictées par le nouveau code penal (1860) ne gardene aucune de la rigueur parfois excessive des anciennes lois Serbes.*'

Corporal punishment was abolished in 1878. Civil degradation is a sentence regulated as to time; and if a malefactor has abused his position in any particular trade, he may be condemned to refrain from that trade in future. At Belgrade there is a Court of Cassation, composed of a president, vice-president, and fifteen judges; also a Court of Appeal, divided into two parts, one for civil cases and one for criminal. There are throughout the country eighteen county courts. The chiefs of the communes can only decide on cases up to forty shillings.

The Servians who freed themselves and have founded the present Principality were wholly uneducated, and most of their chiefs might, with Douglas, have said,—

'Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain ne'er could pen a line;'

but the want of education was keenly felt by the nation, and steps were taken to establish a system of national instruction. There are now more than 331 public educational establishments, in which are 460 masters instructing more than 16,000 pupils. These establishments may be divided into 318 primary schools, 10 secondary schools, and 3 universities. All this work has been done in the face of the most formidable difficulties, since the language of Servia is not spoken by any other civilised community, so that professors and schoolmasters were found with difficulty.

Servia is essentially a territorial democracy, a nation of

peasant proprietors, whose chief wealth lies in vast hordes of swine, fed largely on the acorns of her primeval forests. With us the word democracy is too often associated with visions of an unwashed turbulent multitude called the mob, the most depraved of our population clamouring for political changes. But there is yet another view of democracy. Supposing all men to be pretty nearly equal in social condition, how then could we obtain an aristocracy or privileged order to rule the rest? and if not obtainable, a democracy would be inevitable, but with this important difference as compared with our own: here the democracy cries loudly for change, and urges on its rulers; there the democracy is intensely conservative, and is with difficulty urged onwards by its chosen rulers. In Servia, then, you have no aristocracy and no mob, and the people get on very well without either. There is not a single large proprietor throughout the country: the peasants have divided the land amongst themselves.

Servia, having achieved a practical independence, is naturally looked up to for aid and guidance by the oppressed populations around her still groaning under that organised system of brigandage called the Turkish Government. No insurrection occurs in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or Bulgaria without a thrill of sympathy being felt throughout the country. There is just as much difference in race, language, and religion between Servia and Bosnia as between Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and no more. The two counties are divided by the river Humber; the two countries by the river Drina; so that when the rayahs of Bosnia and Herzegovina are driven to insurrection, they naturally look for aid from their free brethren. On these occasions diplomacy is stern and pressing. The Austrian Government enjoins strict neutrality; for Austria, beyond all other countries, is anxious for peace to consolidate her heterogeneous empire; the Russian Consul-General speaks with much authority, as Russia is the avowed patron of all the Slavonian races, and her advice may or may not be for peace. She works in dark and tortuous fashion, but always with supreme indifference to the sufferings or welfare of other countries. France hitherto has leaned towards a generous recognition of struggling nationalities; but now she seems to watch the policy of Germany and to

endeavour to thwart it; while England always has supported Turkey, *per fas et nefas*, shutting her ears to every cry of distress. So far Serbia has been kept neutral, as far as any overt act of the Government is concerned; but insurrections in the neighbouring provinces have always been materially aided by private enterprise from this free province, and the Government has not dared too sternly to guard the frontiers.

During the Herzegovinian insurrection Serbia has been held down, as it were, by main force by Austria and the Powers, for an avowed rising in Serbia in aid of the rebels would inevitably change a local rebellion into a European war. Austria has been in a most painful position. If she were to show a decided sympathy with the struggling Slavonians she might eventually emerge from a war with two or three million more Slavonians on her hands in addition to her own—not easily governed Croats; and the Slavonian element in her empire would then be strong enough to overpower their natural enemies, the Hungarians, to deteriorate the policy of the Government by importing into it a less civilized element, and to create new dangers of incalculable magnitude. Of late years a small but determined and energetic party has made itself heard on the Danube and filled with dismay the older and more sober statesmen. The Omladina, or Radical Republicans, aim at not nothing less than founding a large Slavonian Republic on the ruins of the Austrian and Turkish empires. With regard to the latter the philanthropist can but wish them success. Each form of Government is denounced by the partisans of the other, but all must agree that anything is better than the dismal despotism of the Turkish Empire.

If, on the other hand, Austria were to aid the Turks too openly in suppressing the Herzegovinian rebellion she would alienate and exasperate her large Slavonian population, which at critical times, notably during the Hungarian rising of 1848, has afforded her timely aid.

Although Serbia is now quiet, and has officially refused all aid to the rebels, it is by no means certain that this policy will continue during the summer of 1876, if the rising is not quelled. The enthusiasm of the people for their oppressed brethren has been at boiling point, but their military preparations have not been equal to their enthusiasm. During the

regency, while Milan was a boy, the military stores were not properly looked after, and there are more than rumours of speculation. No one knows better than the Prince the unpreparedness of his country; but under the plausible excuse of self defence those deficiencies are being rapidly made up, and during the whole ensuing winter warlike preparations will continue. If the rebels can manage to exist during the coming winter months, Europe may yet see how great a fire a little spark may kindle, and Servia may yet become a household word in Europe.

ART. V.—*The Stock Exchange and Foreign Loans.*

Report from the Select Committee on Loans to Foreign States.

Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 29, 1875.

WARNING the public against the dangers of foreign loans is a case of locking the door when the steed is stolen. The mischief has been done; the money advanced upon no, or upon very bad, security, has been lost; the unscrupulous promoters have reaped their golden harvest; and the 'eminent financiers' who have fattened on the spoils laid by a credulous public at their feet have grown to the height of their power. Was there any use, it may then be asked, for the House of Commons to appoint a committee to examine into the subject of foreign loans, with special reference to the defaulting South American republics? The limits of the inquiry were tolerably well understood at the time, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who assented to the proposal with evident reluctance, warned the public against exaggerated hopes of the results likely to be secured. No encouragement was given to the idea that the Government would sanction the employment of force to right the wrongs so eloquently expounded by Sir Henry James. In his speech proposing the appointment of a commission, the member for Taunton quoted some bellicose remarks of Lord Palmerston, that were favourable to the idea that English diplomacy might in certain circumstances enforce the contracts entered into with English subjects by foreign states. It was neces-

sary that no illusion should be permitted to exist on this point, and, after consultation with the Foreign Office, the Chancellor of the Exchequer carefully guarded against the possibility of misconception. Events since have confirmed the wisdom of the warning. The readiness with which the cry for interference with Turkey, to compel her, *vi et armis* if necessary, to continue honest, has been raised and re-echoed, proves the proneness of the public to invoke national aid in any difficulty. The influential deputation that lately waited upon Lord Derby on the question of the Turkish default went away less than half satisfied, because the utmost that could be given was the assurance that the Government would do what it could to help the bondholders by unofficial representations. The arguments of the Foreign Secretary against direct diplomatic interference with Turkish finance were irrefragable. If it were understood that the English creditor of defaulting foreign states might rely upon English arms to enforce his contract, why need he take thought regarding the security on which he lends his money? He would have the advantage, when the credit of the borrowing state was not the best, of high interest, and would be sure, if anything went wrong, that English power would be employed to set him right. He would thus be put in a better position than the creditors of England herself, who must be satisfied with three per cent. When the foreign loans which the Commission inquired about were contracted, there was no understanding that, in case of default, the Government would go to the rescue of the creditors; for in that event the loans would have been obtained on easier terms. Where would be the justice of suddenly altering the conditions of the contract by intruding the force of British diplomacy upon the field? How could it be right to impose burdens on the nation to save people from the pecuniary loss which is the result of their own imprudence and greed of high interest? Would it be at all fair to make all classes of the community pay to help those people who, with their eyes open, risked their money because the profit they were promised was far above what usually attends a safe investment?

Recent events have done much to enlighten the public mind on these points. The view to which Lord Derby gave ex-

pression has been generally accepted. It may be regretted that prominent statesmen, full of a generous faith in the resources of Turkey, should have used words that tempted investors to trust their money to the Porte; but that circumstance cannot, after all the changes of the past twenty years, be a relevant argument for intervention to compel the Sultan to fulfil his engagements. At the time the Foreign Loans Commission was appointed only very sanguine creditors fancied the result would be intervention by the Government. What good, then, could be done by inquiry, if there were to be no national protest against the culpable default of states like Paraguay and Honduras, and if nothing was to be done to enforce the contracts into which they entered? The inquiry was limited to 'the circumstances attending the making of contracts for loans with certain foreign states, and also the causes which have led to the non-payment of the principal moneys and interest due in respect of such loans.' The 'certain foreign states' referred to were Honduras, Paraguay, Costa Rica, and Santo Domingo, which are indebted in all between eleven and twelve millions sterling. The selection of defaulting states was in some measure capricious, for other states have been equally guilty or similarly unfortunate. We do not refer to Turkey—the most gigantic instance of national repudiation on record—whose default is subsequent to the date of the Commission's Report. There is Spain, however, which long since exhausted every claim to forbearance. Greece has not been guiltless in the years that are gone, and Mexico has complacently laughed her creditors to scorn, seemingly resolved to make no effort to bring about an arrangement.

The inquiry moved for by Sir Henry James was confined to the most recent instances of financial dishonesty, for it did not extend farther back than to the year 1867, the date of issue of the first Honduras loan. The four South American republics were in some respects in worse case than even Spain, for there is no chance of their ever being able, even if they were willing, to pay their debts. The money of their English creditors is almost as hopelessly lost as if it had been cast into the sea. As foreign states and their agents cannot be sued in the English law courts, restitution was an idle dream,

and the only good that could be looked for from inquiry, was to warn the English public against similar cunningly concocted schemes in future. The exposure ought to have that effect. The moral results of the Committee must be considerable upon our commercial and financial transactions. The public have been put on their guard regarding the character of the people with whom they had to deal in their counting-houses and places of business. In addressing the Anchor meeting at Bristol, in November last, Mr. Morley, the senior member for that city, said 'there were a few men in the city of London who had feathered their nest by the grossest imposition, and it was time that a warning voice should be uttered to the people, that they should not depend upon the dictum of other persons, but upon their own careful, and, if he might say so, inquisitorial inspection.' The warning voice will no doubt prove effective for a time, but we cannot rely upon it being sufficient for ever. The schemes by which wily and unscrupulous financiers extract money from the pockets of the public vary. When one mode is discredited another is adopted. For the moment there is universal distrust of foreign states as borrowers, except of those occupying the first rank. For the present, and for some little time to come, therefore, there is little danger of English investors handing over their money, at however high interest, to bankrupt South American Republics and decrepit Eastern Empires. The fit of scepticism has succeeded to the simple faith which implicitly believed in every security that was backed by the name of a government. The prevalent distrust has been intensified by the Commissioners' inquiry and report, and the temporary reaction will probably be excessive, involving perfectly solvent states in the same discredit as those of doubtful position and reputation. When, however, the present fit has passed away, and we have again entered smooth financial waters, the public will be in danger of being once more misled by unscrupulous financiers and cunning promoters. There is no security against this result except in a higher tone of financial morality, and in the subsidence of the speculative mania which has long had possession of all classes of the public. We have not much confidence in the power, even were we surer than we are of the willingness, of the Stock Exchange Committee to set bounds

to the speculative fever ; and still less ground is there for the hope that legislation—which can never be framed so as to defy evasion—will protect the public from the financial sharks that prey on them. Each separate speculative fit as it is passing away leaves similar warnings to those repeated by the Foreign Loans Commissioners ; but each new attack of the malady occurs under different circumstances, and hope springs eternal in the speculator's breast. When the present depression in business has been succeeded, as in the natural course of things it will be, by a fresh revival of trade, new baits will be dangled by means of fresh prospectuses and companies, and the silly trout will rise to the bait, as before. Unless the speculative mania has been mined at the root, unless the standard of private and commercial morality is raised, we shall have a few years hence a repetition of the old story, which, from the period of the Darien scheme to those of the foreign loans of to-day, has been told repeatedly in vain to a credulous public. The Stock Exchange Committee may apply palliatives ; the House of Commons may second their efforts by legislation ; but if the gambling propensity continues to gain strength, nothing will save the public from being cheated afresh.

Do we then regard the disclosures of the Foreign Loans Commission as useless ? By no means. Their exposure of the *modus operandi* of the promoters of foreign loans will for the moment impress a much-needed lesson of prudence on the public mind. The amazing readiness with which investors surrendered their money to the agents in the most worthless schemes is not likely to be forgotten. The spectacle of impecunious foreign states, able to count upon scarcely a few thousand pounds of revenue, becoming debtors for millions, supplied from the hard earnings and savings of British men and women, must be productive of caution. It is desirable that the real nature and origin of these nefarious schemes should be proclaimed with trumpet-tongue in every British household. We share to the full the conviction borne in upon the Committee by their investigations, that the best security against the recurrence of the evils they have described is to be found in the enlightenment of the public as to their true character, rather than in legislative enactments. We

share the hope of the Committee that the history of the foreign loans embodied in their report will have this effect, and will render it more difficult for unscrupulous persons to carry out schemes like those which have ended in such great discredit and disaster. Although we are not confident that any warnings which are only addressed to the prudential instincts of the British public will prevent the success of similar enterprises in the future so long as the gambling impulse is nursed and fostered, the warnings will not be wholly worthless if they apply even a temporary check to that propensity. The more it is held in check, if only by prudence, the greater the chance of the higher voice of principle being listened to in the long run. Therefore we desire, by giving further publicity to the manner in which the public have been victimised, to aid in the accomplishment of the work of the Committee. It is necessary to explain, first of all, the conditions under which alone it was possible for the promoters and financiers concerned in floating foreign loans to achieve success. We shall thereby bring into more distinct relief what, without doubt, is the real root of the evil. In order that there may be victims, there must be dupes. The efforts of the victimisers would be futile if they did not sow their seed in soil prepared for it.

Among the witnesses examined before the Commission was Mr. C. E. Lewis, the member for Londonderry, who last session brought in a Bill for the registration of foreign loans, and who has given information regarding the tendency of the public to speculative business in the Stock Exchange of London. Mr. Lewis, speaking from an experience of many years of brokers and dealers, had no hesitation, from what he knew, in saying that the public have made the Stock Exchange a vast gambling-house, especially in regard to transactions in unallotted stocks and shares.

‘I can only say,’ explained Mr. Lewis, ‘that if the Committee had seen the names and accounts of women, ladies of title, men of all classes and ranks of life, in stockbrokers’ books, they would be perfectly astounded; and it is impossible to believe what I know as to the wide-spread character of the gambling upon the Stock Exchange. The public, not the dealers, because the stockbroker does not know when an account is opened whether it is to be a speculative account or not, but the public of all classes and of both sexes have made the Stock Exchange a great gambling-house, and especially those gambling transactions take place in unallotted stock.’

As the Legislature, by prohibiting the publication of betting advertisements, has succeeded in driving them out of the United Kingdom, the member for Londonderry suggested the application of a similar rule to certain classes of Stock Exchange transactions.

‘The canker has eaten so deeply into society that nothing but a prohibition (so far as you can carry out that prohibition safely with reference to the requirements of business) of all dealings in unallotted stock and shares, and the prohibition of all advertisements and statements in newspapers with reference to these dealings themselves, will have any effect whatever in checking the evil. It may be a strong remedy to apply; it was also a strong remedy to apply to prevent betting advertisements; but it has had its effect.’

As no rosewater methods would cure the disease, it was necessary, Mr. Lewis averred, to strike a blow at the fictitious dealing which was the root of the evil, ‘the publication of the ‘absurd and false prices which delude a clergyman to invest his ‘money, or a widow her savings,’ in stock or shares forced up by financial combinations to prices extravagantly in excess of their intrinsic value. The ‘Times’ newspaper, it may be explained, acts upon the salutary rule of never quoting the price of an unallotted share of a joint-stock company. It refrains from doing so in the public interest, and Mr. Lewis was of opinion that the rule of self-abnegation voluntarily imposed by the ‘Times’ in reference to unallotted shares should be extended to unallotted stocks, and should be made compulsory on the whole press. There are practical difficulties however in the way of making these dealings illegal, and the member for Londonderry did not succeed in convincing the Committee that his suggestion was feasible. The rule of the Stock Exchange is that, unless upon clear proof of fraud, no bargain must be voided. The Committee of the Exchange have power to enforce this rule, because they may deprive a broker of his means of livelihood; and Mr. de Zoete, the chairman of the Committee, in the course of his examination, stated that if a broker refused to fulfil his bargain or contract, though it were illegal, he would be expelled the House. Illegal bargains which are not fraudulent are held to be more binding than many legal ones, since they become debts of honour. If, then, the Legislature were to declare bargains made in

shares before allotment illegal, they would not on that account be allowed to be repudiated by the brokers who were parties to them. Such repudiation would draw down upon the broker the penalty of expulsion from the Stock Exchange ; that is to say, he would be punished by professional ruin. That being so, the Commission were unable to suggest any legal or legislative remedy of the evils on which Mr. Lewis dwelt. The only sure remedy is the force of public opinion, and a general diminution of the passion for gambling ; and unhappily there is no doubt the member for Londonderry was correct when he said the spirit of gambling had of late years very much increased among the English people. This conclusion is confirmed by the vast increase that has been observed in betting on sporting events ; and it is the same impulse which, applied to finance, has converted the Stock Exchange into an immense gambling hall, by means of speculative accounts open for the fall or rise in the prices of stock and shares and dealings in foreign loans. A stock which is without intrinsic value may nevertheless be used to supply gambling counters to almost any extent. People have, for instance, been dealing in Mexicans for years, though they are virtually without any real value ; and they will go on dealing with them. ‘ If they had nothing else to deal with,’ said Mr. Lewis, ‘ they would deal with pens. What alone is wanted is the semblance or representation of an article in which they may bet one against another, perhaps for half-a-crown per cent. “ I bet with you that Mexican stock to-morrow will be half-a-crown per cent. more than it is ; ” that is all it means.’ In the case of Mexicans, allotted stock is the counter, but it has become worthless, and the alterations of price are arbitrary as representing no change in intrinsic value, for there is none. Staking money on the chance of such an alteration taking place is therefore pure and undiluted gambling ; for it is simply a bet that such a thing, about which nobody has any data for forming a judgment, will turn out to be so-and-so at such a time.

For a fuller explanation of the plan and functions of the Stock Exchange Committee — the only body that exercises authority or control in these matters—we turn to the evidence of its Chairman, Mr. de Zoete, who was twice before the

Commission. On the second occasion he attended to explain the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of the committee, which, from being a private body for the regulation of internal business, has come to be recognised by the courts of law as holding a public and quasi-judicial position. As now constituted, the committee started in 1802, and at first confined itself to the regulation of business limited entirely to English stocks. At that period there were no dealings in foreign stocks, and business was carried on under Sir John Barnard's Act, which declared transactions in consols for time illegal. The first foreign loan (a Russian one) was in 1822; but it was not until after the great expansion of business that took place in consequence of the construction of railways in this country, and again subsequently on the passing of the Limited Liability Act, that business assumed its present dimensions.

'By degrees,' said Mr. de Zoete, 'many transactions in foreign loans and in shares became a question of litigation in the courts as to what was the nature of these contracts; and the courts held that contracts in foreign loans were to be treated as contracts in any other commodities. There arose a distinction consequently between contracts in consols and contracts in foreign stocks and in shares, and that anomaly led to the repeal of Sir John Barnard's Act, since which all stocks and transactions have been on the same footing. The courts of law have recognised the rules and usages of the Stock Exchange as good and reasonable, and the result has been that we have been brought in closer contact, every day of late years, with the public; so that, instead of being a private body, we have really become a sort of public tribunal for the regulation of matters of this kind.'

The Stock Exchange is the medium for bringing together those who have money to lend and those who wish to borrow; and to the latter it gives important facilities, by admitting loans that are not objectionable on the face of them to a quotation in the official lists and to a settlement, without which, transactions in the loan by brokers and dealers would be impossible. Those who represent the government of a state, wishing to raise money in England, apply to the Stock Exchange Committee, who give notice of the application for a quotation and settlement, and it is competent for any one who sees objections to granting the application to lay them before the committee. The committee professedly act in the interest of the general public, and have been known to suspend quo-

tation or defer it until objections raised have been removed. Foreign states which resort to the London market to raise money have—Mr. de Zoete claims—an interest in being straightforward in their representations; but he admits that no examination is made into their capabilities and resources. They supply no return of their revenues, or any balance-sheets; but Mr. de Zoete assured the Commission there have been no instances of misrepresentations on the part either of foreign states or their agents, the contractors. The irregularities, however, to which he referred, were only such as would be patent on the face of the proceedings: that is, which could be discovered from the papers handed in, and they must be simple contractors indeed who allow anything of that sort. When there is nothing irregular in these papers, a quotation and settlement are granted as a matter of course. There is never any difficulty experienced in finding a contractor who will certify whatever may be required. If it is necessary to affirm that a certain amount of the loan has been *bond fide* applied for and taken up by the public, the certificate is at once forthcoming, although the whole amount may have been taken up by private arrangement, and the public have had nothing to do with the transaction. Such a system is morally indefensible; but when we inquire how it is to be amended, we are faced by the difficulties to which we have already adverted. Mr. de Zoete plainly states that the Stock Exchange regulates its business in defiance of Acts of Parliament. Sir John Barnard's Act, by which time bargains—or buying and selling one day with the view of selling or buying at a future day, and so making money by the 'differences' of price in the interval—were rendered illegal, was for many years inoperative; and it was the same with Mr. Leeman's Act, making bargains in bank shares illegal unless the numbers of the shares were supplied when a sale took place. This Act was found to interfere with the ordinary business of the country, and therefore it has become a dead letter. The fundamental rule of the Stock Exchange, which no Act of Parliament is allowed to override, is to uphold the 'indefeasibility' of all bargains. 'We disregarded for years and years Sir John Barnard's Act,' said Mr. de Zoete, 'and we are now disregarding Mr. Leeman's Act, because it will not work, and we

'consider that anything which interferes with the integrity of a bargain must be mischievous ; it must limit the freedom of dealing, the freedom of the market, and so be to the detriment of the public generally ;' besides giving rise to evasions. The statement was repeated over and over again that it is 'the fundamental policy of the Stock Exchange that all bargains are indefeasible in themselves ;' and that so long as there is nothing fraudulent or immoral, the interference of the Legislature with matters of contract must be purely mischievous. 'There is not a member of the Stock Exchange who would dare to stand on the boards of the Stock Exchange if he would not fulfil that contract which sets at defiance an Act of Parliament ; he would be obliged to walk out ; he would be expelled, simply because it would be dishonourable,' were the bargain made illegal by a dozen Acts of Parliament. Speculative or time bargains are declared by Mr. de Zoete to be essential, as it would be impossible to carry on the business of the country unless persons were permitted to buy what they were not prepared to take at that particular moment, or might sell what they were not then prepared to deliver. 'If you destroy the time market,' he said, in answer to Mr. Watkin Williams, 'you destroy the market altogether. The fact is that the time market in consols, and in everything else, is the very engine by which all the transactions of the Stock Exchange are carried out in the best and readiest way. It is in consequence of the time market, and the facilities given by it, that the investors or sellers always find a ready market at the instant.'

We have gone thus into detail regarding the practice of the Stock Exchange in the transaction of business, in order that the way in which foreign loans can be floated may be the more readily understood, and that it may be seen how difficult, if not impossible, it must be to guard by legislative enactments against the operations of those who, through them, prey upon the public. The conclusion of the Commission is to the same effect, for they report against the practicability of Mr. Lewis's suggestion to prohibit dealings in foreign loans before allotment.

Although it may not be possible to prohibit dealings in unallotted stocks, there is no reason why it should not be

made obligatory on the Stock Exchange Committee to insist upon a statutory declaration (at intervals) of the amount of stock that remains unallotted of any loan not fully issued. Under the present system the full amount of the loan is quoted in the official list as if it had been all subscribed for, and the public are deluded into the belief that the whole amount has been placed.

We now come to explain—and it must be briefly—the *modus operandi* by which impecunious states, like Honduras, Paraguay, Santo Domingo, and Costa Rica have been able to extract money from English investors without security for the payment of principal or interest, and with the moral certainty that neither the one nor the other would be paid. The case of the Honduras Loans—there were three of them—is specially instructive, because of the poverty of the borrowing state, and the outrageous character of the schemes for which some of the money was asked—such as the wild proposal to construct a ship railway—as well as from the fact that Honduras was an old debtor, who had long been in default at the time it came into the English market to borrow more. So long ago as 1825, a loan was negotiated in London by the Federal States of Central America for £168,000, bearing interest at six per cent. When the Federation was dissolved in 1827, two-twelfths, or £27,200, were apportioned to Honduras, and £18,500 to Costa Rica, as their respective shares, the remainder being taken by Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Salvador. No principal or interest was paid by Honduras in respect of its share, which in 1867 amounted, with accumulated interest, to £90,075. There were other debts due by Honduras, which brought up the total to £120,451; and in security for an advance of £7,300 by Judah Hart and Co., merchants, London, the revenues of the country were hypothecated to that firm. Before more money could be asked for in 1867, it was felt to be only decent to clear off the old debt, and the £90,075 was finally compromised on arrangement for a payment of £55,000 in bonds, the interest being reduced from six to five per cent. The amount of interest on the original debt, due annually, was only £1,632; but for forty years the republic had been unable to pay, either in whole or in part.

Undaunted by these facts, the representatives of the Hon-

duras Government in Paris and London—M. Victor Herran and Don Carlos Gutierrez—entered, on the 25th of October, 1867, into a written agreement with Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt for the simultaneous issue in the two capitals of a loan of one million sterling, or thirty-six times the amount of the old debt, of which the Republic had been unable to pay either principal or interest. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt were the contractors, and the Government agreed to pay £140,000 annually, for fifteen years, by which time the whole would be paid off. In security for the annual payment, there was a special hypothecation of the revenues of a railway—not yet constructed—and a first mortgage on the domains and forests of the state, the proceeds of which were to be consigned to Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, who were to apply them in payment of interest and sinking fund. The prospectus was issued early in November, 1867, and according to it the issue price was to be £80 per cent.; and after allowing for deductions for interest on the instalments paid—to be completed by 1st April, 1869—the £100 bond, issued at £80, would yield £73 11s. 10½d., or the loan of £1,000,000 would give in all £735,937. The loan was to be paid off at par by means of a sinking fund of £3 per cent. per annum. The immediate purpose of the loan was to obtain money to construct an inter-oceanic line of railway from Puerto Caballos, on the Atlantic, to the Bay of Fonseca, on the Pacific. On the 5th December, 1867, Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt put in the necessary certificate to obtain a quotation, in which they certified that £561,100 of the Honduras Railway Loan had been raised in England, and that instalments equal to £74,782 3s. 1d. had been paid to date. The remainder, being appropriated to the Continent, was said to be represented by French scrip. Will it be credited that at the time of this statement, according to the Honduras Legation itself, the loan was such a failure, that ‘there were hardly any other subscriptions than one of £10,000 by the firm of Bischoffsheim,’ the contractors? On or before 30th June, 1868, out of the million sterling which was the nominal amount of the loan, £951,660 had come into the possession of the representatives of the Honduras Government, so that the whole amount taken by the public was £48,340, nominal value. All the remainder had, in conse-

quence of non-allotment or by re-purchase, been taken by the Government itself. The loan, in fact, was regarded by the public—as Don Carlos Gutierrez acknowledged—‘with perfect indifference and with profound contempt.’

No one will question that the public instinct was in this case right, but the contractors were more wary than the public. The tactics of the promoters underwent a change. Having failed in the first effort to float the loan, a new plan was tried. A deed was executed on 30th June, 1868, to which M. Herran, Don Carlos Gutierrez, Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, Mr. Charles Lefevre, Mr. Cotterill, and Mr. Robinson were parties, under which Mr. C. Lefevre undertook to place the whole bonds, representing £951,660, by the end of 1869. Mr. Lefevre promised to pay the Honduras Government £68 12s. for each of the bonds, in respect of which £73 11s. 10½d. would have been received from the public in terms of the prospectus. Don Carlos Gutierrez and others, trustees for the railway, were to receive in all £500,000; and £82,000, or 12 per cent., were to go to Messrs. Bischoffsheim and Goldschmidt, for commission; and £100,000, or 14½ per cent., to Don Carlos Gutierrez and Charles Lefevre. Bonds to the nominal amount of £175,700 only could be disposed of, and a new agreement became necessary, under which the remainder of the bonds were sold to Mr. Lefevre. A Mr. Richard Evans now appears on the scene, and we owe to him the description of the means by which Mr. Lefevre managed to dispose of the bonds to the public. Brokers were engaged to ‘direct the attention of their friends to the security,’ and the broker would offer to purchase bonds from Evans; and if it were for a large amount, ‘Lefevre would be willing to sell ‘it at much below the market price.’ Since the inevitable effect of selling large quantities of any stock is to run down the price, it was arranged to make purchases to keep up the price. A Mr. James Barclay was employed to buy the stock when the market was flat.

‘First,’ said Mr. Barclay, ‘the jobber would come to me and say that there were lots of sellers about, and I reported that the first time Mr. Evans came to my office, and asked what was going on; and Mr. Evans would go with the information to Mr. Lefevre, and come back with the order, “Take so much stock,” which I bought on commission. At the

settlement, if there were a debtor balance to Mr. Lefevre, he would take the stock and pay for it.'

By these devices £631,000 of the stock of the Honduras Loan were sold to the public between 30th July, 1868, and 21st June, 1870, the quoted price being maintained above £80. In November, 1868, it was £94, and in June, 1870, it was £88. After 1st July, 1872, the Honduras Government ceased to make any payments in respect of either interest or sinking fund; and the bonds, which were cunningly foisted on the public by Mr. Lefevre and his confederates, being no longer supported by fictitious dealings, and being intrinsically worthless, have ceased to represent any real value. They are still quoted in the Stock Exchange list, but there are scarcely any dealings in them; and they stand at £2 or £3 instead of £80, at which they were issued, or £94, to which Mr. Lefevre drove them up for the purpose of deceiving the public, and to induce purchases.

A similar process was tried to float the other two loans; and substantially, though with incidental variations, it was the same with the Paraguay, San Domingo, and Costa Rica loans. In all cases the promoters, who acted the part of go-betweens in reference to the state issuing the loan, and the public who were asked to take it up were altogether disregarding of the resources of the borrowing state. With one unimportant exception, there is no instance which has come before the Committee in which the borrowing Government has repaid any portion of its indebtedness in respect of these loans, except from the proceeds of the loans themselves. A cunningly-worded prospectus was in every instance so drawn as to mislead the investing public, who were tempted to invest by enticing promises of the great pecuniary advantages that would result from dealing in the loan. The contracting state was represented to be possessed of abundant resources, which rendered both principal and interest secure, while the special hypothecation of the revenues for the service of the debt made the creditors feel satisfied. Chief among the 'flagrantly deceptive means' adopted to induce the public to advance money, were 'dealings in the stock by the contractors for the loan before its allotment to the public.' The contractor, operating through a

number of dealers and brokers, creates a purely fictitious market by dealings that drive up the price, and the public are deceived into the belief that the enhanced price represents the actual value of the stock. Seeing it going up, they expect it will go still higher, and make applications for allotments, in the hope of securing a good investment, or afterwards realising a profit. So long as the contractors have stock to sell they keep up the price in their own interest, and when they cease to support the market by fictitious dealing, the price goes down with a run, and the public are left to bear the loss on their depreciated securities that are intrinsically worthless. The suggestion to render dealings in unallotted stock illegal is natural; but the prohibition would be evaded, and we fear must prove practically useless. It is doubtful if any other means can be devised of guarding against the evils due to speculative dealings. It is very uncertain if legislative interference with the regulations of the Stock Exchange would do good. The creation of merely legal offences that bear no moral stigma might only open the way to other irregularities of a worse type. What ought to be rather aimed at is to bring to bear upon the Stock Exchange itself such a public opinion that the deeds and devices by which 'eminent financiers' are able to rob the public for their own benefit—for the borrowing state has often received less of the proceeds of the loan than the contractors and promoters—may be stamped with infamy. It is so far satisfactory that the promoters who are pilloried in the Report of the Foreign Loans Commission are not Englishmen, but foreigners, mostly German-Jew adventurers, to whom the evil reputation of our Stock Exchange is largely due. The exposure has already made London too hot to hold some of them, and ere long we trust our Exchange and the City will be wholly purged of the evil leaven. These financing speculators are the natural enemies of the public, for they make their living by preying upon their fellows. They exist on the weakness and credulity of their dupes, by exciting their cupidity by false promises in brilliant prospectuses. The warnings and exposures of their doings have been so numerous however of late, that there is some reason to hope they may find their occupation is gone.

The more recent history of foreign loans is a disastrous

one, even worse than the Committee's Report indicates. Since its issue we have seen Turkey by an arbitrary decree reduce the interest on her debt by a half—a measure of pure confiscation, because adopted without consultation with her creditors. The depreciation of Turkish bonds which followed has mulcted the bondholders far more heavily than the partial loss of their interest. All confidence in the good faith of the Porte is gone, and the financial has precipitated a political crisis, which bids fair to seal the doom of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. A variety of schemes have been suggested by which the interests of Turkish bondholders may be protected, and it is possible that those who hold on will not ultimately be losers. Any partition of the Turkish Empire by which the independence of its component parts will be secured under the protection of the Great Powers must be accompanied by an apportionment of the debt among the various states erected on the ruins of the empire. This however is still a remote prospect. What is now patent is the fact that the Porte has reaped all the discredit without any of the advantages of repudiation. It has acted with the precipitation and recklessness of a barbarous power, and it will be a just retribution if its financial default brings its political overthrow. The case of Peru is not much better than that of Turkey, though there is hope the worst may be staved off. The Peruvian Government empowered a commission to sign a treaty or contract for arranging the service of its debt; and, after it had been signed, revoked. The bad faith in this case is quite as manifest as with the Porte. According to a table compiled by the City editor of the 'Times,' the depreciation of foreign loans during the last four years reaches the enormous total of seventy-seven millions sterling, or nearly forty-nine per cent. of the total, as compared with the price of issue. Of these seventy-seven millions, the editor estimates that sixty have probably come directly out of the pockets of the public, and the rest indirectly. The only consolation is that the game seems nearly played out. Unfortunately it is not only by foreign loans that the English people have been victimised. There have been numerous other schemes of eminent financiers and shifty promoters which stand on the same moral level with the Honduras Loan. Not to speak of the Erie Railway, the bulk of whose

shares and bonds are held by English men and women, we have had such swindles as the Emma Mine and the Canadian Oil Wells. The greed for exorbitant profits—the speculative propensity—is at the bottom of the success of all these gigantic impositions. Last in date, but happily least in success, comes the Co-operative Credit Bank, appealing to the ‘industrial classes,’ and promising 18 per cent. interest on deposits, and a share in profits up to 30 per cent., by means of the most risky speculative transactions, such as ‘operations ‘in shares and stocks.’ This scheme has been exposed in time, and the designs of the promoters have been baulked. The ‘Times,’ too, is very full of virtuous indignation just now (perhaps it is ‘righteous over much’), but it would have been more to its credit had it warned the public at first, when it knew how and by whom these financial schemes were being floated.

But all these things demonstrate the existence of a deep-rooted disease which has eaten like a canker into the heart of society, and whose virus has infected all classes and both sexes of our population. It is the eager haste to be rich, and the preference of speculative ventures to the slow processes of industry and economy, which alone renders possible the success of deceitful foreign loans and gigantic schemes of railway and mining imposture. Blame the active agents in the several swindles as we may, their operations could never have succeeded unless the moral fibre of the public had been deteriorated by the predominance of the spirit of gambling, and the only certain cure of the evil is the extirpation or proper regulation of the speculative propensity. We trust the press will succeed in stamping out the insidious proposal of a Night Exchange for the West End of London. It would vastly intensify the mischief; and with the knowledge we have of the scandalous results of nocturnal gambling of the same sort in Paris and New York, we protest against the scheme in the interests of public morality.

ART. VI.—*Disestablishment in New England.*

PERHAPS no part of the history of man more requires for its faithful comprehension the application of the rule, 'Put yourself in his place,' than the early history of New England, or has suffered more of misconception for the want of that application. Had it, like Canada, remained to this day a dependency of the mother country, many things would have appeared, and would have been, perfectly natural, which in the light of actual political and social changes seem to require explanation.

First of all, it should never be forgotten that the founders of New England were Englishmen of the early part of the seventeenth century. As such, while exceptional in those respects which led to their emigration, they were still strongly marked by the peculiarities of their age and country. They had no ambition to found a new nation. It was a great cross to them to be driven to that necessity. Nothing could have pleased them better than to have seen King James's policy so far modified as to have made it possible for them to stay at home with a good conscience. They sincerely believed that, in the main, the government was right in its fundamental principles, only mistaken in its application of them; right in rigidly ruling with reference to spiritual things, wrong only in the data by which that rule was determined; right in compelling men as to their Church polity, wrong only as to the kind of polity which was the object of such compulsion. It would be the height of absurdity, therefore, to expect that when landed, after a voyage of three thousand miles, in the North American wilderness, such Englishmen should launch themselves at once into the middle of the nineteenth century. Clearly the only course natural to them was—*mutatis mutandis*—to reproduce as well as they could on the western side of the Atlantic the mother country, as they thought she ought to be, and as—if they had had the power—they would have made her to be, at home. Those who came the nearest to being exceptional to this were the Plymouth men. They had tarried long enough on the continent to have become in some

things modified by its influences; while the very character of their separatism, intensified by the malignant persecutions to which they had been subjected, had pushed them to the forefront of those thinkers of their time whose faces looked toward the better day of civil and religious freedom that was dawning.

The fact that the settlement of New England had a distinctively religious intent, which found recognition in the earlier charters,* is one important to be remembered in this connection; inasmuch as such an intent would, on the one hand, make probable and justify a closeness of supervision by the new colonies as to the quality of the religion which might seek development in them, which would scarcely be natural in settlements looking purely towards commercial or political ends; while, on the other, it would give fair warning in advance to all intending emigrants that they must expect to find some special stringency guarding that department of the colonial administration, which, if it threatened to be distasteful, could most wisely be avoided by going elsewhere.

It is significant that the Articles of Confederation by which, early in 1643, the four colonies of New Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Newhaven became joined as *The United Colonies of New England*, lay down, as the fundamental article of union, the following:—‘Whereas wee all came into ‘these parts of America with one and the same end and ayme, ‘namely, to advaunce the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ,

* ‘In the hope thereby to advance the in Largement of Christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty, . . . which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such sauages as remaine wandering in Desolacion and distress to civil societie and Christian Religion. . . . And, lastly, because the principall effect which we can desire or expect of this action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the people in those Parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which Respect, wee would be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that way suspected to affect the Superstition of the Church of Rome; Wee do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass, in any Voyage from time to time to be made into the said Countrey, but such as shall first have taken the Oathe of Supremacy,’ &c.—‘The Great Patent of New England’ (Roll 2231, Record Office).

‘May win and invite the Natives of the Countrey to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith; which, in our Royal Intentions, and the Adventurers’ free profession, is the only and principal end of this Plantation,’ &c.—‘Charter of Connecticut’ (Hazard, ii. 602).

'and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospell in puritie with 'peace,' &c.*

It seems quite a matter of course that such men, so situated, should proceed to legislate religion into their State. It had been the way of their fathers. It was the way of their brethren at home, only the religion was not to their taste. It was contemplated in their own organic law. With the light they had, it was not merely a just and right procedure, but it appeared to be the only alternative to an intolerable anarchy; while the Scripture—upon the close interpretation of which they had been thrown by all their reasonings about Church polity—seemed to command them to seek first 'the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' with the promise that all needful secular prosperity should 'be added' unto them.

The Plymouth Colony began as a voluntary association subject to the will of its majority, as applied to each individual case when it arose. and not to a code of laws. It might be safe to say that, in the first decade of its struggle for life, its use of the enacting power was scarcely more or other than if its members had been living still in Leyden under purely Church rule. All had not indeed been members of that Church, nor were all members of any Church; yet the prominent men were such, and the regnant influences were in keeping with that fact. All the legislative acts of this colony, of which we have any knowledge during its first twelve years, could easily be printed in legible type upon a single octavo page. No provision was made therein for the support of the gospel, because the maintenance of the ministry was quietly assured in the affection of the colonists, without the intervention of law. Such a people, of simple manners, rigid principles, and warm-hearted piety, living mainly in each other's eye, and under the close observation of their venerated elder, might be expected to maintain, for a time at least, essential integrity of conduct, without resorting to much help from the

* 'Plymouth Colony Records,' ix. 3. See also in this connection the remarkable paper entitled, 'Reasons to be considered for Justifieinge the Undertakers of the Intended Plantation in New England.'—Hutchinson's 'Original Papers,' &c. 27; but in its best form in R. C. Winthrop's 'Life of John Winthrop,' i. 309.

secular arm. But as their clearings were pushed into the wilderness, as trade and commerce began to offer at once opportunity and temptation, and as strangers, who lacked sympathy with their central religious idea, and in whose eyes gain outranked godliness, began to come in among them, it became necessary to agree upon the fundamentals of civil power, to define the relations of magistrates and people, and to establish suitable laws upon some just foundation. Chiefly—because to settle this was to determine all—it was needful to designate the qualifications of the freeman having the right to voting citizenship. The Old Colony was not hasty in her action on this subject. The *Mayflower* compact of the 11-21 Nov., 1620, had inaugurated an infant State, and had made its signers members of the same. Naturally here was the point of departure. Until 1656 they seem to have been satisfied with admitting by vote such individual applicants as they thought would be suitable and useful, without enacting any general law whatever as to qualifications. Then they ordered that it should be essential to membership of the State that a candidate be propounded by the deputy of the town where he lived, after having been approved by his fellow-townsmen.* In 1658 it was decreed that candidates should be propounded during the space of a year, from one June Court to another, before reception.† In 1671 a further step was taken, and it was enacted that besides being propounded for the space of a twelvemonth, a candidate must produce the testimony of his neighbours that he was ‘of sober and peaceable conversation, *Orthodox in the Fundamentals of Religion*, and ‘such as have also twenty pounds rateable estate, at the least, ‘in the Government.’‡ The scope of the clause which we have here italicised would seem to be determined by the phraseology of a law of 1658, which forbids ‘manifest opposers of the true ‘worship of God’ § the privilege of being freemen; and by a further clause in the law of 1671, which provides that ‘apostates from the fundamentals of religion’ || may be disfranchised; that is, it was not required by the Plymouth men that a colonist should join one of their Churches in order to ac-

* ‘Plym. Col. Rec.’ iii. 101.

† Ibid. xi. 79.

‡ Brigham’s ‘Compact, Charter, and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth,’ &c., 253.

§ Ibid. 113.

|| Ibid. 258

quire eligibility to civil power and office, but only that he should be of the same general way of thinking with themselves, and should not be an open opposer and contemner of what was dearest to them. This was as far as they ever went in this direction.

For a long time the interest of the people in religious things and the faithfulness of all parties avoided the necessity of any defining by the civil power of the duties, responsibilities, or relations arising from them. But in process of time, partly by some change which crept over the feeling of the colony, and partly in consequence of the coming in upon them of men of an alien spirit, it became necessary to legislate both with regard to Churches and to ministers. In 1650 it was forbidden 'to set up any Churches or publicke meetings 'diverse from those allreddy set up and approved, without the 'concent and approbation of the government.'* In 1651 a penalty of ten shillings was affixed to the neglecting 'in any 'lazey, slothfull, or prophane way,' † to attend public worship; but this was repealed in 1659.‡ In 1655 we find the first Plymouth legislation in regard to ministers. It appeared that complaints of want of due maintenance had been made by some ministers, whereon the General Court decreed (1) that no pastor should leave his congregation for this cause without notifying the magistrates; and (2) that where a 'reall defect 'in the hearers' appears, the magistrates shall 'use all gentle 'means to persuade them to doe theire duty therein;' but if these fail, 'it shalbee in the power of the magistrate to use 'such other meanes as may put them upon theire duty.'§ This proving insufficient, in 1657 the principle was broadly laid down that 'in asmuch as the severall Townshipes graunted by 'the gouernment was [on the understanding] that such a 'Companie might bee receiued as should maintaine the Pub- 'licke worships and service of God there; they [the Court] doe therefore judge that the whole, both Church and towne, 'are mutually ingaged to support the same.'|| It was therefore enacted that four men be chosen by the inhabitants (or, in case of their refusal, three by the magistrates) to decide upon 'an equal and just proportion upon the estates of the

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 57.

‡ Ibid: 122.

§ Ibid. 64.

† Ibid. 58.

|| Ibid. 67.

'Inhabitants according to their abilities;' the amount of the salary of the minister to be determined by the Church, 'with the concurrence of the rest of the Inhabitants, if it may be had, or by the magistrates incase of their apparent neglect;' and 'that destresse accordingly, as in other just cases, bee made upon such as refuse to pay such their proportions which is in justice due—this law to bee in force onely to them, but not vnto others that doe their duty.' In 1669 this was modified by ordering the magistrate, or select man where there be no magistrate, to cite such defaulters, previous to the 'destresse,' to the next Court, to answer for their neglect, and 'incase such person or persons doe not make out just cause for such neglect, they shalbe amerced double the sune.* But this order was repealed the following year, when [1670] a further provision was added, by the Court's appointing two persons in each town to 'gather in of their minnesters maintenance for that yeare, by inciting of the people to their duty in that respect, and, if need be, by procuring distraint upon the estate of any that shall neglect or refuse to pay;† the reason given being the inconvenience of requiring the ministers, as heretofore, to collect their own wage, and that their doing so 'may be an occation to prejudice some persons against them or their ministry.'

As early as 1663, the Plymouth Colony declared that 'it hath bine, and is, the pious care and true intent of this Court, that all such plantations and Townshipes as are by them graunted should maintaine the publicke Sabbath worship of God and the preaching of the Word, and doe to that end afford them such proportions of lands as may accommodate such a society as may be able to maintaine the same.‡ The policy here indicated was faithfully carried out. New settlements were not encouraged until there was evidence that they would not be without the means of grace, and they were aided in erecting meeting-houses and in the support of the gospel by the public authority; and wherever a village started up in the wilderness almost spontaneously, the Court was apt to recommend to them (as in case of Gaconeeset, Acushenett, &c.) 'to apply themselves in some effectuall way for the increase of their

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 224.

† Ibid. 226.

‡ Ibid. 141.

number as they may carry on thinges to better satisfaction 'both in civill and religious respects, especially that they 'indeavor to procure an able Godly man for the dispensing of 'God's Word amongst them; and for their quickening and 'Incouragement therin this Court doth order that all such 'lands as are within their respective places, though not inhabited, shal be lyable to be rated in some measure of proportion for the defraying of such charges as shall necessarily 'arise concerning the premises.' *

To complete our glance at the legislation of Plymouth Colony in these respects, we need to recall the fact that, in the days of the Quaker tribulation, they had their share, and that, by their nearness to their stronger neighbour of the Bay, they were at last constrained so far to follow her as to forbid attendance upon Quaker meetings, † which they had considerable cause to look upon as ranting nurseries of sedition, civil and religious.

The first prominent point of divergence in the Massachusetts Colony from the policy of its humbler and older neighbour was developed in its General Court, held at Boston, May 18th, 1631, when it was 'ordered and agreed that for 'time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of 'this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the 'Churches within the lymitts of the same.' ‡ The charter of the Massachusetts Company had laid down no condition as to citizenship, leaving this necessarily to the judgment of those who had already become citizens by acquiring membership in the Company. Having travelled so far to gain a new home,

* 'Plym. Col. Rec.' xi. 141. It was enacted generally, 5 June, 1678: 'That in euery place in this Government where a Township is, or that is capable for a Townshipp being begun to be peopled, though not filled with inhabitants; they, or few of them, being desirus to promote the publicke worshipp of God amongst them, shalbe assisted by this Government, soe as that the charge to gett an able faithfull preacher of God's Word, and to maintaine the same, shalbe raised upon all the chatelles and lands, or other rateables, of all the Proprietors of any such place that is there found.'—Ibid. 247.

† 'And forasmuch as the meeting of such persons proueth desturbing to the peace of this Government, it is therefore enacted that henceforth noe such meetings be assembled or kept by any person in any place within this Government, under penalty of 40 shillings a time for every speaker, and 10s. a time for every hearer, and 40s. for the owner of the place.'—Ibid. 101.

‡ 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 87.

having a charter from the crown, giving them the fullest right to decide what manner of persons they would associate with themselves, and the new western world being wide enough to provide abundant room elsewhere for all who wished to emigrate, but whose character did not offer reasonable hope of harmonious life with them, the Massachusetts men felt that it was right in itself, and due to themselves, that they should confer the freedom of their State only upon those whom they could hope most fully to trust. And the best test which lay in their power they judged to be this.* Well says Dr. Palfrey concerning it: 'The conception, if a delusive and impracticable, was a noble one. Nothing better can be imagined for the welfare of a country than that it shall be ruled on Christian principles; in other words, that its rulers shall be Christian men. . . . The conclusive objection to the scheme is one which experience had not yet revealed, for the experiment was now first made.'† Four or five years of trial demonstrated that their legislation must take another step, or they would be wounded in the house of their friends. They must regulate that Church-membership out of which citizenship was to grow. This was done partly by restraining the gathering of Churches,‡ and partly by some attempt to order their discipline.§ The old law remained, being reaffirmed in 1660,|| until 1664, when, in response to a request in the

* 'None,' says John Cotton, 'are so fit to be trusted with the liberties of the Commonwealth as Church members; for the liberties of the freemen of this Commonwealth are such as require men of faithful integrity to God and the State, to preserve the same.'—'Answer to Lord Say and Sele,' &c., 'Hutchinson's Massachusetts,' i. 436.

† 'History of New England,' i. 345.

‡ 'Forasmuch as it hath bene found by sad experience that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the Church and civill State by the officers and members of some Churches, which have bene gathered within the limitts of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbacion as were meete, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this Court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companyes of men as shall henceforth ioyne in any pretended way of Church fellowahipp, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates and the elders of the greater part of the Churches in this jurisdiction, with their intencions, and have their approbation herein. And, further, it is ordered that noe person, being a member of any Church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbacion of the magistrates, and the greater parte of the said Churches, shalbe admitted to the freedome of this Commonwealthe.'—'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 168.

§ Ibid. 142, 242, &c.

|| Ibid. iv. (1), 420.

nature of a command by Charles the Second, of date June 28th, 1662, the provision was abolished, or rather superseded, by another, ingeniously contrived to evade the royal displeasure without putting out of the hands of the Churches, through their ministers, some decisive power in the determination of the quality of those who should be voting members of the State.* If this could have been done ten years before, it might have saved New England from the theological ills resulting from the Half-Way Covenant, which grew out of the result of the Synod of 1662, a result largely stimulated by the desire to contrive some avenue to a more general citizenship, without abolishing the ancient and fundamental law.†

Massachusetts—and it was natural that it should be so with so much larger and more miscellaneous composed a colony—had nearly twenty years the start of Plymouth in enacting the support of the gospel by every inhabitant.‡ And it was a suggestion from Massachusetts which led the Confederate commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1644,—one Plymouth commissioner dissenting,—to recommend to the General Courts of all the colonies whom they represented, ‘that those that are taught in the Word in the severall plantations be called together, that every man voluntarily set downe what he is willing to allow to that end and use [the support of the ministry]. And if any man refuse to pay a meet pportion, that then hee be rated by authority in some just and equall way. And if after this any man withhold, or delay, due payment, the civill power to be exercised as in other just debts.’§

The policy early adopted, and rigidly carried out, in Massa-

* ‘From henceforth all Englishmen presenting a certificate, vnder the hands of the ministers, or minister, of the place where they dwell, that they are orthodox in religion, and not vitious in their lives,’ &c. &c.—*Ibid.* iv. (2) 118.

† Palfrey’s ‘New England,’ ii. 490–493.

‡ It was ordered, September 6, 1638, as follows:—‘That every inhabitant in any towne is lyable to contribute to all charges, both in Church and Commonwealth, whereof hee doth or may receive benefit; and withall it is also ordered that every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute pportionally to his ability with other freemen of the same towne, to all common charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the Churches as otherwise, shalbee compelled thereto by assessment and distres by the constable,’ &c.—‘Mass. Col. Rec.’ i. 240.

§ ‘Plym. Col. Rec.’ ix. 20.

chusetts, was that every town* should supply itself with a minister, a meeting-house, and a parsonage, and that all the inhabitants should contribute to this end—peacably, if it might be—forcibly, if it must be. If any town proved remiss, the county court was charged with the duty of interference, with right to the town of appeal to the General Court should it conceive itself unduly burdened. Down to 1800, the exact penalties which towns must pay for neglecting to supply the preached Word to the people were specified.† Nor were the law-makers forgetful that sometimes the pews might be recusant when the pulpit was faithful, and accordingly, as early as 1684-5, the people were required by statute to attend upon the preaching provided for them, under a penalty of five shillings for absence on Lord's Day, fast, or thanksgiving.‡ In 1791, the milder provision which allowed able-bodied men, absent from meeting for three months, to compound for the same by a fine of ten shillings, was a great modification of the original strictness; and this fine of ten shillings might be imposed upon any such delinquent in Massachusetts down to 1835, when the law was repealed.§

Church and State went further, however, than this in Massachusetts. In 1688, it being found that divers persons who had been excommunicated from some of the Churches made light of the same, the General Court ordered that any excommunicant who should allow six months to pass 'without labouring what in him or her lyeth to bee restored,' should be proceeded against 'by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or further,' as the case might deserve.|| But this was repealed

* In the early days of New England, ecclesiastical as well as civil boundaries were alike denoted by the word town; the term parish, although necessarily familiar to the colonists at home, being unknown. It was not until after the revolutionary war that that term, in its strictly ecclesiastical sense, came into use.

† Neglect for three months out of six was fined from \$30 to \$60; if repeated, it was from \$60 to \$100.—'Commonwealth v. Waterborough, 5 Mass.' 257.

‡ 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 140; ii. 178. By the word 'fast' is here intended the religious service of the day—usually in April—annually devoted to 'public fasting, humiliation, and prayer;' and by the word 'thanksgiving,' the religious service of the day—usually in November—annually set apart to thank God for the harvests. Both days are still observed by proclamation of the governor with the advice of the council.

§ Buck's 'Mass. Ecol. Law,' 27.

|| 'Mass. Col. Rec.' 242.

in the following year.* Not long after this, the Court requested the Churches to 'proceed against' some of their members for wearing too much lace, and like 'disorders in 'apparrell.'† In 1646 it was ordered that any person, whether in Church-fellowship or not, who 'should go about 'to destroy or disturb the order of the Churches established 'in the country,' upon the alleging of 'any groundles conceite,' should be mulcted in 40s. a month 'so long as he 'continues in his obstinacy.'‡ In 1652 the 'New Church' in Boston proposing to settle Michael Powell as their minister, the General Court forbade their doing so, on the ground that he was not thoroughly educated, and 'considering the humor 'of the times in England inclineing to discourag learning, 'agaynst which we have born testimony, which we should 'contradict if we should approve of such proceeding among 'ourselves.'§ In 1658 it was enacted that 'no person shall 'publicquely and constantly preach to any company of people, 'whither in Church society or not, or be ordeyned to the 'office of a Teaching Elder, where any two organnick Churches, 'ye Councill of State, or ye General Court, shall declare their 'dissatisfaction thereat, either in reference to doctrine or 'practize.'|| In 1675 the Court, casting about for some reasons which might be presumed to justify the Supreme Disposer of human events in allowing the scourge of King Philip's war to desolate the colony, concluded that too great neglect of discipline had been allowed in the Churches, and especially that the 'chattechising' of children and 'inquire-'ing into their spirituall estates' had been deplorably overlooked; whereupon they solemnly recommended to the respective elders and brethren of the Churches throughout the jurisdiction to 'take effectuall course for reformation herein.'¶

The civil power in the Massachusetts Colony claimed the

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' i. 271.

† Ibid. 274.

‡ Ibid. ii. 178. 'Open contempt of God's Word and messengers thereof was to be punished by reproof openly by the magistrates, and being bound to good behaviour. A second offence was to be punished by a fine of £5, 'or to stand two hours openly upon a block 4 foote high, on a lecture-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, with this, A WANTON GOSPELLER, writ in capitall letters, that others may fear and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickednes.'

—Ibid. 179.

§ Ibid. iii. 298.

|| Ibid. iv. (1) 328.

¶ Ibid. v. 59.

right to convoke the Churches in Synod, but waived it in 1646, because all were 'not yet clearly satisfied in this 'point,' and so thought it expedient merely to 'express' their 'desire.'* After that Synod had assembled, the Court, thinking that doctrine as well as polity should receive consideration, took the liberty of requesting seven of the elders of the Bay to 'take some paines each of them to prepare a 'brieft forme.'† After the platform had been duly reported, the Court sent it down to the Churches, 'desiring a return 'from them at the next General Court how farr it's suiteable 'to their judgements and approbations before proceeding any 'further therein.'‡ In 1656, when 'severall questions of 'practicall concernment in the Churches' were sent to the General Court from the General Court at Hartford, the Court 'ordered' four of the elders of the County of Suffolk, five of Middlesex, and four of Essex, to meet at Boston, 'to confer 'and debate the said questions,' and Robert Turner was ordered to 'take care to provide convenient entertainment for 'the said gentlemen duresing their attendance on the said 'meeting.'§ By 1661 the Court had outgrown its modesty as to the matter of convoking Synods, or its constituents had outgrown their scruples; for, 'having taken into consideration' the reasons why a Synod should meet, the Court, December 31, 1661, 'doe therefore order and hereby desire, 'that the Churches doe send their messengers of elders and 'brethren to Boston the 2nd Tuesday of the first moneth, then 'and there to discuss and declare what they shall judge to be 'the minde of God," &c.|| The Court further 'ordered' the elders to prepare the questions which the Synod should discuss when met.¶ In like manner, though upon 'a motion 'made by some of the reverend elders,' the Court 'ordered' the assembly of the Synod of 1679-80, and it was further 'ordered' that 'the charges of this meeting shall be borne by the 'Churches respectively.'***

The cross light of the treatment of Dissenters will, however, bring out the real quality of Church and State in its palmiest days in Massachusetts into its fullest distinctness.

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' ii. 155.

† Ibid. ii. 200.

‡ Ibid. ii. 285.

§ Ibid. iii. 419.

|| Ibid. iv. (2) 38.

¶ Ibid.

** Ibid. v. 215.

As early as 1644 the Court levelled an ordinance at Anabaptists, 'whom experience had plentifully proved' to be 'the incendiaries of commonwealths.' It was ordered that all 'who either openly condemn or oppose the baptising of 'infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the 'approbation or use thereof,' who shall 'appear to the Court 'wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time 'and means of conviction,' be 'sentenced to banishment.* Five years after, the General Court wrote a letter to the Plymouth Colony, saying that it had come to its knowledge that divers Anabaptists had been connived at within Plymouth jurisdiction, and it appeared that the 'patient bearing' of the Plymouth authorities had 'encreased' the same errors; that thirteen or fourteen persons (it was reported) had been rebaptized 'at Sea Cuncke;† under which circumstances 'effectual restriction' was desired, the more as the interests of Massachusetts were concerned therein. 'The infection of such 'diseases, being so neere vs, are likely to spread into our 'jurisdiction,' and God equally requiring 'the suppressing of 'errors as the maintenance of truth' at the hands of Christian magistrates. In 1651, John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandal, going from Newport, R. I., to the house of one Witter, in Lynn, Clarke preached, administered the sacrament, and rebaptized Witter. The three intruding Baptists were arrested, tried, and heavily fined; and Holmes, refusing to pay his fine, or allow it to be paid for him, after having been kept in prison a few weeks, was whipped.‡

In 1656 the storm of that coarse, impudent, and violent body of enthusiasts, who called themselves Friends and were called by others Quakers, and who seem to have been as unlike the meek, sober, thrifty, and drab-clad inheritors of the name in our day, as the Anabaptists of Munster were different from the Immersionists whom we know, burst upon New England. There had been forewarning of its coming, and if Fatherland trembled before 'the man in leathern 'breeches,§ it was not strange that her feeble colonies felt much solicitude as to how their as yet unripe and plastic institutions should be affected by these fierce fanatics, who, if

* 'Mass. Col. Rec.' ii. 85.

‡ Lewis and Newhall's 'Lynn,' 230.

† Seakonk, or Rehoboth."

§ George Fox's 'Journal,' 55.

they were not disguised Franciscans from Rome, as the rumour ran at home,* were yet the sworn foes of everything established, provokers of tumult and violence, nearly as likely to insist on walking stark naked into a crowded Sabbath congregation† as not to do it; and, in whatever light considered, social trials, if not public nuisances. New England had not been settled for their, but for far other, use; and, under all the circumstances, it is not surprising that the vehement Endicott, and the scarcely less uncereemonious Bellingham, should have favoured the pushing of matters to extremities. When the Court met in October, it took order concerning this ‘cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, which ‘are comonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be ‘imediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spiritt ‘of God to speake and write blasphemous opinions, despising ‘government and the order of God in the Churches and Com- ‘monwealth, speakinge evill of dignities, reproaching and ‘revileing magistrates and ministers, seekinge to turne the ‘people from the fayth, and gayne proselites to their pernicious wayes, &c.;‡ decreeing a fine of £100 upon any ship-master transporting such persons into the jurisdiction, committing Quakers to the house of correction, enacting penalties for harbouring them, &c., with various further like provisions, indicating the excitement, almost panic, of the public mind. There was frequent occasion, and these laws were executed, and, proving inadequate to their design, were strengthened. The United Commissioners, in 1658, recommended to the colonies to enact that convicted Quakers returning after banishment be re-expelled on pain of death; and, should they again return, be put to death ‘as presumptuously incorragable, unlesse they shall plainly and publickly ‘renounce their said cursed opinnions and dieullish tenetts.’§ Massachusetts was the only one of the four colonies which acted upon this advice. It had tried this threat often before—as in the case of Francis Hutchinson,|| Samuel Gorton,¶ and others—always to find it effectual in inducing the

* Besse's ‘Collection,’ &c. i. 40.

† Bishop's ‘New England Judged,’ part ii. 69.

‡ ‘Mass. Col. Rec.’ iii. 415.

§ ‘Acts of Com. of United Col.’ ii. 212.

|| ‘Mass. Col. Rec.’ i. 836.

¶ Ibid. ii. 57.

banished persons to stay away; and it did not probably indulge a doubt that such would continue to be its practical working.* And so it provided that thenceforward persons 'convicted' by a special jury 'to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to bannishment upon payne of death.† This worked well in the case of the first six to whom it was applied. But afterward it encountered others of sterner stuff, and four times did the gallows do its fatal work before the pressure of public sentiment led the government to recede from this extreme and terrible position. The other colonies enacted some savagely-sounding laws, but, on the whole, the Quaker historians themselves admit that there was no insupportable suffering under them. And so soon as the strength of New England became a little more assured, these harsh measures toward sectaries, which had been thought to be indispensable, were allowed to fall into disuse and forgetfulness. As Cotton Mather pleasantly said of such disturbers: 'Since our Jerusalem was come to such a consistence that the going up of every fox would not break down our stone walls, who ever meddled with 'em?'‡

In 1691 the new Charter of William and Mary, which united the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, granted liberty of conscience in the worship of God 'to all Christians except Papists.§ But this was construed as giving the General Court power to encourage and protect that religion which is the general profession of the inhabitants therein; || and its practical working, as described by Cotton Mather in 1726, was on this wise:—

'In some Churches the salary of the minister is raised by a voluntary contribution, especially in populous places, and where many strangers resort; but in others a tax is levied for it, there being too much truth in Luther's words: "Duriter profecto et misere viverent Evangelii Ministri, si ex libera Populi Contributione essent sustentandi." In those (which are almost all) parts of the country where the stipend of the minister is raised by a tax upon the people, the case is thus: The Laws of the Pro-

* In England Quakers were then faring much in the same way. More than 4,200 were cast into prison, of whom more than 500 were in London and its suburbs.—Sewel's 'History of the Christian People called Quakers,' 385.

† 'Mass. Col. Rec.' iv. (1) 346.

‡ 'Late Memorable Providences,' &c. 142.

§ 'Backus,' i. 550.

|| Hutchinson's 'His. Mass.' ii. 17.

vince, having had the royal approbation to ratify them, they are the King's Laws. By these laws it is enacted that there shall be a public worship of God in every plantation; that the person elected by the majority of the inhabitants to be so, shall be looked upon as the minister of the place; that the salary for him, which they shall agree upon, shall be levied by a rate upon all the inhabitants. In consequence of this, the minister thus chosen by the people is (not only Christ's, but also) in reality the King's minister; and the salary raised for him is raised in the King's name, and is the King's allowance unto him. If the most of the inhabitants in a plantation are Episcopalians, they will have a minister of their own persuasion; and the Dissenters, if there be any in the place, must pay their proportion of the tax for the support of this legal minister. In a few of the towns, a few of the people—in hope of being released from the tax for the legal minister—sometimes profess themselves Episcopalians. But when they plead this for their exemption, their neighbours tell them they know in their conscience they do not do as they would be done unto. And if a governor go by his arbitrary power to supersede the execution of the law, and require the justices and constables to leave the Episcopalians out of the tax, the people wonder he is not aware that he is all this while forbidding that the King should have his dues paid unto him; and forbidding the King's minister to receive what the King has given him. However, the generous condescensions that have been sometimes made in this matter are such that the people of New England have therein exemplarily adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour, and have done what has not been ordinarily exemplified among any other people. Sometimes the Quakers also have given some occasion for uneasiness. But where Quakerism is troublesome, some towns are so wise [as] to involve the salary of the ministry in a general rate for all Town charges, and so the cavils of those who would else refuse to pay the rate for the ministry are obviated.'

Considered as related to all the facts, while this was a gain over the past, it was quite faithfully described, as to its real merits, by some doggerel of the time:—

' Good conscience men allow (they say),
But must be understood
To say as they themselves do say—
Or else it can't be good! ' †

Notwithstanding Mather's adroit endeavour to insinuate a considerable catholicity in the working of this new Charter, in his quiet statement above, that 'if most of the inhabitants 'in a plantation are Episcopalians, they will have a minister 'of their own persuasion'—a truth quite like the remark that if one thousand Charles Bradlaughs should be raised to the

* 'Ratio Disciplinæ,' 20–22.

† Edward Goddard, 1758.

peerage, it would have a tendency to swamp the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, bishops, and barons now composing the Lords, and render radical legislation highly probable—the impartial voice of history declares that for more than a generation after the reception of this new Charter, Massachusetts exerted its power, both legislative and executive, with every aid which the ‘established clergy’ could help it to, in the attempt to render certain the universal reception and support of ‘orthodox’ ministers.*

Two years, however, after the date of Mather’s testimony (1728), repeated and persistent appeal and endeavour on the part of those who felt themselves to be oppressed in being taxed for the support of ministers whom they did not hear, and in whom they did not believe, while taxing themselves to support a ministry which had their confidence, brought forth the first Act of Exemption, as follows:—

‘From and after the publication of this Act, none of the persons commonly called Anabaptists, nor any of those called Quakers, that are or shall be enrolled or entered in their several societies as members thereof, and who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the Churches established by the laws of this province, in the town or place where they dwell, *shall have their polls taxed* toward the support of such minister or ministers; nor shall their bodies be at any time taken in execution to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax, assessed upon their estates or faculty: provided that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective societies assembling upon the Lord’s Day for the worship of God, and that *they live within five miles of the place of such meeting.*’†

Better than nothing, this was radically deficient in that it merely exempted the polls, and not the estates, of those concerned, and because of its arbitrary limitation of distance—sure to work the greatest hardships in the case of the poorest citizens, who were apt to live in sparse and remote places. Renewed agitation secured the next year the exemption of estates also, but this was limited to the period of five years.‡ At the expiration of that period further agitation procured a third Act, more explicit than its predecessors, and providing that the assessors of taxes of towns where Anabaptists lived

* ‘Backus,’ i. 552.

† Ibid. ii. 553.

‡ Hovey’s ‘Life and Times of Backus,’ 168.

should make, and transmit to the town-clerk, a list of all such persons, which list should become matter of record, and should procure for all, whose names it bore, exemption from all regular ministerial rates and taxes—this for five years also. The difficulty which was found to be practical with this was that, as no penalty was annexed by it to the neglect or refusal of these assessors to make out such a list, it proved to be entirely in their power to nullify the direct working of the statute, and the lists authorised were prepared in very few of the towns of the province. It is true that the act made it possible for an Anabaptist 'omitted in such list' to be, at considerable trouble and expense, so authenticated to the town authorities by certificates 'under the hands of two 'principal members of that persuasion, appointed thereto by 'the respective societies,' as that he could claim his exemption. But it was a hardship to be almost in all cases compelled to this course, when an easier and juster one should have been legally open. On the expiration of this act by its own limitation in 1740, a similar one was re-enacted for the next seven years, which was subsequently extended ten years further; both of which, however, were open to the same objections, and fruitful in like vexations. The latter was afterwards made still more obnoxious by an amendment, passed in 1752, requiring an endorsement from each of three other Churches 'commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the 'neighbouring provinces,' to the effect that they 'conscientiously believe' the persons giving the certificates above referred to 'to be Anabaptists.'[†] There were two minor oppressions ingeniously concealed in this amendment which would escape the casual reader. In the first place, the name 'Anabaptist' was, in point of principle, offensive to these immersed believers, and it was grievous to them to be obliged to certify their conscientious belief in such a designation of their faith. And in the second place, in connection with what was known as the 'New Light' movement, under Whitefield and Tennent, quite a number of Baptist Churches had been formed which were not yet received into the fellowship of the older Churches of the denomination, and who could not therefore hope to obtain the attestation required. The Baptists

* 'Baekus,' ii. 194.

were not of the stuff to submit to this in silence. They held meetings. They elected an agent to carry their case to England, and state it before the king, subscribing above a hundred pounds to meet the necessary charges. This agent—Mr. John Proctor*—drew up a remonstrance, which was presented to the Assembly in May, 1754, and which was so plain of speech that, but for the politic intervention of Governor Shirley, it is said that its signers would have come to grief. A committee was finally appointed to confer with the Baptists in a friendly way, and, as Backus quaintly expresses it, ‘matters were shifted along until the war came on, and their design for England was dropt.’† In 1757, all these exempting laws having expired,‡ a new statute comprehending Baptists and Quakers was enacted, which continued in force for thirteen years, which relieved from rates for the support of the ‘Standing Order’ only such Baptists as were named in a list to be signed by the minister and three principal members of the Church to which they belonged that ‘they are really belonging thereto; that they [the attestors] verily believe them to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they frequently and usually attend public worship in said church on the Lord’s day.’ § In the millennium perhaps this would be found tolerable, but in New England, in the middle of the eighteenth century, there was friction, resulting in oppression. In Middleborough, Mass., in 1763, there was a ‘difficulty’ between the Third Baptist Church and its minister, which prevented his signing their certificates, so that they were all taxed for parish worship. Two years later, in Haverhill, Mass., a Baptist was taxed to help to build a new church, and to support the Congregational pastor, and his goods were distrained, notwithstanding he had a certificate in regular form. He sued the parish assessors to get his money back, but after two trials of the case, running through nearly three years, the decision went against him,

* He seems to have been a schoolmaster in Boston. Drake’s ‘Hist. of Boston,’ i. 616, 684.

† Ibid. ii. 239.

‡ It looks as if these statutes, granting relief to Dissenters thus for periods of five, seven, or ten years, may have been suggested by English enactments of like purpose. Buck’s ‘Mass. Ecol. Law,’ 38; May’s ‘Constit. Hist. England,’ ii. 305–315.

§ ‘Backus,’ ii. 239.

with costs of £70 or £80, on some technicality as to whether the law contemplated a baptized Church-member or only a steady attendant upon public worship, and the failure of the certificate to meet that exact (and extremely narrow) point.* Dr. Backus—who, himself a Baptist, *non ignarus mali*, speaks strongly on these matters—says of this last law, ‘No tongue nor pen can fully describe all the evils that were practised under it.’† And the detailed, and, on the face of it, apparently candid account which he gives of the way in which the Baptists of Ashfield were treated, their remonstrances disregarded, and their land sold by the sheriff to support the Congregational worship, would seem to excuse considerable plainness of speech.‡

Near the close of 1770, this old certificate law having expired, a new one was made, substituting the designation ‘Antipedobaptists’ for *Anabaptists*, and the word ‘congregation’ for the word *church*; but the word ‘conscientiously’ was retained, apparently to enable the authorities to meet the case of any whom they were pleased to suspect of being governed in their religious professions by financial motives—‘those avaricious and dissolute persons who get under water to wash away their minister’s rates, without any expectation or desire of washing away their sins.’§ During the previous year the Warren Association, formed at Warren, R. I., in 1767,|| had come to the front, as looking after the interests of the denomination, and appointed committees to draft petitions for redress, and to use their best endeavours to ‘obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in this land.’ Their first memorials to the civil power being disregarded, they publicly invited all Baptists who had been oppressed in any way on a religious account to send in to them exact and attested details of the same, and at their meeting at Bellingham, Sept. 11, 1770, such facts were tabled in answer to this call as led the body to the unanimous resolution to ‘send to the British Court for help, if it could not be obtained in America.’¶ They also addressed a respectful but earnest

* ‘Backus,’ ii. 241.

† Ibid. 240.

‡ Ibid. 246–259.

§ Boston ‘Evening Post,’ May 17, 1773.

|| Benedict’s ‘General Hist. Bap. Denom.’ i. 508.

¶ Hovey’s ‘Backus,’ 175.

memorial to the provincial government, in which they adroitly availed themselves of a vote recently passed (with another aspect : these were the days of the beginning of the revolution which severed the link between the mother country and the colonies), which declared 'that no taxation can be equitable 'where such restraints are laid upon the taxed as take from 'him the liberty of giving his own money freely; '* to pray the General Court to give relief in certain specified cases, and to grant perpetual exemption to all Baptists from all ministerial rates whatsoever, 'according to the full intent and 'meaning of the charter of the province.' How much this action had to do with the law just referred to, and the slight modifications apparent in it, must be altogether matter of conjecture.

The committee of the Association, having been called together as soon as it had taken effect, unanimously decided not to accept the new law as satisfactory, but to proceed to collect facts and move public opinion for such further action as remained necessary. Dr. Backus sat down to the composition of his '*History of New England*, with particular reference to 'the Denomination of Christians called Baptists,' the patience of research and candour of spirit of which have given him a very high place among the historians of the New World.† He printed also a number of pamphlets, in which he urged, from various considerations, the admission of Dissenters in New England to their full rights. Such appeals as the following from one of these, published in 1778, when the air was full of the coming war-storm, must have been rather hard reading for the men to whom they were particularly addressed :—

'Suffer us a little to expostulate with our fathers and brethren who inhabit the land to which our ancestors fled for religious liberty. You have lately been accused with being disorderly and rebellious by men in power, who profess a great regard for order and the public good; and why don't you believe them, and rest easy under their administrations? You tell us you cannot, because you are taxed where you are not represented; and is it not really so with us? You do not deny the right of the

* Hovey's '*Backus*,' 177.

† The first volume was published in 1777, the second in 1784, the third in 1796, with an abridgment (with additions) in 1804. Happy is the man who owns these original editions. A reprint, not greatly to its credit, was made by the Backus Historical Society, in 1871.

British Parliament to impose taxes within her own realm, only complain that she extends her taxing power beyond her proper limits; and have we not as good right to say you do the same thing? and so that wherein you judge others, you condemn yourselves? Can three thousand miles possibly fix such limits to taxing power as the difference between civil and sacred matters has already done? One is only a distance of *space*, the other is so great a difference in the *nature* of things as there is between sacrifices to God and the ordinances of men. This, we trust, has been fully proved.*

(To be Concluded in our Next Number.)

ART. VII.—*Political Questions in Italy.*

I.

BUT a few years have passed since the patriots of the Frankfort Parliament declared themselves hostile to the Italian nationality; since the insurgent students of Vienna enlisted to go and fight the insurgents of Italy; the successors of William Tell, the citizens of free Switzerland, thronged to support the throne of the Bourbon of Naples; the cannons of the French Republic destroyed the Republic of Rome. It was not only the governments and the diplomacy of the principal European Courts that plotted against Italy; it seemed as if she excited the envy and hatred even of some of the nations, and that they also ardently longed to see her oppressed, nay, exterminated.

Who in those days would have dared prognosticate that in less than half a century the scene would be so completely changed? That Italy, that merely *geographical expression*, as the old Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, was pleased to call it, would be able, overcoming so many obstacles and enmities, to form herself into a nation? That she would acquire not only her independence, but also her liberty and unity in the space of as many years as barely sufficed other nations for the accomplishment of but even one of these great enterprises? That she would succeed in so short a time in taking an important place in the assembly of nations, and win

* 'An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty against the Oppressions of the Present Day.' P. 53. Boston. 1773.

for herself the respect and sympathy not only of the peoples, but also of the Cabinets of all Europe ?

The causes of this phenomenon are both moral and political. It is impossible to discuss the present state of Italy without carrying back one's thoughts to her past, and discerning in the Italian revolution the providential part so wonderfully blended with that of man. We may well affirm that it was one of those revolutions which reveal themselves as designs of Providence, in whose hands man is but the instrumental agent. Short-sighted politicians vainly tried to appoint it limits : it was destined to run the race marked out for it. It was, so to say, to break into two parts the history of the nation, and to retain in its future hardly any traces of its sad past.

The Italian revolution finds no comparison in the anterior revolutions of other nations. Only in some points does it bear a resemblance to the glorious English revolution of 1688, especially as regards the morality of the means employed and the justice of the end.

The Italian revolution has once more solemnly affirmed the rights of Christian nations ; their right to be well governed, nay, to govern themselves ; their right not to be bartered, ceded, sacrificed in the interest of a so-called *equilibrium*. It has once more affirmed that there is no legitimacy superior to the right of a nation to exist. History has her logic : right ends by becoming a fact. It was time that Italy should begin to belong to none but Italians ; that she should cease to be the toy of diplomacy and the easy theatre for so many ambitions never sufficiently satisfied.

It would be a mistake to judge of the political situation of new Italy by the same criterion which one applies to the great States of modern Europe constituted centuries since. In the long period during which the other nations of Europe were busied in increasing and perfecting their existence as modern States, Italy, oppressed and torn, now by one now by another, and sometimes by several together of those very nations, had been unable to do anything. Later, too, she had been violently excluded from political life ; so that, instead of a spontaneous and national policy, which was impossible under those

circumstances, Italian policy was long that of whatever foreign nation most weighed on her at the time.

It were thus too much to expect that the Italians should already be furnished with all the qualities on which depends the strength of a great modern State. They have a right to reckon on their difficulties being taken into due account, difficulties entailed by the sad heritage left them by a past of many centuries.

This violent passage from one period of political life to another, this contrast between the present and the past, cannot do otherwise than constitute a danger for Italy which she is obliged to combat. Nothing in fact is so difficult for a nation so to react against its own antecedents as to maintain the necessary harmony between its past and its present.

The present has its roots in the past; a generation, and a century, are what preceding generations and centuries have made them: it is unfair not to take into due account the ill as well as the good which they have inherited. When we think of the centuries of slavery and of misgovernment which weighed on Italy, and that her sole political training was till but yesterday only that far from moral training, of sects and revolutions, we cannot repress a feeling of sincere admiration on seeing the young nation, or rather the arisen nation, securely tread the way in the difficult paths of political life, and we have a right to put faith in her and in her future.

Liebig, the illustrious chemist, said to Cavour in 1854, 'Don't be disheartened! If in a heap of dead matter there is 'an organised and living *molecule*, it suffices to organise and 'recall into life all the rest. I believe that this little Piedmont at the foot of the Alps is the living *molecule* which will 'conquer the forces of death, and impart the movement and 'warmth of life to all the rest.' And such amidst the rest of Italy did Piedmont exactly prove to be, with its king, its men of state, and of war. Twenty years of fears and of hopes, of losses and of successes, of constant struggle, of firm resolves, of sacrifices of every kind, sufficed to realise the dream of many centuries. The baneful influence of dynasties now fallen, the prejudices of ages, the passions of the demagoguery, the dislikes of some privileged classes, the strength of the clerical party, the boundless ambitions and jealousies of her neigh-

bours, her inexperience in administration, the disorder of her finances, all these were so many obstacles, and all were overcome. Italy now exists; the most powerful monarchs in the world value her friendship in the interest of their States, and Victor Emmanuel receives in his palaces the cordial visits of those very same princes who not long ago dragged Italy behind their car, and entertained for her but contempt.

II.

Italy is certainly not on a bed of roses any more than are the nations longer constituted: she too has her troubles. But if we compare these with those of the other great European States, if we think of the long and terrible convulsions which all more or less have had to undergo in order to win their existence, we are obliged to confess that Italy is a favoured nation.

There are but few whose general conditions of existence, both internal and external, are so normal and fortunate. Her dynasty undisputedly the dynasty of monarchical and united Italy; whilst elsewhere, in France and in Spain for instance, dynastical questions so profoundly trouble the country; unity of territory, race, language, and religion, very different from other States, and especially from the neighbouring Austro-Hungarian empire; the conservation of the kingdom without diminution of the actual confines, admitted by all as a European interest of the very first order, which cannot with equal certainty be said to be the case with all the great continental nations. The incentives to social questions are much less formidable in Italy than in France, Belgium, the south of Germany, and elsewhere: still in this respect even Italy cannot be said to be in good condition.

The brigandage, the *camorra* and *mafia* which infest some Italian provinces, are indeed amongst the worst misfortunes of that country. We should, however, be mistaken if—judging by the violent and passionate discussion which took place at Montecitorio last June about the special measures of public security which the government proposed and with difficulty succeeded in obtaining—we should attribute to the brigandage and the *mafia*, which those measures are intended

to destroy, the character of really social, and, still less, political questions. The evil is principally one of the fatal and natural results of the misgovernment which the provinces infested by it, above all Sicily, suffered for so long, and more especially during these last hundred years.* The other provinces are quite free from it, having had governments more moral: it is the same with the Lombardo-Venetian provinces and with those of the duchies, though they were long under a foreign yoke.

Whatever be the nature of the evil which we are deploring, it is nevertheless certain that the Italian government ought seriously to consider, as indeed it is doing, the means of completely and speedily extirpating it. These remains of most horrible barbarity are too painful a contrast with the character of eminent civilisation to which the Italian nation has the right and the duty to aspire.

Much more serious, in a political aspect, is the question lurking in the attempts already made here and there by the International, whenever an occasion, however slight, has presented itself. It is not strange that the International should try to succeed also in Italy, and should find an-easier field to tempt her than optimists will allow. In Italy, unfortunately, the habit of secret sects is old and rooted: if the economical conditions of society offer the International less motives than elsewhere for its intromission, the turbulent inclinations of some classes furnish it with better prepared instruments. A country cannot so repeatedly have been constrained to break out in political insurrections without there remaining some fatal disposition to renew them under one form or another. The seeds of sects in Italy are older than the very political condition against which those insurrections were a necessary means of defence. Therefore it is no wonder that also in Italy liberty should be slower than one would have thought in destroying some of those sects which servitude gave rise to, and that the International, the sect which

* A discovery recently made as to the origin of the word *mafia* is worthy of notice. Persons versed in Eastern languages are of opinion that that word is the root of the Arabian word *mafala*, which means *to cheat*, *to defraud*. If it be really so, one might judge from it how far back dates the *mafia* in Sicily, nearly seven centuries having passed since the end of the Arab dominion in that island.

now unites and so to say represents all the others, should show itself a peril for Italy, no less than for other countries.

It is well known that the International, in order to make progress in Europe and disguise its rascally and subversive designs, does all in its power to take a political hue, and seeks the alliance of the republican party. Such a manœuvre might one day prove all the more disastrous in Italy, where republicanism is ancient and does not cease to work, although political circumstances have obliged it to be prudent for the present. In the Italian revolution there was a time in which, just as conservatives necessarily became revolutionists, so did the best part of those revolutionists who in the past were republicans accept the monarchy. There was no other way: whoever wished the national independence was obliged to wish for unity and for the dynasty which had made itself the *fautor* of it. It was the moment when the supreme necessity of accepting the policy of Cavour imposed itself upon Italy; the policy of reaching by national means, and especially by annexations, the great end of all her efforts, that is complete national independence, which the treaty of Villafranca had left unattained.

But is it possible that the republicans of yesterday have given up all thoughts of attempting again the realisation of their ideal, now that independence is secured and unity is reached?

There was a moment when the acquisition of Rome, which for the conservative and liberal party means the consolidation of the Italian constitutional monarchy, gave rise in the breast of the most obstinate republicans to new hopes, which even yet have not quite vanished. They are those who attach more importance than the speaker himself did (for it is known that he altered his opinion later) to the words pronounced by Count Mamiani della Rovere in 1849, in the memorable sitting where the fall of the temporal government of the Pope was voted, and it was declared that the form of the government of the Roman States will be that of pure democracy, and will take the glorious name of the Roman Republic. In that sitting Mamiani uttered the following words: 'Gentlemen, let us be sincere, and avoid all subtleties and equivocations: in Rome only the Popes or Cola da Rienzi can reign.'

'Let us then be sincere and open to declare that the fall of the 'Popes means to establish in Rome a republican government.'

Whatever be the truth of those words, far-sighted politicians must admit that the real question is whether, in the present social and political conditions of Italy and of Europe, it be possible for Italy to separate herself from representative monarchy without endangering true liberty. The great problem for Italy, as indeed for all nations that have succeeded in winning liberty, is that of restraining the democracy without offending its rights; that of organising it in such a manner as to enable it to participate in the government; thus maintaining inviolate the rights of every one. For although democracy means equality, it does not yet mean liberty.

The problem is all the more important in Italy, where the prevalence of the democracy is a fact connected with the somewhat less recent one of the decline of the aristocracy, nay, of its disappearance as a civil order. We ask again, is it now and in these conditions that Italy could make the experiment of the republic, without danger, and with the probability of establishing a durable form of government?

Although in Italy, as indeed in nearly the whole of Europe, the republican party exists, and gives no hope of its wishing to retire for the present from the political field, the great majority of the Italians are monarchical: they have a sufficiently deep conviction that in the present social and political condition it is not possible for Italy to separate herself from constitutional monarchy, and to hazard new steps and new experiments, without endangering and sacrificing liberty.

Italy, entrusted through her *plebiscites* to constitutional monarchy, was conscious of choosing the best means for securing the benefits which she longed after, and getting herself into definitive order. An instinctive logic tells peoples that from one form of government more than from another the victory of the principles which interest them is more or less secured. The Italian revolution, we must recollect, was not one of dynasties, but of principles. It is necessary to know how to read the nature of great historical facts. Amongst the fallen dynasties there were some which had once been considered good. In Tuscany the dynasty of Lorraine had had a long and not inglorious rule; besides, its adminis-

tration had, above all, the merit of being paternal. That very same Bourbonic dynasty, which of late years reigned in Naples with a rule which Gladstone justly called *the negation of God*, for more than half of the 180 years which its sway reckoned at the time of its fall, had been justly loved by the Neapolitan population, for knowing how to satisfy their material wants by economical prosperity, their religious feelings, and their aspirations after equality and individual liberty. In the eyes of those populations, it had also the merit of having worked with an almost democratic administration at abolishing feudalism and the privileges of the social and political castes. The Bourbons, as well as the other princes of the peninsula, began to work their ruin when, towards the end of the last century, in face of the new social revolution, they looked for safety in immobility and resistance; set themselves against all progress, even just; against every popular aspiration, even legitimate; and sought support in armed forces, in hypocrisy, in arts of police, and in plots with strangers, instead of calling to their aid a new principle calculated to infuse new life.

For the Italian revolution nothing was required to ensure the triumph and the integrity of the principles sanctioned by it, but to overthrow, as it really did, personal government, absolute and anti-national monarchy.

The constitutional monarchy arisen from the ruins of the fallen dynasties is a natural and logical result, corresponding to the wants and wishes of the Italian nation. The dynasty of the Italian king can no longer represent in Italy, free and her own mistress, the monarchy of feudal right, of the so-called Divine right. This suffices for the Italians: they could not suddenly break off with an institution rooted in their history, fitted to their customs, connatural with the national character.

Notwithstanding the intrigues of the republican party, the patriotic sentiment is undoubtedly united with the monarchical in the great mass of the Italian people. To be convinced of this it is sufficient to have been present at the special and enthusiastic marks of honour and of affection which the country gave to Victor Emmanuel on the 23rd of March, 1874, the feast of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign. It was touching to witness the enthusiasm with which from one end

to the other of the peninsula the populations crowded to celebrate the day on which, twenty-five years before, the son of Carlo Alberto, disheartened and beaten, picked up the crown that his father, nobly angered against his adverse fortune, let fall from his head. One would have said that on that anniversary all the history of the country's vicissitudes had presented itself to the memory of the redeemed people; of that people which at the beginning of its new existence doubted whether it would be allowed to remain of five millions, and has come to be of twenty-seven millions, with Rome for its capital. Can we be surprised at the cry of admiration and gratitude that hailed the king who had so great a part in the wonderful transformation, and who never for one instant ceased to be one with his people?

III.

When we carry back our thoughts to the above-mentioned epoch of the first war of independence; when we think of Piedmont as it was after the battle of Novara, and in 1850, and how the Italians have succeeded, in the midst of so many sacrifices of all kinds and the struggles of parties, in going forwards, in meeting their engagements and winning the credit necessary to obtain money, and in diminishing little by little and nearly filling up the deficit, even the financial question must appear less grave.

This, however, is perhaps one of the few real troubles of the young nation. Certainly it is to be deplored that in the Chamber at Montecitorio there does not reign a better understanding as to the means to be applied for at length reaching financial equilibrium, and that after Cavour's death no man has arisen who with his *prestige* has known how to impose himself so as to put an end to a state of things which is of material and still more of moral damage to the country. But at the same time we must not forget that in the present financial situation of Italy is comprised the liquidation of one of those profound revolutions which by all other nations were paid with torrents of blood, with civil wars, with repeated failures. We must not forget that the fact of the unexpected and unprepared reunion into one State of many provinces formerly governed by wholly distinct and different institutions

was necessarily the cause of immense administrative and consequently also of financial difficulties.

There were an army and a fleet to be created; public instruction to be diffused; many services advantageous to commerce to be organised; the country to be covered with railways and public works; in short, enormous expenses which the provisional government had to incur in order to meet the most urgent necessities, and make Italy. From the beginning of 1860, when the annexations were not yet begun, till the end of 1866, when they were nearly terminated with the cession of Venice, the expenses of the war and naval department alone amounted to more than two milliards and three hundred millions of francs. In the space of the same seven years the public works swallowed up five hundred and eighteen millions. All this without the new taxes which were afterwards recognised as necessary having been imposed.

Had the government succeeded in settling so many things without increasing the national debt, it would have worked a miracle without precedent in history.

At present equilibrium seems to be near being reached, and the harm which is deplored is henceforth more moral than material. Indeed, what is most to be lamented is that in this year also the financial plan of Signor Minghetti must prove sterile of results: not that the fifty-four millions which should have been found in order to reach the desired settlement were really too much for the resources of the nation, but that owing to the dissensions and squabbles of the new Chamber of Deputies, only sixteen of the fifty-four millions demanded by M. Minghetti were conceded, thus leaving, as usual, to Providence the care of finding the rest.

This is not calculated to heighten in foreign countries the esteem for the positivity and the financial good sense of Italian legislators, but rather to increase the doubt, but too prevalent already, that the representative and parliamentary system has not as yet reached that degree of perfection which is necessary for leading to good results in the administration of the affairs of the country.

Such a doubt is unhappily but too well founded. As a proof, we need but mention how not only in parliament, but also out of it, the great and true political parties, indispens-

able for the regular working of the constitutional machine, have not yet been formed. Parliamentary parties can neither be useful nor deserve the name of political parties unless they have formed themselves in the nation itself, and derived from it the reason of their existence—unless they represent the great elements in which the national will divides itself. These and no others are the parties which Burke was the first to call *necessary*.

Now this is not the case in Italy. Though in the Chamber of Deputies there are those who seat themselves on the right and others on the left, it by no means follows that there are two real parties, one of the Right and one of the Left. The Left is more especially wanting, and this is perhaps one of the principal reasons why the organisation of the Right is still defective. To be just, we must however confess that, should a real and compact Right be able to constitute itself, the Left would in its turn probably soon take the form of an organised political party.

It can be affirmed without fear of mistaking that the premature death of Cavour greatly prejudiced the formation of the Right, as later the death of Ratazzi contributed to retard still more the constitution of the Left. Both Cavour and Ratazzi possessed that *prestige* which is necessary to be able to rise above others and direct them, giving to petty and less noble ambitions more harmless satisfactions, and thus impeding their doing any mischief, and their imposing themselves on the country. When individual ambitions are not allowed natural outlets, such as are to be found where parties are regularly disciplined, they leave the proper road, and, so to say, unconsciously stray into crooked paths, thus disturbing the proper working of constitutional functions and preventing the formation of parties. Then are formed, as is precisely the case with the new Italian kingdom, those kinds of ministerial dynasties which aspire and pretend to government, and whose position, not being sufficiently justified, excites the jealousy of many who take it to be the fault of others if they themselves do not succeed in founding a dynasty on their own account.

It is known that the Right in the Italian Chamber of Deputies subdivides itself into about as many groups as there were

individuals who had succeeded in forming a ministry or in taking a principal part in it. The Left also not only divides itself into the *old* and the *young* Left, as is proved by the programmes which came to light last year to announce officially the great scission; but both the old and the new Left subdivide themselves into as many groups as there are men who rightly or wrongly flatter themselves they would be able to be the first to attain power the day in which the Left could be called by the will of the nation and the confidence of the sovereign to constitute a ministry. These groups are called Depretis, Crispsi, Cairoli, Nicotera, &c. The jealousy and strife naturally born of so many unsatisfied ambitions must necessarily be all the more perturbing in Italy, where, notwithstanding unity, a long time must elapse before the divisions and the *regional* passions, which arise from the conflict of interests, can completely disappear.

Generally speaking, Italians are proud of their national unity, and would shrink from no sacrifice for its preservation: still they have at the same time remained Piedmontese, Neapolitans, Ligurians, Tuscans, Lombards, Sicilians, &c., and these distinctions abolished from the official Italy of our day, easily appear every moment at the banquet of political life, like the ghost of Banquo.

This is the reason why more than one Italian statesman known for frankly liberal principles has doubted whether the Italian nation has been endowed with a system of government consentaneous with their character, and has come to a negative conclusion.* These think that the remedies adopted to cure an evil which, according to them, is both political and administrative, should precisely be of that very same nature. Thence the double necessity of, firstly, changing the parliamentary system by means of an electoral reform introducing indirect universal suffrage, or, as it is called, suffrage in two degrees; secondly, of altering the political administrative system by means of a reform which would exclude from the centre of the government and from the national parliament the greater number of the affairs of political administration, and refer

* Amongst these is to be principally noticed Senator Stefano Jacini, formerly deputy, and for several years minister, and who wrote in the end of 1870 a pamphlet entitled, 'On the State of Public Affairs in Italy after 1866.'

them to administrative and representative bodies, which would be constituted in the different *regions* in which Italy geographically divides herself.

In the opinion of these politicians, there is between the *legal* Italy of the present day and the *real* Italy a distinction which should not exist, a distinction which would disappear if by a better adapted and more rational system of suffrage the former came to be the true representative of the latter.

Others, and they form the greater number, maintain that such a distinction does not really exist to any greater degree in Italy than it does in other countries longer ruled by a representative government; and that a more widely diffused instruction, a more rational education, will fully suffice to make the legal country in a relatively short space of time act and work like the real country. The question is in fact this: Whether any extension of the suffrage would at present be of advantage to the country, or would not rather tend to increase the confusion? Neither does it seem exact in an absolute sense to think that governmental centralisation is congenial to the parliamentary system. As a proof of the contrary we need only mention England, the most parliamentary and at the same time the most remarkable country in Europe for the widest administrative decentralisation.

We shall not examine here the reasons which militate in favour of those proposals, nor the objections which can be, or really were, raised against them. We need only give a rapid glance to convince ourselves how, amongst the reasons which, according to the opinion of distinguished politicians, hindered the constitution of two great parties in the new kingdom of Italy, is to be reckoned that of not having left sufficient life to the different *regions*. It consequently happens that provincial, or more properly *regional*, ambitions and rivalities, not having a natural and legitimate object, seek it in the parliament and in the central government.

Another amongst the divers remedies which might be usefully tried, would be that suggested in 1870 by another person of authority, Senator Antonio Scialoja, who was minister both previously and subsequently. The remedy is to reform the first of the two legislative chambers, the Senate, in such a manner as that it should come to represent more distinctly

and efficaciously than it at present does the opinions and interests of a more general order, and overcome provincial considerations.

'The senate,' Scialoja wrote, 'is undoubtedly called to act in Italy a most noble and important part in the progress of the new State's constitutional life; but in order to do this it is necessary to think of restoring its authority, which some fear is not at the high point which it had reached in the subalpine kingdom.'

'One will succeed,' he added, 'in overcoming all the more easily the causes of this fear, if the Crown, keeping within constitutional limits and largely using its high prerogative of electing the members of the eminent Assembly, would however surround the exercise of its prerogative with fixed rules, imposed upon itself to assure the nation that political and legislative corps will never be corrupted by elements brought to the surface by the rapid political tides which from time to time bring up the weeds from the lowest depths.'

The means suggested by Scialoja would certainly be calculated to render less hurtful the too frequent ministerial fluctuations, and make up for the want of strong social orders able to resist the action of disturbing causes, as they resist them in England, where they are rendered powerful by history and by their own intrinsic constitution.

Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the value of these remedies, it is certain that the causes of the evil lamented in Italy of the want of strong political parties are of too complex a nature to allow of their being considered under one sole and exclusive aspect. Over and above the special causes, there is one which might be called general. This is that the most prominent points of home and foreign policy, the most vital questions of a political order which have as yet been agitated in Italy, by reason of their very nature have afforded neither occasion nor matter for the formation of real political parties.

IV.

Real and strong political parties form themselves only when, it being necessary to come to practical resolutions about important and interesting arguments of high administrative or state policy, political men and their followers take part, some for this, some for that principle.

But not every kind of administrative or political questions can serve as occasion for the formation of parties. Some

questions are too light and insufficient; others, though very important, are not well adapted. This was precisely the case in Italy, as is proved by the negative result to which we are alluding.

From the very first and till 1866 the culminating point, the most vital argument of Italian policy, was deliverance from the foreign yoke. In this nearly all Italians agreed, and the very few dissenters could not form a party in the constitutional order, neither when the deliverance was in process of preparation, nor after its accomplishment. This has no need of explanation. The question of deliverance from the stranger complicated itself in its first stage with that of deliverance from bad governments and internal dynasties.

As we have already noticed, the peace of Villafranca made clear the necessity that Italy, freed from the Austrian yoke, should become really Italian; that is to say, should be formed into a state averse to the stranger, if she really wished one day to complete her independence. This was a new practical argument, for the solution of which every means was considered fitted: consequently it was not calculated to provoke true political divisions. The very existence of Italy was in the balance. The moderate liberals hesitated not a moment in uniting themselves with the most advanced patriots and even with the republican party. The common enterprise, in this as in the other intent, was indeed conducted and maintained within proper limits by the moderate party, but the other also more or less spontaneously gave in its adhesion: thus here too no matter was afforded for the formation of parties.

Those who had joined together for purposes of destruction soon parted, but even then they could not resolve themselves into constitutional parties. There were the discontented and the republicans, but none who, the work ended, had a practical design to separate themselves from the others as to the work itself.

Considered under this point of view, that is to say more properly as an internal question, that of the possession of Rome according to the votes of the Italian parliament was more capable of furnishing matter for parties. This question,

however, presents itself under another aspect, namely that of papal Rome, subject not to a prince, but to the chief of a religion the confines of which are much more extended than those of Italy. When we view the question in this light it is clear that in the general condition of Europe the political reality could not be lightly ignored, that is to say, the external difficulties which would have to be encountered; neither could a party into whose programme means of violence, rather than moral means entered, be considered one capable of holding the reins of government.

Napoleon the Third, in his speech at the opening of the legislative session in 1867, had said: 'Should demagogical 'conspiracies in their audacity dare to threaten the temporal 'power of the Holy See, Europe, I have no doubt, would not 'allow the accomplishment of an event which would create so 'great a disturbance in the Catholic world.' The voice of the French emperor was still important and dreaded.

After the unconstitutional and still more unhappy attempt which finished with Mentana, the Roman question soon left the domain of practical reality to enter that of unformed conceptions. There it would long have remained, had not unforeseen events given a more favoured ministry the opportunity of going to Rome under better auspices, and with the probability of remaining there.

Once in possession of Rome, what questions were there capable of giving rise to the formation of two great political parties? According to the opinion of the masses, the urgent want of finances and the new relations of the State with the Church dispossessed of temporal power, presented themselves as the culminating point of the new political situation. But any one who would wish to penetrate into the real substance of the thing must convince himself that these two questions, which by reason of their very importance require the existence of parties regularly and strongly constituted, were not however such as by their nature could be the object of the formation of parties in Italy, either in the parliament or out of it.

Certainly no fact is so important as the settlement of the finances in a State but just formed through means of a wonderful revolution, but nothing is more complicated and more

connected with the varied functions of social life. So long as one does but acknowledge a fact, and recognise that there is a deficit, all are of one mind in affirming that it must be filled up; but if from generalisations one proceeds to the special means of providing, one comes on ground more calculated to divide the parties already formed than to form them where they do not already exist.

To comprehend and to judge under an economical and political aspect an entire system of taxation is too great and at the same time too scientific a task, for it to be possible to hope that it can become the practical theme of a political discussion, capable of organising parties. Besides this, however little we may recall to mind the history of the Italian parliament, we must allow that the financial policy of Italy will not take a sure and firm direction if at the same time the baneful action of those causes which prevent the formation of true political parties is not removed or conquered. These causes are especially personal ambitions and the *regionalismo*.

Just as these produce disturbances and disorders in the vital functions of the State, so do they also in its financial mechanism. Every one has the feeling of nationality and the intuition of unity; but the feeling and the intuition are always struggling with other sentiments and old habits, amongst which is the exaggerated municipalism, which had so great a part in the old misfortunes of Italy.

Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain that, whilst several administrations fell under the imputation of not having known how to find an economical and financial system suited to the wants of the State, the administration which succeeded nowise differed from the former; the men who but a short time before formed part of the opposition party, once in power, followed the very same system as those whom they had combated and supplanted. Speaking but of the three last ministries, it is difficult to find out any financial and political difference in the Lanza-Sella ministry from that of Menabrea-Digny so loudly overthrown by a vote which followed a species of political impeachment brought forward against it by Lanza himself, who, to be able to speak more freely, came down from his seat of President of

the Chamber. We have nearly as great a difficulty in understanding the difference between the Lanza-Sella ministry and that by which it was supplanted in 1873, after a long and fierce opposition headed by Signor Minghetti. For the triumph of that opposition he was even obliged to have recourse to a coalition with a large part of the Left, which, however, continued to be as if for ever excluded from any participation in power, to represent the part of the opposition.

The question of the relations between the State and the Church was, as we have already said, far less calculated to give rise and organisation to true political parties than one would be first led to suppose. Considered more especially in a religious light, the thing interests but slightly the great majority of the Italians. If it sometimes occurred that some deputy wished to substitute the religious question for the political one, his voice found no response in the country, and he rendered himself wearisome to the Chamber itself. The Italians of our day are little, if at all, fond of theological discussions, and if they can be reprov'd for anything in religious matters, it is certainly not for their over zeal, but rather for their indifference.

On the more specially political ground the question does not find a sufficiently large number of dissenters for it to give place to an important political division either in or out of parliament. If we exclude that group which for some time has taken to consider the question under a third aspect, namely as a means of foreign policy, neither in the parliament nor in the country are there many who, instead of the principle proclaimed by Cavour of a free Church in a free State, prefer relations such as they are understood by the great chancellor of the empire of Germany.

V.

The argument of the relations between the new kingdom of Italy and the Church of Rome is of a complex nature. It could not be worthily treated unless by uniting the brief history which begins by the breach of Porta Pia in September, 1870, and that more legitimate and more complicated, which goes back to many years before, and comprises the

divers phases which have unfolded themselves from 1848 to the present time.

It were too far from the general theme and beyond our prescribed limits to give the subject the full consideration due to it: this could be more usefully done in a complete treatise. It is well, however, to give it a rapid glance, for it furnishes the most important and necessary means for obtaining a precise idea of the political state of Italy.

Here, too, it is necessary to recollect that the first impress of the policy which was to lead to such wonderful results was made by Cavour's masterly hand. On the 7th of July, 1850, in the famous discussion of the law known later under the name of the Siccardi Law, which abolished the privilege of the ecclesiastical tribunal, Cavour, in a speech to the Chamber which greatly contributed to his popularity and strength, said: 'It is precisely in a time of tranquillity that true statesmen, true prudent men, think of working useful reforms. Timely reforms, instead of weakening the government, strengthen it; instead of increasing the strength of the revolutionary spirit, reduce it to impotency.*' That law was in fact intended to entrust the government with the direction and execution of those reforms which are nearly always violently forced at the last hour by the revolution of the rabble. It was like the germ of a complete programme, which that powerful mind had prepared, awaiting the opportune moment to develop it.

The suppression of the religious bodies, the secularisation of scholastic institutions, civil marriage, the liquidation of ecclesiastical property, &c., were but the logical consequence of that first law. After the death of Cavour, his programme was indeed in some parts imperfectly followed out, either owing to the force of circumstances or to inferior capacity in the executors of his schemes: still in substance it was maintained and was triumphant, notwithstanding the obstacles which under different forms had to be encountered.

Ten years later, on the 11th of October, 1860, Cavour said to the Chamber of Deputies in Turin: 'During the last twelve years the fixed star of King Victor Emmanuel was the

* The bill had been moved since the 25th of February of that year, by Massimo D'Azeglio, who was then prime minister.

'aspiration after national independence. What will be this star as regards Rome? Our star, I openly declare to you, is to do in such manner as that the eternal city, on which twenty-five centuries have accumulated every kind of glory, should become the splendid capital of the kingdom of Italy.' Five months afterwards, but a short time before his death, he returned to the same theme, and proclaimed before the Chamber itself the famous formula of a *free Church in a free State*, which has since been generally attributed to him, though, several years before, in France, Count de Montalembert had been the author of it.

'As a proof of the sincerity of our proposals,' said he, 'I beg you to notice that they are consistent with the whole of our system. We think it necessary to introduce the system of liberty into all parts of civil and religious society. We desire economical liberty; we desire administrative liberty; we want full and absolute liberty of conscience; we want all the political liberties which are compatible with the maintenance of political order. Thence it follows, as a natural consequence of this order of things, that we think it necessary to the harmony of the edifice which we wish to raise that the principle of liberty should be widely applied to the representatives of the Church and of the State. We may thus obtain, in a not distant future, one of the greatest results that have ever been verified in the history of humanity—the reconciliation of Papacy with the Empire, of the spirit of liberty with the religious feeling.'

Cavour died in May, 1861. Baron Ricasoli was his successor. It is well known that his principal care in the policy with Rome was to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. On the 12th of June the new Premier in his turn uttered to the Chamber the following words:—

'We wish to go to Rome, not by destroying, but by building up, giving the Church the opportunity for reforming herself, and opening the way by giving her liberty and independence as a means for her regeneration, and a stimulant.'

Several years passed without anything being done, for the work of unifying the army and the administration occupied at first nearly exclusively the government and the parliament. On the 28th of January, 1864, the minister Pisanelli moved a bill for the suppression of the religious bodies and the settling of the ecclesiastical property. The first bill met with nearly the same fate as the two others presented before that of 1866,

that is to say, it was not even discussed; still, more or less, in all the similar projects which were proposed the same conception ruled. 'To loosen,' said Pisanelli, in his ministerial report, 'the bands with which the two powers have been fettered to their mutual hurt, so that each may freely move in her own circle, should be the task of the present generation, brought up in sound principles of civil and religious liberty; nor will it be possible to attain this result if the State does not do all in its power to alter the external order of ecclesiastical institutions.'

Towards the end of 1866, immediately after the re-establishment of peace, and the union of Venice to the rest of Italy, the thought of opening the gates of Rome by means of an understanding with the Holy See again arose. Ricasoli, again in power, sends, on the 22nd of October, a circular for the recall of the expelled bishops, and the same ideas of reconciliation and of justice prevail.

'The government,' said Ricasoli, 'thinks of thus hastening the accomplishment of those relations of perfect liberty of the Church with the State which have until now constituted but a simple axiom of the political ecclesiastical Right of the Kingdom; a right which, it would be desirable, should leave the abstract regions in which it has as yet kept itself, and truly pass into the reality of facts.'

Always governed by the same principle and with the same end in view, a little later, in February, 1867, the ministers Scialoja and Borgatti, under that same Ricasoli ministry, presented another bill entitled *For the Liberty of the Church and the Sale of Ecclesiastical Property*. According to the intention of its movers, this law was to have completed that of the 7th of July, 1866. The bill had no chance: it was obliged to make way for the more administrative and fiscal, but in no wise liberal, law proposed several months later by the minister Ratazzi. It is not the less true, however, that the programme of Cavour, though contended against and ill-used, always showed itself powerful in the midst of the different phases through which the ecclesiastical question passed in Italy, and that, strong in the sympathies and will of the great majority of the nation, it was this which mastered the situation.

It is known how the brief ministry of Ratazzi excited a

great agitation in the country, an agitation which had so great a part in the unhappy attempt of Mentana in October of the same year, and in the immediate return to a conservative cabinet with Menabrea for head. The subsequent cabinet presided over by Signor Lanza differed from it but little or not at all. It is well known that the latter, after having been in power a few months, by force of circumstances rather than owing to his own will and opinion, went to Rome; not, truly, with the moral power imagined by Cavour and for so many years dreamt of by his followers, still, not without something which rendered more apparent than real the use of material forces.

It is necessary to remember the moral support which under these circumstances the Italian government found in the powers of Europe, whose interest it would have been to oppose themselves, namely, Catholic Austria, less than four years before Italy's greatest enemy, and even France, but a few months earlier the jealous custodian of Rome. It is necessary to recollect how Count de Beust, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna, wrote, on the 20th of July, 1870, to Prince Metternich, ambassador at Paris:—

'The Convention of September, it is useless to have any illusions on the subject, is no longer suited to the situation. We cannot leave the Holy Father to the inefficacious protection of his own troops. The day in which the French leave the Pontifical States it would be necessary that the Italians should be able to enter with a full right and with the consent of Austria and of France. We shall never have real friends in the Italians if we do not draw out of them the thorn of Rome. . . . And, frankly, is it not better to know that the Holy Father is under the protection of the Italian army than to see him exposed to Garibaldian enterprises?'

VI.

Could Italy once in Rome forget and abandon the principles which had led to the fulfilment of her great end? Would it have been just? would it have been politically opportune?

Is there not a conscience even for nations and for governments? And is there not at the bottom of even the most Machiavellian policy a law which imposes consistency as an obligation? It was just, and politically wise that even in the law of the 18th of May, 1871, the Italian government should

hold fast to the principle of liberty. In securing the independence of the pontiff even as regards his action in foreign countries, the Italian government performed a strict duty towards the Catholic powers which had placed confidence in the word of Italy.

Those who so deeply lament the concessions made by the last-named law to the Church of Rome must, if they be sincere, admit that it was difficult for the Italian government to follow another line of conduct. Apart from principles and only looking at the facts, it is evident that the Church has gained a mere nothing in comparison to what it has been gradually losing these last twenty-five years. What then shall we say if we compare the present with what the Church was in Italy fifty years ago?

The fact is that Italy has in this century preceded all other States in what regards the important question of regulating the relations between the State and the Church, so that the independence of the first, and, what is of still greater importance, liberty of conscience and of thought should be secured. It is well to remember that it is exclusively the moderate-liberal party which in a relatively short space of time, by insistence and firmness, and without any great shocks, has assured liberty and succeeded in planting the Italian flag in Campidoglio; it is that liberal party which with but few intervals was in power from 1848 till this day, and which the opposition chooses to call too *conservative*.

The attitude taken by Germany in relation to the religious question since the war of 1870 has contributed, as we have already noticed, to strengthen in its accusations the opposition party, which is as acrid and troublesome as it is circumscribed in number and wanting in authority both in parliament and out of it.

The historical bearing of Germany, or rather of Prussia, in the ecclesiastical question, is diametrically opposed to that of Italy. The latter began by revindicating and restricting, and ended with the liberty of the Church; the former proclaimed in 1850 liberty (as it is formulated in the three articles lately abolished by the new law), and after thirteen years inaugurated a system of repressions. These have gone on increasing till they have within the last two years taken proportions which

must seem exaggerated even to the most lukewarm partisans of religious liberty.

In politics it is not always possible to choose the best and most suitable line of conduct; but as in this respect Italy has been favoured, it is natural to ask why in order to please Germany she should relinquish her past and give up a system which has led to such happy results.

Those who, judging by external appearances, or attributing too great an importance to the political pilgrimages at Paray-le-Monial and to other similar fancies, fear the prevalence in France of the clerical party, and as its consequence the revival of the reaction in Italy, may rejoice at their leisure that the policy of the great chancellor is a powerful antidote to so perilous a contagion; but even this would be insufficient to induce the more humble ministers of the kingdom of Italy to abandon a different policy which Italy has no reason whatever to be discontented with. Besides, the danger of contagion does not in truth seem to be very great, either when we consider the conditions of Italy or more attentively examine those of France. Taken in its whole, the history of that people does not indicate that its follies are of very long duration, and nothing induces us to fear that the vivifying and innovating spirit will delay its return this time any more than on former occasions.

By associating herself with the religious policy of Bismark, Italy would favour the interests of Germany but not her own. Bismark well knew that once France was prostrate and Italy arisen, united and full of youthful vigour, the supremacy lost by the Popes would not instal itself at Berlin but at Rome, were Italy no longer at enmity with the Papacy. It was thus to the interest of Bismark to begin a policy of warfare against the Church of Rome and excite Italy to follow in her footsteps. But the interests of Italy counselled her then, as they still do, to follow another line of policy.

The force of circumstances having obliged her to abolish the temporal power of the Pope, but not out of enmity against religion, nay, with the firm conviction of working its real good, it was above all necessary for her to try to take away all motives for conflict by a reciprocal liberty, without any intention of subjecting the first to the second or the second to the first.

Even starting from a principle of justice, the State which would allow itself to be drawn into taking measures of restriction not necessitated by its conditions would commit a great mistake. It is necessary to take into consideration the nature of the populations, their education, their feelings: thus the policy suitable for one State may be unbecoming for another. It is not reasonable to compare a nation entirely Catholic with another the population of which is more than two-thirds Protestant. Laws must be adapted to the special circumstances of each particular State, the necessity of the defence pointing out the choice of the arms.

Under whatever light we may be disposed to view the attitude taken by Germany, it is certain that her plan is entirely different from that carried out by Italy as regards the ecclesiastical question.

The end pursued by the German ecclesiastical laws is the destruction of the independent life of each Church, and its conversion into a civil service, into a kind of *spiritual police*. The fundamental basis of Prussian legislation is the clergy regulated like an order dependent on the State, like a class of political functionaries on whom the government has the right to impose conditions for the exercise of their priestly ministry. It is sufficient to say that the Prussian law of the 11th of May, 1873, is entitled *the law on the education of priests*.

In Italy the case is widely different. Last year, in order to draw more clearly a line of demarcation between the State and the Church, a law was passed for the suppression of the Faculty of Theology in the Universities of the State, precisely because the opinion there predominates that the State ought to interfere in Church matters only within those more narrow limits which political necessity and the guardianship of the liberty of conscience impose upon it, and without occupying itself about ecclesiastical education.

The future will reveal the value of Bismark's policy of making use of the fanaticism of incredulity as an arm to combat the fanaticism of superstition. Italy has no cause to regret the road which she has taken, for it has secured to her all that she wanted, and has also raised her in the opinion of the civilised world. The trial which is being made by Italy is followed with a curiosity not unmingled with sympathy:

every one understands that, in case of failure, the government and the parliament have not shut the way against such new measures as might better answer for the defence of liberal institutions and of the rights of the State.

Prince Bismark has most artfully tried to transfer an internal question to the ground of international right, and has considered the law of the guarantees as a law which requires the sanction, so to say, of the other States.

The Italian government has not allowed itself to be entrapped, and on this occasion also it has conducted itself with prudence and dignity. Indeed it would not be fair that a State should arrogate the right of discussing a law of another State only because the law, in the intention of him who made it, was a kind of moral guarantee for the rest of Europe.

Before entering Rome the Italian parliament declared in the name of the nation what would be the guarantees for the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Pontiff, whose temporal power was at an end; but even though taking Europe and the world as witnesses, it could certainly not have the intention, nor could any one for a moment entertain the thought of submitting that law to a foreign sanction. Italy cannot do otherwise than hold firm on this point, namely, that every State must defend itself against the Pope on its own particular ground, and by adopting those measures which it thinks most calculated to secure its independence. In the same way that those who find insufficient the guarantees given by the government might, without having recourse to Italy, seek and find ampler ones, those who find them too ample have but to defend themselves as they think best. Prince Bismark labours under a mistake if he does not perceive that the ecclesiastical position of the Pope is not created by the law on the guarantees, but in fact by the political right of Europe. So long as the Pope is recognised and treated by the Powers as on a par with the most lawful sovereigns, it is vain to affirm the wish or the will to consider him in the light of any private person. Even under the international aspect it was evidently the duty of the Italian government not only to secure liberty to the Pope as head of the Catholic Church, but also to guarantee to the Church full liberty for the choice of the Pontiff. This is provided for by

the law of guarantees of May, 1871. This law enabled Signor Visconti-Venosta, from the beginning of 1874, to counterwork the effects of the ill humour of the Germans who had caught at the vain question whether a certain Bull of Pope Pius the Ninth was real or false, by sending a diplomatic note to all the governments of Europe. In that note he announced to Europe in the very simplest manner that on the distant or near day of the death of Pius the Ninth, the election of his successor could take place in Rome with all freedom and security. For this end he recalled to their minds the guarantees with which the law of May, 1871, surrounds the Conclave.

This second political aspect of the ecclesiastical question in Italy naturally leads us to say something of another subject which remains to be briefly examined, to complete the sketch of that country. The reader has already understood that we refer to the question of foreign policy.

VII.

It is not possible to dwell on the foreign policy of Italy and to sketch even briefly her actual position towards the other nations of Europe without reference to Cavour's great work, the fruits of which, it is but fair to say, Italy is now enjoying.

Italy would probably not have been formed as yet, had not Cavour overcome many diplomatic difficulties, and succeeded in making Piedmont take part in the Crimean war, in 1854, by the side of England and of France. Not only the conservatives, but also the most audacious liberals, were at that time adverse to Cavour's idea, and advised abstention. He had to struggle against such men as Revel, Tecchio, Brofferio, and Pallavicino-Trivulzio, leaders of all the different tints in the Chamber. He stood firm; he converted to himself the majority, and obtained that which every one now allows to have been the starting-point of the fortune of Italy.

From the Crimean war followed as a consequence the intervention of Piedmont in the Congress of Paris in 1856. Cavour succeeded in obtaining in favour of his country the revocation of what had been previously established in the Congress of Vienna, and put in practice at Aix, Lubiana, and Verona, for the exclusion of the smaller States from consulting

and deciding on the affairs of Europe ; and thus, in the Congress of Paris, Piedmont saw her right to defend the Italian cause formally recognised by England and France, and indirectly consented to by Russia and Prussia. Although conducting himself in that Congress with the most artful modesty, Cavour skilfully took advantage of the conflict of interests and passions to isolate Austria. Having succeeded in his intent, he rose in the name of Italy, that country nearly ignored by diplomacy, which had allowed her to be only a *geographical division*, to throw in the face of Austria her violations of the treaty of 1815, and he succeeded in taking the task of the national independence out of the unskilful hands of sects and conspiracies, and transferring it into the Courts of Europe.

Another great work of Cavour's, if only we will judge without passion and with reference to the time of its accomplishment, was the Pact of Plombières, concluded with the French. The particulars of it are still a secret ; nevertheless, it is known that the extension of Piedmont to the Adriatic and to the Apennines, so as to form a kingdom of about eleven millions of inhabitants, was agreed upon. This may seem but little now that Italy has been formed ; but we must recollect that that great event would never have taken place without the war of 1859, which was precisely prepared by the Pact of Plombières.

Should it be asked why Cavour did not find an alliance with Prussia preferable to one with France, the answer would be that the political transformation of Prussia was of a much later date, and that it was only that transformation which rendered possible, in 1866, the acceptance of the principles represented by the Italian Revolution and the alliance which contributed to the deliverance of Venice.

The anterior policy of Prussia was very different. In so far as it concerned Italy, one might also remember the notes which the Prussian government was not slow to send as a protest against the annexations. Equally memorable are Cavour's replies, and so is especially his despatch to the minister De Launay at Berlin, of the 9th of November, 1860, in which, in answer to the attacks of Prussia, the great Italian statesman sustained the new right of peoples to nationality.

It is worthy of notice that in October, 1860, the Prussian

minister went to read to Cavour a note from his government. In it was expressed the greatest disapprobation of the entry into the Marches and the ex-kingdom of Naples. Cavour answered that he was sorry at being blamed, but that 'he 'consoled himself with the thought that Piedmont was setting 'an example which in a short time Prussia would most probably be very happy to follow.'

Cavour, with his sure and penetrating glance, foresaw the events which were to change Prussian policy, and with it the fate of the whole of Germany. Thus already, since 1858, he had longed for the alliance with Prussia when she was still so obstinate in her anti-liberal and reactionary policy. We may notice this conception in the visit paid by Cavour to the Prince Regent, now Emperor of Germany, in Baden, in 1858, on his return from the meeting at Plombières, as also in the mission which he immediately afterwards entrusted to Count Pepoli at the Court of Berlin. We see it taken up again in 1860 in his memorable correspondence with Schleinitz and Brassier de St. Simon, and attempted with the La Marmora mission in 1861, but a little while before death came to cut short a life so precious to Italy. Whatever real good has been effected since Cavour's death by the men at the head of public affairs, has been but the continuation of his policy or its consequence.

The possibility and advantage of an alliance with Prussia had been grasped by him since 1858; and in December, on Pepoli's return from Berlin, he (Cavour) uttered the following remarkably prophetic words, which prove all the power of his political genius:—

'That which cannot be concluded to-day will perhaps be concluded to-morrow. Prussia is inevitably drawn into the orbit of the idea of nationality. The alliance of Prussia with aggrandized Piedmont is written in the future book of history.'

In the mean time, however, Napoleon the Third had been the only one who, in 1855 and in 1856, had put Cavour to the question: *Que peut on faire pour l'Italie?* Is it probable that Prussia, as it is now pretended, would have proved more disinterested? Facts prove rather the contrary. In 1866, being in want of an alliance, Prussia united with Italy to overthrow Austria. This is very true. Nevertheless it must

be remembered that this alliance favoured the interests of Germany, to say the least, as much as those of Italy. Had not Prussia had the support of Italy, and in a second line, but what was perhaps still more important, that of France, Sadowa would not have been possible. Italy, as well as France, contributed to that victory, which was to lead to the war of 1870, and to the future of Germany. After those wonderful events, it is not strange that the current of opinion is in some respects changed, and that even that reasoning which formerly would have been deemed nearly impossible should have become natural.

To this we must add the particular circumstances which followed, and which were in no wise favourable to France.

The violence of the French clerical party, and of a certain number of the so-called conservatives of the Assembly of Versailles, contributed to estrange many friends of France, and reawake the odious remembrance that it was she who had so greatly opposed the acquisition of Rome. A part of the sympathies lost by France went over to her fortunate rival.

This is easily understood: the splendour of victory has in all ages had a dazzling effect, and fortune a crowd of worshippers. But this is no good reason for Italy to forget all that France did for her during more than ten years following, and that, had it not been for France and for Napoleon the Third, Italy would probably not yet exist.

Wishing to reason without passion, it is certain that motives are not wanting for excusing the imperial government, if, in the last stage of its policy, it was no longer such as to please the Italians. It may also be questioned whether, previously to the war of 1870, Prussia or any other continental power would have done, nay, simply *allowed*, that which it is pretended that it was the duty of France to do.

Such among the Italians as would be inclined to be ungrateful towards France and Napoleon the Third should recollect that in the last year of the imperial government the party with which the Emperor was obliged to come to some understanding, and whose implacable hostility was in fact, as history will tell, one of the principal causes of the fall of the Empire, had become more and more violent and

audacious. This party was headed by M. Thiers, who, it is well known, spied every possible opportunity for sourly reproaching the imperial government with having propagated false ideas of nationality. A violent discourse of M. Thiers before the Corps Legislatif, on the 4th of December, 1867, cannot be forgotten. In it he maintained that at the very most Italy should have been allowed to constitute herself into a confederation like Switzerland.

‘The result,’ he said, ‘of the policy of France in Italy is to be seen in Germany. Two unities, one made, one allowed to be made, who join hands over the Alps, *et qui mettent à la paix cette condition que vous les laisserez s’achever.* . . . *En Europe,*’ he adds, ‘*il y a un équilibre Européen : et c’est au nom de ce principe qu’on a le droit de ne pas créer à côté de soi des puissances de 25 millions d’âmes.*’

How full of sympathy for the Italian cause was the answer which that day, as always, M. Rouher gave to M. Thiers ! How explicit were the declarations which already more than a year before (in the diplomatic circular of the 16th of September, 1866) Marquis de Lavalette had made in the name of his sovereign when he said :—

‘Politics should soar above the mean and narrow prejudices of another age. The Emperor does not think that the greatness of a country depends on the weakness of the surrounding nations, and he sees true equilibrium only in the satisfied aspirations of the nations of Europe.’

To say that France, by the cession of Nice and Savoy, was recompensed for what she had done for Italy, would not only be an indelicacy of which it is impossible for so noble and chivalrous a nation as the Italian to be guilty, but it would at the same time be politically inexact ; for the nation which in order to constitute itself invokes above all the principle of nationality could not shame it by refusing to give up voluntarily two provinces which by right of nationality belong to France.

When Cavour in homage to this principle had the courage to tear from his sovereign’s ancestral crown the gem which had been the kernel of the small state that had acted so great a part in the destinies of Italy, he, far from performing an act of less noble compliance, as his detractors and the demagogues pretend, performed an act of deep policy. Those who impartially examine the conduct of the Italian government

towards France from 1856 to 1870, will find that it was indeed that of a grateful friend, but never of a vassal.

In 1858, when, for a moment, Walewsky seemed to forget that little Piedmont was a free and sovereign state, Cavour himself, the author of the French alliance, wrote to Marquis Villamarina, minister at Paris, the following memorable words :—

‘Courage! and continue to represent a generous king and a loyal government, which, as it will never enter into an alliance with disorder and revolution, so it will never in any case allow itself to be cowed by the threats of its neighbours. Persevere in the diplomatic struggle! . . . Our young king will go to die in America, and he will die, not once but a hundred times, at the foot of our Alps before tarnishing with a single spot the unsullied honour of his noble race.’

The foreign policy is that in which the school of Cavour has been best understood and followed by his successors. Prudent and tenacious, conciliatory and firm, never giving way to the temptation of uselessly magnifying petty questions, but always pursuing the one national end without allowing themselves for any consideration whatever to be turned from it, they have succeeded in happily accomplishing the task begun by that great man. Italy is formed; her unity is attained; Rome, the eternal city, the cradle of the civilisation of the world, is her capital.

VIII.

The means of which Italy was obliged to avail herself in order to obtain her independence and constitute herself, the aids to which she was obliged to have recourse and for which she must be grateful, constitute for her at present a position that would be embarrassing and fraught with danger, were she, inebriated by the courtesy so largely shown her by rival nations with a view of enticing her into their own particular orbit, to lose sight of the necessity of prudence and moderation. The friends of Italy must have rejoiced when, but a few months ago, her statesmen saw the necessity of creating for Italy a counterbalance to the alliance with Germany in the alliance with Austro-Hungary.

Italy needs Austro-Hungary as Austro-Hungary needs her, for the latter is engaged in an alliance not without danger,

and must be sure of Italy, so as to be able to settle to her own advantage the Oriental question. Italy then does well to avail herself of the friendship of Austro-Hungary, just as the other takes advantage of the friendship of Italy. The new system of policy of the Austro-Hungarian government after Sadowa is calculated to awake the warmest sympathies of Italian statesmen.

How distant seem the days, in reality so near, when the new king of Piedmont, who had picked up on the field of battle his father's broken crown, said to Sir James Hudson, minister of England: 'I will fight Austria to the knife!' The motives of that noble hatred exist no longer; Italy is free to the Adriatic. At Vienna as at Venice it was not only the two sovereigns who cordially shook hands, but with them also the two nations.

This does not mean that the friendly relations between the Italian and the German governments are to be considered less cordial. Certainly the history of Germany has entered on a completely different phase; the same is the case with Italy; and it is not possible that the very same perils should renew themselves under identical forms. Nevertheless, if it is prudent for Italy to be, although friendly, still on her guard against France, so long as the latter has not well determined her line of conduct, this is perhaps even more opportune towards Germany. We must not forget that the whole history of Italy in the middle ages, and even in modern times, is comprised first in her struggle to avoid German supremacy, and afterwards in her subjection to Germany. This history will certainly not be gone over again by Italy now that her political position is that of the most favoured.

She is the arbitress of an eventual conflict between Germany and Austro-Hungary, for owing to her happy geographical position, and to the political position created for her by events, she can dispose of the political action of Austria in the East, and be ready to take advantage of any complications which may arise for Austria from the part taken by Russia.

Italy knows the road to the East—that East so long a fount of riches and of glory for her. Free from all suspicion of aiming at territorial conquests, Italy is the nation most

fitted to exercise in those regions a provident and efficacious action for European civilization, of glory and great utility for herself. In the East, not elsewhere, do all the important questions which have too long kept Europe in a state of agitation await a solution. Italy may be happy should she in the longed-for day be able to contribute to the settling of those questions in the interests of civilisation and of the rights of peoples. It may be that later, owing to her position and to the favourable conditions in which she finds herself, she may be reserved an all-important task—that of peacemaker between France and Germany, at present divided by so deep an enmity; a task which might perhaps be of use not only to Italy, but to the whole of Europe. After all, Italy is bound to Germany by ancient community of destiny and to the French nation by ties of blood and homogeneity of principles. A line of policy which would lead to so great a reconciliation would be a policy worthy of the nation to which Cavour belonged. But for the present Italy must moderate her ardour, and content herself with a policy mostly of observant concentration.

Amongst all the different undertakings of Italy, especially after 1870, the most difficult is certainly that of taking amongst the other European nations a completely independent position, where she may defend herself, not so much against open enmities—but little probable—as against interested alliances and dangerous protectorates.

On this account her alliances should not be such in the proper meaning of the word, but rather friendships, which would not fetter her movements nor confine her to a line of action too minutely pre-established. She requires alliances which would procure her the very fewest enemies, and, as much as possible, leave her apart from the particular disputes of the other Powers. She need not enter into a special league either with the Northern Powers against the Western, or with the Western Powers against the Northern. Italy must maintain as much as possible her liberty of action, reserving to herself the right of supporting at the proper moment what would be most conformable, firstly, to her principles, secondly, to her interests.

The first interest of Italy is peace. Not a day passes but

she repeats it: all are convinced of it. Consequently it is her right and duty to refuse to enter into any too close alliance which might draw her into a war.

The absence of any threat from abroad is one of the best foundations of internal policy. With a foreign policy of this kind Italy will be able to strengthen herself at home and take advantage of a leisure which might perhaps one day fail her, to re-establish public security in the provinces requiring it, to increase production, restore the finances, raise her credit, improve the treasures with which Providence has so abundantly blessed her, and turn to the best account the elements of power and of prosperity which she possesses.

A great example has lately been given to Italy by one of her most illustrious citizens, Garibaldi. After Aspromonte, the Garibaldian party had become, both at home and abroad, a grave cause of embarrassment for Italy. The hero of Caprera was henceforth a banner around which crowded all the most turbulent passions. There was a moment when so great an abuse was being made of the name of Garibaldi as to induce Mazzini himself, a short time before his death, to separate his own cause from that which the name of Garibaldi, however honourable, was made to serve.

It is not that Garibaldi has done less for Italy than Mazzini. If the merit of the latter lies in the creative idea, that of the former lies in the genius for execution. He had, besides, the advantage of being less absolute and more practical than the other, believing in the possibility of the conciliation of monarchy with the unity and liberty of Italy.

The having entrusted Garibaldi with the organisation of the volunteers for the war of independence had been one of the most wonderful acts of Cavour's policy, one of the most useful ideas brought forward by the meeting of Plombières. Garibaldi was the representative of a new principle in the history of revolutions and of wars. He was, so to say, the fusion of two social principles co-operating for the formation of the country—the prince and the people, authority and liberty, the old world and the new, legitimacy and the revolution. Were it not for the prestige which surrounded that chieftain, not only would the expedition to Sicily, a year after, have been impossible, but it could not have been even

dreamed of ; that wonderful expedition, by means of which, and with sacrifices relatively so light, the south of Italy was delivered and united to the other half.

How sad then it was to see the man who had rendered himself so well-deserving of his country, and who had spontaneously made a gift to the Italian monarchy of the provinces which he had liberated, become later a danger for the tranquillity and even for the unity of Italy !

One day, however, the true Garibaldi again reveals himself. He breaks every impure fetter, puts an end to the impotency to which he seemed to have condemned himself, and proves to his countrymen that he has understood the way in which the country is now best served. He accepts the mandate of representative in the Italian parliament, leaves Caprera, goes to Rome ; and whilst there are those who fear and those who rejoice that his appearance may be the signal for discords and turbulent agitations, he edifies Italy and the world by his prudence and good sense. His first thought is given to the amelioration of the economical condition of his country and to its material well-being. His first project, his first speech, concerns the great work of the deviation of the Tiber, and the consequent improvement of the *Agro Romano*, a work which will be productive of great riches, and which should be the first step towards the increment to be given to agriculture in so highly agricultural a country as Italy.

Garibaldi by his example shows to his countrymen that these, and none others, are the questions which mostly interest Italy at present. He well understands that concord is requisite for this ; therefore, nobly forgetting every petty rancour, he associates in his work the men at the head of government, and shows himself affable and friendly. He goes to visit the King, and the Roman population has the satisfaction of seeing Victor Emmanuel by the side of Garibaldi on the balcony of the Quirinal, as the population of Naples had formerly seen them side by side in the Via di Toledo.

Certainly the new page of Italian history which Garibaldi is preparing will be neither less noble for him nor less glorious and useful for Italy, than that of Garibaldi the hero of Marsala and of Calatafimi.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Southern States of North America : a Record of Journeys in Louisiana, Texas, the Indian Territory, &c. By EDWARD KING. Profusely Illustrated from Original Sketches, by J. WELLS CHAMPNEY. Blackie and Sons.

Accepting this large and profusely illustrated volume for what it is, it is deserving of very high commendation. It is the record of a journey by the author and the artist, extending over more than twenty-five thousand miles, undertaken at the instance of the publishers of 'Scribner's Monthly Magazine,' for the purpose of presenting to the readers of that journal a full account of the present condition of the Southern States, just emancipated from slavery. Every important city and town was visited, and information from all available sources was gathered. Of necessity, a book so compiled must be both imperfect and inaccurate; and we were at first disposed to look upon it as partaking of the character of a series of 'Daily Telegraph' articles, an impression deepened by the somewhat rhetorical style of the first few pages. But when the author has settled down to his work this disappears, and he evinces a judgment equal to his industry, the result of which is a volume in which as much of the past history of the different States is given as suffices to enable an intelligent understanding of their present condition. Facts and figures concerning manufactures, trade, politics, races, religion, and the general state of the country, are carefully compiled and picturesquely presented; so that we feel put in possession of as thorough a knowledge of the country as the observation of another can convey. The account of New Orleans, for example, with which the book opens, is singularly complete and instructive. Its present characteristics are connected with its history. Its occupation successively by France, Spain, and the United States; its growth, architecture, markets, quays, cotton trade, shipping, manners and customs; with its residents of various nationalities, are all sketched with great vividness and completeness. Mr. King belongs to the class of Commissioners of which Dr. W. H. Russell is *facile princeps*, and combines great painstaking, close observation, and picturesque description in a very unusual degree. His chapters make no pretension to the dignity or the philosophy of history: they are panoramic sketches in the first instance, and careful statistical reports in the second, the whole being interspersed with historical information, travelling experience, and illustrative anecdote. The writer gives evidence of having consulted the highest authorities, and produces the impression of having thoroughly mastered each topic. He writes moreover with solicitous impartiality and kindness, but also curiously produces the impression of an intelligent foreigner giving us the result of his observation; so that he gives us a repertory of information, that if not

strictly history, will admirably do duty for it for some years to come. If the book were not got up in a style so sumptuous, so as to be too big for a portmanteau, we should earnestly say that no traveller in the Southern States should be without it. It is one of the best handbooks that we have seen, and something more. We cannot comment on particulars. The account of the terrible condition of devastation and poverty in which the civil war has left Louisiana and New Orleans, however, will be read with deep interest; but surely the statistical tables of the produce of cotton since the war, and the wonderful solicitude and provision for education, are a sufficient set-off against the writer's somewhat gloomy vaticinations respecting the commercial prospects of New Orleans. The chapters on negro life, revivals, negro religious services, negro songs and singers, are full of interest. The work is really a valuable one. The illustrations, which are so profusely scattered over its pages, are also of great merit.

White Conquest. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Dixon will write in exclamations. He scorns the thought of taking his readers into his confidence and of patiently and familiarly teaching them. He summons them into a theatre, prepares stage and scenery, and poses before them. He opens his mouth in this fashion: 'RUINS! A pile of stone, standing in a country of mud-tracks, adobe ranches, and timber sheds? Yes, broken down, projecting rafter, crumbling wall, and empty chancel, open to the wind and rain, poetic wrecks of what in days gone by have been a cloister and a church.' The meaning being indicated by the notes of exclamation and interrogation. The former we can understand, but are at a loss to conceive to whom the latter is addressed. Thus he introduces his two thick volumes. As soon as any proper name occurred, we had recourse to the best maps in our possession to discover whereabouts on the Pacific coast we had suddenly been transported, but our search was fruitless. We began to suspect that we were somewhere on the Californian coast, and, from the name Pinal Grande, we should have thought in the neighbourhood of the Pinal Mountains, but they are too far inland. If Mr. Dixon could have condescended to anything so prosaic as direct information, he might have told us where Monte Carmelo is, and so relieved us from an inquisitiveness that hindered our surrender of ourselves to his performance. And in this style we are jerked on from chapter to chapter. The lights on his landscape are lightning flashes; we advance by glissades, and sail over cataracts. It is long since any book has given us such an ache.

Mr. Dixon does not narrate; he constructs dramatic scenes, not unfrequently melodramatic, beginning with the 'Here we are again' of the tumbling clown, and ending in pyrotechnics. He always seems struggling after scenic effects, and seeking after some violent association of antipodes, either of place or of thought; and mentally asking, 'Isn't that clever?' Of course exactness of statement and of thought is impossible. One has

mentally to subtract the war paint, and the feathers, and the gyrations, and, as well as we can, form an estimate of the actual man. It is all glitter and epigram and sonorous magniloquence. It interests us, but we are glad when it is over, and turn away laughing, wondering whether the children have been pleased with it. You never feel as if you were listening to exact statement or could grasp precise truth. Mr. Dixon has something to tell you which you would like to know, but he tells it in a way so exaggerated and grotesque, that you are never sure whether he is preaching or romancing. His style is full of literary tricks, all sensational. If he has to make the simplest statement, it furnishes occasion for allusions absurdly remote or hopelessly obscure; or else for a series of grand comparisons, beginning with Homer and ending with Brigham Young, *e.g.*, vol. ii. pp. 186-7, a passage too long to quote, but worth referring to as an example of Mr. Dixon's cyclopædic sweep, which would have given special emphasis to the expletive of Dominie Sampson.

Mr. Dixon's idea is to present to us pictures of the conflict of races on the North American continent. Beginning with the Pacific slope, he portrays the conflict of the White Man with the Indian Races. His scenes are selected from the entire period from the days just after the Spanish conquest until the present. Then the scene changes, and we suddenly find ourselves in Louisiana, spectators of the conflict between the white man and the negro. Again the curtain rises, and we find ourselves in San Francisco, studying the problem of Chinese immigration. Under each of these divisions of his work Mr. Dixon has interesting and important things to say. The questions springing out of this conflict—the intermixture or supercession of races—are of vital importance to both the present and the future of the United States. They largely influence present legislation, especially through the representation and the ballot-box; and through the admixture of moral, religious, and social ideas, they are not unlikely to exercise an important power in the modifications of race. What, in blood, in laws, in religion, will the United States be a century hence? Mr. Dixon's book raises these important questions: it gives interesting information, it abounds in shrewd hints and sagacious judgments, but it is vitiated by its manner of statement. One grave defect of it is the fascination which abnormal characteristics and romantic crime seem to exercise over the writer. As in his 'New America,' he picks out instances of fanaticism and crime such as are to be found everywhere, but are specially plentiful in a new country, under such conditions of settlement as we see in the United States. He puts these upon his stage in single scenes, and says nothing to counteract the impression that they are not normal types; which is very much like taking typical portraiture of English character from the 'Newgate Calendar.' Thus the real value of Mr. Dixon's delineation is reduced. Without questioning the truth of his representation, we have no means whatever of judging of its relation to the general state of society. As is usual with Mr. Dixon, he has a great deal to say about the relations of the sexes, those of new settlers with the Indians, of slave-owners with their slaves, of the Chinese with Americans and Indians especially; as also about the

numerical disproportion between the sexes in some of the newer States. The problems that thus arise are very grave, and demand the anxious care of the statesman, the moralist, and the Christian teacher; but we should have been glad to have been spared a good deal of Mr. Dixon's salacious recurrence to them. Mr. Dixon's book, in spite of its great literary defects, is an important one. It raises questions of great moment and is interesting in many of its details. When Mr. Dixon forgets, as he occasionally does, especially in the second volume, his stage attitudes, and forgets himself in his subject, we read with great interest, and regret that he should mar the effect of his literary powers by tricks of the pen that he has no need to employ.

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Vols. III. and IV. Longmans and Co.

The successive volumes of this work as they appear bear out the more favourable impression produced by the second, in which it lost the merely encyclopædic character of the first, and assumed a place of importance in connection with the philosophy of history and of human life. As the plan of the author expands its comprehensiveness and unity become more evident, while his ability to grapple with such a series of problems as are brought before us is made unmistakable. He has accepted the last results of modern culture, and is familiar with the final achievements of science. To us, indeed, he sometimes appears rash and hasty in accepting as proved what are mere theories, which yet await final confirmation; but his zeal rarely outruns discretion in the use he finally makes of either the facts or the theories. In the third volume the author has advanced to the great subject of the mythology of the peoples of the Pacific States, which includes the philosophy of language as well. We should probably have more than one lance to break with him in regard to his philosophy of mythology were it more detailed and more fully developed; but the value of the mythological and linguistic facts regarding the primitive races of America is independent of the value of the initial speculations. The importance, magnitude, and novelty of these facts are equally great. The fourth volume is devoted to monumental archaeology, and includes a detailed description of all material relics of the past which are known. Two chapters on the monumental remains of South America and the Eastern United States give an illustrative completeness to the author's subject proper, which is of very great value. The researches of some five hundred travellers are laid under contribution with great painstaking and critical acumen; and as the author tells us that he makes no claim to personal archaeological research, these are the authorities upon which he relies. The result is a more encyclopædic presentation of this important branch of the author's great subject than we have hitherto possessed. Mr. Baldwin's small duodecimo volume on Ancient America has been the completest manual of American Antiquities up to the publication of the present work. Here we have a sumptuous volume of eight hundred pages. Another

volume on traditional and written archæology is to follow—which will lead up to the author's theories concerning the origin of the American people and of Western civilisation. The very magnitude of these volumes restricts us to this mere indication of the fields which they traverse. In the author of these volumes, Central America has gained an interpreter to whom it ought to be for ever grateful. In addition we may state that he unites a fairly picturesque and attractive style which imparts liveliness to his narrative. In these days of diffuse reading the general reader may turn away from such an elaborate work as this, but to the student of antiquities and archæology, as well as to the man of science generally, it will be found a most acceptable gift.

Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History. By JAMES PICCIOTTO.
Trübner and Co.

Very few persons know much about the Jews in any of the lands where they dwell. Their distinctive characteristics—of race, religion, and social life—are almost inviolably preserved. They mingle with all peoples; they become incorporated with none. They have often been persecuted, 'peeled and spoiled.' We know them as keen traders, and now and then their race effloresces in a remarkable genius; but their religious and social exclusiveness hinders their being known either to history or to their contemporaries.

In giving us some sketches of their history in England, therefore, Mr. Picciotto has broken ground as interesting as it is new. Few peoples have undergone more romantic vicissitudes or are better worthy of study. The rise and history of the Jewish community in London alone is a very romantic chapter of our history. Mr. Picciotto has had access to the archives of the older synagogues, which were almost unknown to the Jews themselves. They were guarded by official jealousy, and written in Spanish, Portuguese, or a Jewish-German dialect. He has also made researches in libraries, public and private, and in family records; everywhere, indeed, where information could be obtained. His labours were undertaken for the '*Jewish Chronicle*,' and took, therefore, the shape of sketches. We wish that he had formed the purpose and adopted the plan of a regular history, for which he has many qualifications. We can only hope that the interest excited by the present publication will induce him to recast and complete his materials in this form.

We cannot touch the rich and multiform contents of the volume, beginning with the early history of the cruel persecutions of the Jews in England, under the misguided Christian instinct which forgot and reversed the yearning love and forgiveness of the crucified Lord. Apparently their wealth furnished a welcome excuse for this religious antipathy. Down to the time of Edward I. theirs is a uniform history of spoliation. Their money contributed largely to the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, just as the fines of Dissenters did to the building of the Mansion House: at the same time efforts were made to convert them to Christianity. Edward I. banished them from the realm; but he appropriated their homes and

a great part of their property to himself, while the convents appropriated their valuable libraries. About 16,000 quitted England, going to Spain, Sicily, Africa, and the East, and for two centuries no Jews were recognised residents in this country. Their readmission seems to have been due to Oliver Cromwell, who negotiated for their return with Manasseh Ben Israel, of Amsterdam. Burnet tells us that Cromwell brought over to England a company of Jews, and gave them leave to build a synagogue. Their formal establishment, however, was not accomplished until the reign of Charles II. The book is full of curious reading.

The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1871. By the Rev. M. A. SHERRING, M.A., LL.B., Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, &c. With an Illustrative Map of India. Trübner & Co.

This goodly volume of nearly five hundred pages is another testimony to the extensive reading, careful and judicious accumulation of important information, and fine catholic spirit of this distinguished missionary. Not long since we called the attention of our readers to his learned work on Benares, and since then he has published the most complete view which exists in our language of the numerous castes of India. He has, in the volume before us, told the wonderful and refreshing story of Protestant missions in India. The narrative is written throughout in a fine tone of generous recognition of all the work and workers in this great enterprise. Volume after volume has appeared, descriptive of the various epochs and departments of Protestant missions in the Peninsula from the days of Ziegenbald and Schwartz to those of 'Carey, Marshman, and 'Ward.' We have had the marvellous story of Choti-Nagpore, of the Karens and the Kôls. The garden of the Lord in Southern India has been often portrayed, and the work done in Bengal and the North West, in the Punjab and Madras, has been specially detailed by the representatives of various missionary societies. Mr. Sherring has collected his information from all these sources, and has given us a succession of tableaux of extreme interest; until the reader, under his guidance, travels over the entire field of British India as well as of the independent States from Affghanistan to Travancore. Our author always writes clearly and often eloquently, and the selection of material is judicious and well mastered. The work of thirty-five societies is chronicled with extreme care and patience. The noble catholic spirit which prevails among those who are working in India, side by side, in their grand crusade against superstition and degradation, and in the vigorous attempt to promote education, moral life, true manliness, and Christian character has transfused itself into these pages. The principle of classification has been a geographical one; and the records are made much more comprehensible by a valuable illustrative map, in which the work of the various societies is laid down very intelligibly. At the close of each section, brief statistical

tables are appended which set forth the results of missionary labour. It is refreshing that one who has lived a quarter of a century in India, who weathered and recorded the results of the great rebellion, should now, in 1875, have such heart and hope for the future. Taking his stand in the very sanctuary of Hinduism he can say confidently, 'India is fast losing its ancient landmarks. Its former condition of unprogressiveness and stagnation is rapidly disappearing under the renewing and life-giving influences of education, civilisation, and Christianity.' After enumerating these results, he makes bold to say, 'It is beyond dispute, that the most prominent, earnest, and indefatigable agencies in producing these results have been Protestant missions, which have operated like a regenerating power on all classes of the community.' Considerable portions of the remarkable testimony of Mr. Clements Markham to Protestant missions, published by order of the House of Commons, are here introduced.

The volume deserves a most extensive circulation, and richly repays perusal. The objections to missions are quietly stated and effectively undermined. The difficulties which the missionary has to encounter have been unfolded by this writer in his other treatises. Here he details a work of noble promise, of untiring determination, and of splendid positive fruit. We may rejoice in nearly 400,000 converts and in a complete army of native evangelists, in numerous schools and colleges, in translations of the Holy Scriptures, in the splendid results of Dr. Duff's experiment, and in the indirect consequences of missionary zeal. But objectors are never weary of comparing these triumphs with the vast population which is as yet untouched and unchanged. As well might the promise of the spring be scorned, because an observer can see only the shooting of a few catkins and may count his daisies on his fingers.

Mr. Sherring's review of the whole series of facts is masterly, and his suggestions seem to us very wise. The closing appeal on the qualifications needed for Indian missionaries sounds like a trumpet-call to the mother country to send her best men to carry on this work of stupendous magnitude and incalculable importance to the well-being of the world.

History of Music from the Christian Era to the Present Time.

In the form of Lectures. Designed for the use of Students, &c. By FREDERIC LOUIS RITTER, Professor of Music at Vassar College. William Reeves, Fleet Street.

Professor Ritter has carefully studied details, but he can also rise to principles, and writes well and attractively. He is full of the idea of the capacity of music to teach and to elevate, and is earnest in enforcing it on the student, giving instances and anecdotes illustrative of the growing desire in these days to gain the crown of reward without undergoing the needful labour. He shows how different it was with the old masters, giving us in the process excellent studies of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and the rest. His criticism of Rossini we regard as one of the most impartial and discriminating we remember to have read: it gives him

credit for power, but shows his incapacity to rise to the very highest reach of musical sentiment. We regret, however, that Professor Ritter somewhat fails to do justice to some of our early English composers, Tallis, Purcell, and others being, in our idea, inadequately presented. But there can be no doubt of the exact knowledge and the high idea he has formed of the purpose of music. He shows, too, a fine instinct for illustrative biographical details, using them with great tact. His sketches of the origin and development of the madrigal and opera bouffe are very interesting. Though the volume is very far from exhaustive, being really more of a series of studies of characteristic productions in relation to the producers and their periods, than a complete history of music, yet we can, on the whole, safely commend it to students, who might readily turn away from a more pretentious effort. But we should not omit to say that those who would like to supplement Mr. Ritter on some points may turn with profit to the pages of Mr. John Hullah or Mr. Haweis; and certainly some of his strictures on Wagner and the Wagnerites demand a little qualification, notwithstanding that he admits frankly the great merits of the school. We should not omit to add that the sketchy character of the book is exaggerated by the writer having discarded chronological order, and described and discussed each marked line of musical development by itself.

The Roman and the Teuton. A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge, by CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. New Edition, with Preface by Professor MAX MÜLLER. Macmillan and Co.

Professor Max Müller's preface is a very tender and fervent tribute to the memory of his friend, and to his really high genius in many forms of literature. He frankly admits the defects of these lectures as exact and scientific studies in history, although he successfully vindicates his friend from some of the specific objections brought against him. He testifies to the great moral power of the lectures in exciting interest in historical studies and in guiding to right moral judgments. The book is, as he justly says, 'Kingsley's thoughts on some of the moral problems presented by the 'conflict between the Roman and the Teuton.' As such we gladly welcome this new and cheaper edition of it. A truer and more wholesome book was never written.

Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India. By W. W. HUNTER, B.A., LL.D. Two Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Dr. Hunter has produced a readable biography of the late Viceroy of India. His task was a comparatively simple and evidently a congenial one, for Lord Mayo's attractive individuality drew to him the affectionate regards of all with whom he came in contact. His career was one of almost unchecked success; and his death took place at a time when he

was in the full blaze of a well-earned fame. It required little art, therefore, to make an interesting work out of the materials which his life offered, and Dr. Hunter has succeeded in doing that. The only fault we can find with his volumes is the disproportionate amount of space devoted to the late Viceroy's Indian career as compared with the earlier part of his life. The Irish administration of Lord Naas, which was Lord Mayo's political and administrative training-ground, is touched very lightly. The vigilance and firmness that nipped the Fenian rising in its bud deserved fuller consideration than it receives, and the same remark applies to the other work, both legislative and administrative, done by Lord Mayo as Irish Secretary. The biographer was, no doubt, hampered by the limits he imposed on himself, which led him to avoid discussions into which party elements and party spirit might enter, and to devote himself mainly to the elucidation of the Viceroy's Indian career. The first portion of the work traces rapidly and pleasantly Lord Mayo's early Irish life, and shows us the wholesome home influences, in which there was an element of genuine though unobtrusive piety, under which his character was developed. His entrance into public life as member for County Kildare, his Parliamentary career, in which he appeared more solid than brilliant, his experience and work as three times Chief Secretary for Ireland, are all despatched in little over a hundred pages of the first volume, and the remainder, with the whole of the second, is then devoted to his brief but brilliantly successful Indian administration. On this subject Dr. Hunter only confirms the common view. Public opinion, long before the Viceroy's assassination, had come to be unanimous in applauding the wise and vigorous policy of Earl Mayo. Mr. Disraeli never showed his knowledge of men to more advantage than when he selected the comparatively unknown Irish Chief Secretary to succeed Lord Lawrence. The clamour which at first greeted the appointment subsided under the influence of the strong good sense, administrative capacity, and wide knowledge of men, manifested in his Indian policy. The tangled skein of Indian finance was unravelled, surpluses took the place of deficits, in military matters a sound discretion was practised which brought a maximum of efficiency out of the resources at the Viceroy's disposal, and his foreign policy was distinguished by the same soundness and sagacity, and by a comprehensiveness of plan and purpose for which even his friends were scarcely prepared. The predominating impression which Dr. Hunter's narrative produces, however, is that in Lord Mayo England had a statesman who, as few other public men have done, exhibited a harmonious blending and co-operation of the gifts and graces of a wholly healthy man. Manliness was above all others his characteristic, and the strength and vigour which that enabled him to display in his public work was mingled in private with a consideration for others, and an unaffected modesty of bearing which endeared him to all. Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, in a long letter to Dr. Hunter on the Indian legislation of Lord Mayo, printed in the second volume, sums up his character in the following pregnant sentence: 'I hope you will succeed in making people understand how good and kind, how wise and honest and brave he was, and what fresh-

'ness, vigour, and flexibility of mind he brought to bear upon a vast number of new and difficult subjects.' Dr. Hunter has succeeded in doing this, and, though by dint of numerous repetitions, he has helped to confirm the general opinion in favour of the lamented Viceroy as one whose name England will not willingly let die.

Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-Talk. With a Memoir. By his Son, **FREDERIC WORDSWORTH HAYDON**. With facsimile Illustrations from his Journals. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

This work is one of special, almost unique, interest. It presents us with many letters from Sir David Wilkie, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Keats, Canova, Mrs. Opie, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Barrett-Browning, and others equally distinguished; letters, too, that are, for the most part, familiar and characteristic in a high degree. But, over and above, it invites us at once to study a rare genius and to witness a tragedy. Haydon had the faculty of drawing others round him, of calling forth their sympathy and admiration and service, and yet he as certainly infected his best friends with a doubt of his capacity to bear himself sensibly in the midst of practical affairs. Even Sir David Wilkie, a true friend and believer in his genius, often finds himself implicated and awkwardly circumstanced, and is constantly uttering significant words that may be construed as warnings; begging him now to continue a little longer at some piece of uncongenial, money-yielding work, and again imploring him to refrain from rash, intemperate, and uncalled-for attacks on others. With the Royal Academy Haydon remained at feud, gratuitously exposing what he conceived its stupidities, even after it had shown its willingness to forget the past by exhibiting one of his pictures. Combined with impatience of others' views in matters of art, and unrelieved scorn for timidity, weakness, or shuffling, he had the tenderness of a woman, was almost heroic in his devotion to his friends, as witness his brotherly care for Keats and his filial regard for Wordsworth. But he was easily moved from his first feeling by a fresh set of circumstances, as seen in his later letters in reference to poor Leigh Hunt, where affection has almost wholly yielded to scorn for the weaknesses of the man, weaknesses which would have been easily excused had he not become successful and famous. One trait in Haydon is very beautiful,—the childlike simplicity which he maintains in the midst of his early success, when he was the 'rage,' when the 'Jerusalem' brought dukes and earls to his rooms, and when it seemed as though he was to outwit the Academy and to found a great school of historical painting. Still he wrought hard, was as watchful as ever over his scheme of schools of design, of which he was the originator; and when the great world turned away, as it would from any other 'show,' he went on patiently for long without tacking to catch a fair wind, till neglect came upon him in the form of absolute want. Even then he bears himself bravely. Still, considering what he had done for high art in England

during these nineteen years, the number of distinguished artists who had studied under him—all the Landseers among them—the liberality of judgment he had shown in directing their true paths, and the great works he had put forth, how sad it is to read these extracts from his diary :—

‘Obliged to go out in the rain. I left my room with no coals in it, and
‘no money to buy any.’

‘Arose in the greatest distress; prayed earnestly.’

‘Not a shilling in the world. Walked about the streets. I was so full
‘of grief I could not have concealed it at home.’

‘Arose in an agony of feeling from want.’

‘In the greatest distress. Merciful God! that Thou should’st permit a
‘being with thought and feeling to be so racked!’

He was repeatedly in prison for debt, and thus lost season after season, when the light was good. On one occasion the officer was so struck with him, and with the expression of his head of Lazarus, that he could not take him away, and accepted his promise to come at a given time to the attorney’s. Not a hand was held out to him, but for years he remained sanguine that success would come, that the wave of fashion would turn back and enrich him. But it was not to be, and after unparalleled suffering he died by his own hand. What has surprised us much in carefully reading his letters and table-talk is the shrewd and incisive way in which, notwithstanding his impractical self-willedness, he often discovered the inner secret of a man’s purpose. This, for example, is remarkably decisive :—

‘I do not know that I like Algernon Greville’s brother [the late Mr. Charles Greville] so well as most people. He is a fussy man, too fond of meddling, and affects to be so very diplomatic. He has that contemptible tendency in a man of telling little womanish tea-table lies—as George II. said of Lord Chesterfield—which makes mischief in families. D’Orsay tells me Greville keeps a regular daily journal of everything he sees and hears. If he does, God help his friends, for if he records as he talks, he will put down a great deal of what he neither hears nor sees, but suspects.’

His son has done this work well; with clearness, insight, and instinct for interesting *ana* and anecdote; and if he charges a little too decisively sometimes, we can easily forgive it for the filial devotion that prompted the warmth. Haydon is now before the world at full length; and, in spite of some self-will and impracticableness, he figures as a true genius and high-souled man, a faithful friend,—in a single word, a poet and patriot.

Memoirs of the Sansons, from Private Notes and Documents. 1688-1847. Edited by HENRI SANSON, late Executioner of the Court of Justice of Paris. Two Vols. Chatto and Windus.

This is a family monograph that is, we suppose, unique. It is the history, by the last of his race, of five generations of public executioners and of the notable executions which they performed. ('Performed,' however, as applied to executions, is a word as wanting in precision as when applied to funerals; we sadly want a word for both.) Such a work might easily pass into a recital of revolting butcheries. The editor, however, avoids this mistake, and, on the whole, keeps his book free from the horrors of his profession, and fills it with historical and personal allusions, which are full of interest, and some of which are not without value to the historian. The exception is in the diary of Charles Henri Sanson—the great Sanson—during the Reign of Terror. One does fairly sicken at the terse matter-of-course record of daily executions, ranging from half-a-dozen to between fifty and sixty at once,—the butchery being so uniform that the diary records as a remarkable exception a solitary execution on one particular day. Now and then details are given, as when the King and the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, Danton and his companions, Madame Roland, Charlotte Corday, and other notabilities were executed. The diaries are judiciously compressed, and are, to a great degree, purged of what is revolting. The Sanson family was of noble descent, and, to the last of the executioners, its representatives were men of culture and kindly feeling. In the fifteenth century it was established at Abbeville, 'belonging to the high 'and rich bourgeoisie.' Nicolas Sanson, in the seventeenth century, was a very eminent geographer, of European fame. In 1688, when Louis XIII. was at Abbeville, he honoured the geographer by becoming his guest. The first of the profession to which this singular book is dedicated was Charles Sanson, born in 1685. He was in the army; fell from his horse when quartered in Dieppe, and was carried into a house outside the walls, where he became enamoured of Marguerite, the daughter of his host. He so far committed himself before he knew his host's occupation that ultimately he had to marry the girl, and, as a condition, to accept the father's profession of executioner. A singular autobiographical record, apparently genuine, tells the details. It became a kind of social necessity that the son should take up the profession of the father. The last of the race, the editor of these memoirs, was dismissed in 1847, and happily had no son. He has since, he tells us, lived in retirement under an assumed name. We cannot quote any of the interesting details of the book, which is largely a romance of great criminals; biographical sketches being given where either the social position, the political actions, or the romantic adventures of the hero of the executioner's axe justified it. When one thinks of the historical personages who in France have suffered during the last two centuries, the great interest of these records may be imagined. One thing that impresses us is the brutality of many of the punishments inflicted—of the

diabolical tortures to extort confession, and of the still more diabolical ingenuities by which, with the cord, the axe, the sword, the faggot, or on the wheel, men were done to death. No savage tribe could surpass in atrocity the legal punishments of the first nation in Europe until the guillotine was invented. Its humane projector, for it was not really invented by the man whose name it bears, was impelled by the most compassionate of feelings; and there can be no doubt that of all instruments of capital punishment it is the most merciful. Interesting details of the invention are here given. It is remarkable that Charles Henri Sanson was summoned to aid in the exhibition of the new invention to Louis XVI., who suggested important improvements in the knife. The next time they met was on the scaffold, when Louis was its victim. We can hardly say that a book on such a subject is lively reading, but it is marvellously divested of what might seem necessary horrors, and is full of interesting and important information which apparently may be substantially relied upon.

GOETHE AND CORONA SCHRÖTER.

Vor Hundert Jahren. Mittheilungen über Weimar, Goethe und Corona Schröter aus den Tagen der Genie-Periode. Festgabezur Säkularfeier von Goethe's Eintritt in Weimar, 7 Nov. 1772. Von ROBERT KEIL ZWEI BÄNDER. Leipsig: Verlag von Veit & Co. 1875.

These two volumes are intended to commemorate the opening of Goethe's life in Weimar, the centenary of which was on the 7th November last. However we may deprecate the extremes to which the Germans carry the fashion of centenary observances, which they no longer confine to commemorating the birth and death of their great men, but seek, through them, to keep green the memory of the different epochs of their lives as well, we need not be too critical of an impulse which has given us these two pleasant little volumes. Yet the impression their perusal leaves on the reader is by no means one of increased respect or admiration for Germany's greatest poet. They tell the story of a love, faithful and tender through many years, but too fitful to last in the case of Goethe, and which at length, in the case of Corona, was mellowed into feelings of tender friendship before her death. It is impossible to retain the old veneration for Goethe when we see him professing equally passionate devotion at the same time to the Frau Von Stein and Corona Schröter. This is the revelation made to us here, given in Goethe's own writing; and there can be little doubt that for a time he had a genuine passion for the gifted and lovely musician who realised the ideals of some of his most famous characters, and, during the early years in Weimar, occupied so large a space in his thoughts and life. In the first of the two volumes we have a copy, printed here entire for the first time, of Goethe's diary from the year 1776 to 1782. It is a valuable document for the light it throws on Goethe's Weimar career and on his character. Not that

there is anything really new, but there are many illustrations of Goethe's familiar characteristics—his untiring industry, great laboriousness, the width and variety of the interests which occupied him, and the spirit in which he did his work in those early years. What is new is the information regarding the poet's relations to Corona. It is impossible to doubt the reality and power of the passion for the intellectual artist, the first German Iphigenia, and one of the most attractive of German singers, who is closely associated with German poetry and German art. And as Goethe fled from his own passion, and after his journey to Italy had succeeded in obliterating her image from his heart, so that he was able to think and speak of her with indifference and coldness, we have a fresh illustration of the sensuous impressibility which Goethe was seemingly able to silence at the word of command.

The second volume is wholly devoted to Corona, and tells the tale of her public and private life in a fresh and agreeable fashion. It is a narrative interesting on its own account; but of course a more vivid interest attaches to the parts illustrating the Weimar life and the relations of Corona with Goethe. All the world knows the exalted selfishness of the great poet, and the disclosures of these volumes bring it into more vivid relief than ever. It was an odd idea to glorify the opening period of his public career by the publication of such a record; but to the Germans, Goethe is so much of a god, that his very imperfections are dear to them. The fate of Corona may not have been so sad as that of Frederica of Esenheim, who loved the poet the more after his desertion of her, and devoted herself to perpetual worship of her ideal, because 'the heart that 'had once loved Goethe must love none other;' but the story does not assuredly increase the respect we feel for the great poet.

Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of South Africa. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES GRAY, M.A. Two Vols. Rivingtons.

This work, we are sorry to say, is another instance of the small object held close to the eye, shutting out the whole world. The writer, very nearly related, idolises Bishop Gray, speaks of him as perfect, as 'the 'greatest bishop of recent times,'—and we all know what that implies, utter incompetence to be truthful, because unable to discriminate. To paint all in white is as ruinous as to paint all in black; either spread over a large surface soon wearies the eye. Bishop Gray had abilities, and many good qualities—he saw clearly in some directions, and was true to what he believed; but he allowed his Church to think for him, and held that she had a monopoly of the truth. He was pious, earnest, most assiduous in practical work; deeply concerned for others; but he would see only one way of redemption for them—by the communion-table of the Church of England. And his High Churchism led him to great excesses; he would have subdued the State to the Church, and he had enough of the bigot in him to have persecuted for conscience sake, though, perhaps, he would himself have willingly suffered had need

been. His name is so associated with that of Bishop Colenso that in future it is likely, if remembered at all, to be so chiefly in that relation, and, unfortunately, he shows but poorly in it, as a self-sufficient hater of heretics. His narrowness and his spite everywhere appear; his biographer, apparently, fancying that his zeal, too often without knowledge, may be mistaken for humility and devotion. He does not mince his words either; and in the many controversies into which he thrust himself, his cause did not lose by reserve in the use of plain, and sometimes even offensive, terms. Such words as 'infidel,' 'heretic,' 'unbeliever,' 'impertinent intermeddler,' are not seldom resorted to. He says at one place of the Privy Council that 'in that body all the enmity of the world against the Church of Christ is gathered up and embodied;' which is a very odd position for such a one to take, seeing that the Privy Council, on the only intelligible theory of a State Church, is but a section of the said State Church; that is, a section of the nation, administering in ecclesiastical matters. But even while he spoke thus of the Privy Council, he summarily used the word 'Dissenter' as a term of contempt, which shows that a certain kind of consistency did not find favour in his eyes. We respect the earnestness of the man, but do not like his spirit. Something, however, may be owing to the style of his biographer, which is most inapt. Detail is crowded on detail, and what might have been readable and interesting, if condensed into due proportion, is simply tedious and burdensome. Save to a section of High Church people we cannot recommend it as a model or readable biography.

Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Third Edition. Two Vols. George Bell and Sons.

It was to the disadvantage of Mr. Lewin's work, upon which he tells us he had bestowed the labour of forty years, that almost simultaneously with its publication the 'Life of Paul,' by Conybeare and Howson, appeared. It was impossible but that the two works should be judged comparatively, and there can be no doubt that the verdict, both of scholars and of general readers, was in favour of the latter work. Mr. Lewin is a writer of excellent scholarship and unwearying painstaking, but he lacks the picturesque power, the *vivida vis animi* of his competitors; and inasmuch as to this both added a scholarship of a very high kind, their great work found very much favour and rapidly passed through several editions. Characteristically enough, Mr. Lewin was only stimulated to endeavours to make his work in all material respects equal to its rival, and in all other practical ways to improve it. This sumptuous edition, profusely illustrated, is the result; and it is something that such has been the appreciation of Mr. Lewin's work that it has reached a third edition. We cannot go into a detailed criticism of its comparative merits, we can only speak of two or three general characteristics. And, first, in common with the work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, it seems to us greatly to

overlay its subject with incidental matter. The fashion of our day to build pyramids for memorials is somewhat appalling. Every allusion is made matter of a substantive discussion or of a pictorial illustration. Thus Paul must have passed the burial-ground of Corinth; in it the famous courtesan Lais was buried,—a sufficient reason for one engraving of her portrait and another of her tomb; just as Professor Masson is enshrining Milton in the entire history of the Commonwealth, so Paul is enshrined in the entire civilisation of his day. The sense of proportion is lost; instead of the symmetrical development of the man himself, he is made a lay figure for all the clothes that can be hung upon him. These Lives are dictionaries of Biblical matters. This is, we think, both an artistic and a popular mistake.

Mr. Lewin has simply brought together all the material concerning Paul and his times that can be collected. He has submitted it to careful critical examination; has investigated every question to its last issue, and has therefore provided a repertory of information about Paul which will be rich in materials for all students,—and these illustrated in a very high style of antiquarian research and of art. Mr. Lewin is an authority on Biblical chronology, as his '*Fasti Sacri*' attests. With this he has in this work taken great pains, and in this field he is very strong. We cannot, however, eulogise the narrative and graphic power with which Mr. Lewin writes. He is always intelligent, but he is almost always dull. He never glows with enthusiasm or soars in imagination. In a plain, business kind of way he works on from beginning to end. We must, therefore, accept Mr. Lewin's work as a storehouse of materials rather than as a historical picture. As such it is of great—we might almost say unsurpassed—value. But the portraiture and age of Paul have to be delineated yet. We should welcome an artist who could use, as simple accessories, the abundant materials collected and prepared, and delineate the great Apostle as he really was, the great central figure of the new religious world which he so largely created.

My Youth, by Sea and Land, from 1809 to 1816. By CHARLES LOFTUS, formerly of the Royal Navy, late of the Coldstream Guards. Two Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

We have not often met with a more interesting record than this. Mr. Loftus entered as a lad as midshipman on board one of his Majesty's ships, and saw naval service from 1809 to the close of the great war. He was present at the burning of the French fleet by Lord Cochrane in the Basque Roads; at the miserable Walcheren enterprise; at Lisbon, where he got leave of absence and visited his brother, who was in Wellington's army. He once or twice dined with the Great Duke, and had the distinction of bespattering him with mud in a hunting expedition. He cruised a long time in the Mediterranean, and, of course, saw a good deal of active service. He afterwards served in the North Sea; then was ordered to America and the West Indies. On the breaking out of the American war he took part in several engagements with American ships. After a short stay on

land, where, with his usual luck, he met with various sporting adventures, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Duke of Clarence, and attended him at St. James's. He had a dangerous fall from the rigging to the quarter-deck, which led to his relinquishing the sea and getting a commission in the Coldstream Guards. Ultimately his illness resulted in total blindness, in 1849. Nothing can exceed the modesty and good taste of these recollections, and, as they relate to the most stirring times of our history, they are full of interesting incident and exciting adventure. Captain Maryatt's sea stories scarcely surpass them.

The Life of Samuel Hebich. By Two of his Fellow-Labourers.
Translated from the German by Colonel J. G. HALLIDAY.
Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Herr Hebich was a missionary in Southern India, sent out by the Basle Missionary Society, and for twenty-five years did faithful and useful service. He was a man of singular devotedness and faith—literally 'in season and out of season' seeking to make men know and love Jesus Christ. He was somewhat eccentric and independent, and occasionally not wise in judgment; but few men have been more fearless and indomitable or self-sacrificing. He seems to have acquired an amazing influence over the natives, and to have left behind him a venerated name. The memoir is somewhat prolix in its details, but it is a stimulating record of what a man, thoroughly devoted, may do. Colonel Halliday, who knew Hebich, has been moved by his admiration of him to give us his memoir in an English translation. He merits hearty thanks, for the seeds of great inspiration are in it.

Four Years' Campaign in India. By WILLIAM TAYLOR. Hodder and Stoughton,

Mr. Taylor did a work, in some respects, resembling that of Hebich. The characteristic difference between the two men being that of the energetic American revivalist and of the energetic German pietist. Mr. Taylor is a man of masculine thought as well as of vigorous hand. He is great in revivals, and he details results of his labours, which are analogous to those of Mr. Moody in England.

Ernst Rietschel, the Sculptor, and the Lessons of his Life: an Autobiography and Memoir. By ANDREAS OPPERMANN.
Translated from the German by Mrs. J. STURGE. Hodder and Stoughton.

This memorial of Rietschel, of whom, although he attained great eminence as an artist, but little is known in this country, is characterised by much intellectual and moral beauty. In addition to the German sentiment which suffuses it, and which has a great charm for us, Rietschel, as he reveals himself in his autobiography, was a man of beautiful soul. His early poverty and aspirations, his filial tenderness, and his feelings on entering upon his career, his relations to Rauch—his master, his

artistic successes, and his notices of his brother artists, are told with exquisite simplicity and beauty. We do not care so much for Herr Opperman's continuation. The book has charmed us very much.

Isaac Watts: his Life and Writings; his Homes and Friends.
Religious Tract Society.

Mr. Hood has compiled his life of Watts with great care, and written it in a style that is bright, vivacious, and interesting. He has mixed together narrative, anecdote, quotation, and criticism in a very skilful way, and out of a fulness of various knowledge, which few possess in equal degree. As he justly says, fresh records of honoured men are necessary from time to time. The best biographies wear out. At any rate, men of the past need to be estimated in their relation to the present; the life of a man of letters especially. Mr. Hood has done this service for Watts very lovingly and very successfully. We can commend this biography much more heartily than we could some things that Mr. Hood has written. We have read it with much interest. It leaves little to be desired in relation to the manifold gifts and works of our great hymnologist, whose comparative claims to stand first among English singers of the sanctuary are strongly, but we think successfully, urged. Our chief qualification of it is that Mr. Hood seems to minimise Dr. Watts's Nonconformity, as if he were ashamed of that, and that he is apparently ashamed of his own name, which does not appear on the title-page.

A Fine Old English Gentleman. Exemplified in the Life and Character of Lord Collingwood. A Biographical Study.
By WILLIAM DAVIES, Author of the 'Pilgrimage of the
'Tiber,' &c. Sampson Low and Co.

Lord Collingwood's character abundantly justified the designation which the title of Mr. Davies's book gives to him, and, as exhibited here, it is really grand in its beautiful simplicity, unselfishness, and bravery of the highest moral order. We do not, however, much like Mr. Davies's treatment. He tells us that it is not a biography; but neither is it what he calls it—a 'study,' that is in the artistic or judicial sense of the term. It is more like a funeral sermon than anything else, with its extended 'uses' and fervent panegyric; criticism gives place to commendation throughout. We quite agree with Mr. Davies in his estimate and admiration of the man, but we wish that he had embodied it in a higher historical and critical form.

Documents Concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg. Collected, Translated, and Annotated by
B. L. TAFEL, A.M., Ph.D. Vol. I. Swedenborg Society.
Swedenborg Studies. By RICHARD M'CULLY. James Spiers.

English Swedenborgians are certainly indefatigable in their use of the press—their propaganda indeed has from the first taken a literary form,

and in this they are worthy of all praise. They subject their dogmas to the most severe of all intellectual tests. There is moreover in Swedenborg such a singular combination of intellectual power, scientific acquirement, spiritual moonshine, or inspired lunacy, that his writings are interesting to cultured minds, notwithstanding his hallucinations.

The first of these volumes consists of a great variety of interesting documents which illustrate both the biographical history of Swedenborg himself and the general history of his time. These are classified. First, under the head 'General Biographical Notices,' we have accounts of Swedenborg from various letters and memoirs. Under the head 'Swedenborg's Ancestry,' &c., we have a series of documents, including twenty letters of Bishop Swedborg, with extracts from his autobiography, all bearing upon Swedenborg's family. Another section consists of about a hundred letters selected from Swedenborg's correspondence for forty years; another of documents concerning his private property; another of documents concerning his official life in the College of Mines for thirty years; another of his public life as a member of the House of Nobles; another of documents concerning him as a man of science. An appendix of nearly 150 pages gives us biographical notices of as many of his contemporaries. Altogether the volume is one of curious interest. Its hero-worship notwithstanding, much might be culled from it.

Mr. McCully's 'Swedenborg Studies' consists of a dozen miscellaneous chapters, some of them only remotely connected with Swedenborg, *e.g.*, Mary Magdalene; the Christhood of the one God our Father; Hettie Barclay; Primitive Quakerism; Emerson; &c., most of which are reprinted from the 'Intellectual Repository.' They are criticisms very fairly written by an ardent disciple.

The Chaldean Account of Genesis; containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod; Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods; from the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By GEORGE SMITH. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Smith's researches are producing such rapid and brilliant results that this second volume follows the 'Assyrian Discoveries' within a few months. We can hardly exaggerate the interest and importance of the opening chapters of these new archaeological records. As is known, arrow-head tablets have been accumulating in the British Museum from the time of Mr. Layard's first discoveries,—Sir Henry Rawlinson and others having added largely to those brought home by Mr. Layard. Mr. George Smith, sent out by the 'Daily Telegraph,' and sanctioned and aided by the Trustees of the British Museum, has added invaluable literary treasures. The gradual decipherment of the inscriptions has followed their acquisition. Mr. Smith is placed by Sir Henry Rawlinson at the head of Assyrian scholars. He knows, therefore, how to find as well as

how to interpret. He is, as our readers may be aware, now prosecuting a new expedition of discovery among the debris and unexplored parts of the magnificent library of nearly 20,000 tablets, collected by Assurbanipal in the eighth century before Christ. Assurbanipal was the grandson of Sennacherib. He was the voluptuous Sardanapalus of the Greeks, but seems to have been a great lover of literature. He was not the founder of the library at Nineveh, which was the work of Assur-nazir-pal, who built Babylon; but he collected its chief treasures. He seems to have brought together from every quarter all the tablets that he could procure relating to the history and literature of the older monarchy of Babylon; and where he could not acquire originals he had copies made. The library was lodged in the palace at Nineveh, now the Mound of Konyunik—opposite Mosul—and its ruins have been explored by Mr. Smith, who has brought many of its treasures to England, and is, at the present moment, on his way to acquire more. There is, according to Mr. Smith, clear demonstration that some of the transcripts made by Assurbanipal were made from originals as old as from fifteen to twenty centuries before Christ—as old that is as the time of Abraham; so that we are obtaining access to the oldest known literature of the world—and are able to read myths, legends, poems, histories, and laws written in the time of the Patriarchs.

It is, we say, impossible, to exaggerate the importance of these records in their bearing upon history, comparative mythology, ethnology, and the historical character of the Book of Genesis. Unfortunately the tablets of Assurbanipal's library suffered in the destruction of the city, and are much broken and mutilated. The translations that Mr. Smith gives us are, with few exceptions, fragments, often without any coherence, but he has already effected some wonderful restorations, and is not without hope that many of the tablets may be completed from as yet undeciphered fragments already in the British Museum, or from fresh treasures to be brought home. It is hardly too much to say that the entire civilised world has an interest in the result.

Mr. Smith's renderings are consequently tentative. With the candour and the carefulness of a true scholar he propounds many of them as such, and corrects the interpretations of his former volume by revised readings, which enlarged reconstructions through the discovery of fresh fragments have enabled.

The result is of intensest interest to Biblical students. Legends of the Creation and the fall, of the flood, and of the builders of Babel—and, above all, the legend of Istubar, or Nimrod, have already been discovered, some of them full of details which leave no doubt about their reference to the identical events recorded in Genesis. If these tablets should, by any happy find of Mr. Smith or others, ever be restored to their completeness, we shall have a contemporary literature of the times of the Patriarchs from the literary centre and capital of the old world with which to compare the history of Moses. Years, perhaps generations, of archæological and historic criticisms are clearly before us in this particular field. We cannot, in justice to Mr. Smith, go into any details of these legends, nor into any

exact computation of their bearing upon the Scripture history; indeed, discovery and interpretation have not yet proceeded far enough to enable any certain judgments. Closing a chapter on the tentative results, Mr. Smith justly and modestly says, 'There can be no doubt that the subject 'of further search and discovery will not slumber, and all that I have here 'written will one day be superseded by newer texts and fuller and more 'perfect light.' Indeed, once and again, Mr. Smith, with the scrupulousness of a true scholar, administers rebukes to rash interpreters, such as Bishop Colenso, who, from very imperfect data, leap to hasty generalisations. Enough, however, has been deciphered to set the dignity and rationalness of the Bible histories in a very advantageous light.

We should add that the legends of extra Biblical character, deciphered in part by Mr. Smith, are of intensest interest to comparative mythology and folk-lore.

Clearly a distinct step has been taken in Biblical illustrations, compared with which the interest of almost every other is subordinate. To be thus introduced to Babylonian literature fifteen centuries before Christ, to the very centre of the thought and life from which the literature and religions of the Semitic races have sprung, is a discovery of intensest literary, scientific, and theological interest. We can only hope that Mr. Smith's researches will be successful in completing the tablets, of which he has here deciphered the fragments, so that their clear and indubitable light may be thrown upon both the sacred records and the problems of early history. Meanwhile Mr. Smith is connecting his name imperishably with the greatest archæological achievements of our generation.

Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo.

By RICHARD F. BURTON. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Captain Burton's volumes excite in us only a languid interest. It is not easy to warm over again cold meat, and Captain Burton has not very successfully resuscitated the enthusiasm and freshness of his ten-year-old diary. That it has been kept in his desk for that period is a presumption against any very special interest attaching to the journeys that it records. Accordingly we find ourselves incontinently skipping page after page of monotonous details, and—must we say it?—some chapters of material suspiciously like padding. Captain Burton was on ground comparatively familiar; he had no adventures; the Gaboon and the Congo have been repeatedly visited; both were the common resorts of slave-traders, and are settlements of Portuguese and French traders. Captain Burton's volumes, therefore, are valuable simply for ethnological and geographical verifications, as being the records of observations by an acute and experienced African traveller. He verified some of M. du Chaillu's statements about the gorilla and the gorilla country, and he points out the exaggerated, not to say imaginative, character of others; but he does not in any way modify the general verdict which the intuitive judgment of du Chaillu's readers, and subsequent information, has pronounced upon his book. We do not exactly like the tone of Captain

Burton's book. He loses no opportunity of sensuous allusion, and is altogether destitute of the high tone of either appreciation or hopefulness which an English gentleman, not to say a Christian, should evince when speaking of races so abject as the Fans. He thinks much of the denunciation of slavery by Englishmen a sickly sentiment; but inasmuch as any return to slavery is impossible, he advocates a system of negro emigration, which he thinks is now becoming possible. He has nothing better to say about missionaries than to fill a chapter with reminiscences and anecdotes of Roman Catholic missions on the Congo. He is emphatic in making a distinction between Dr. Livingstone the traveller and Dr. Livingstone the missionary. In the latter capacity the illustrious crusader against slavery wins only a sneer. One would like, however, to test the sentiment created by the missionary by comparison with that created by Captain Burton. We know the enthusiasm produced by the single-minded, philanthropic, and Christian aims of the one. We cannot conceive either enthusiasm or elevation from a traveller whose tone rises no higher than the level of this book. Mr. Winwood Reade may be worthy of the high commendation which Captain Burton bestows upon him for his 'noble candour' in publishing the 'Martyrdom of Man.' It is a sufficient indication of Captain Burton's sentiment of travel that he can thus commend one of the most audacious, not to say ribald, atheistic books of this generation, while he has only a sneer for the Christian philanthropy of Livingstone.

Explorations in Australia; with an Appendix on the Condition of Western Australia. By JOHN FORREST, F.R.G.S.
Illustrations by G. F. ANGAS. Sampson Low and Co.

Closely following upon the exciting expedition of Colonel Warburton from Adelaide in Southern Australia to the De Grey station on the Western Coast—a journey of 4000 miles, occupying eighteen months—come these journals of three important journeys of exploration made by Mr. Forrest. The first journey, in 1869, was from Perth, N.E. and E., and was undertaken on the report of some natives concerning remains of white men, to discover, if possible, the fate of Dr. Leichart's expedition in 1847, a journey which proved fruitless save in the additions to our topographical knowledge which it made.

The second journey, in 1870, was more arduous. Starting from Perth, Mr. Forrest, following in the tract of Mr. Eyre in 1840, traversed the entire distance to Adelaide along the shores of the Great Bight, enduring considerable hardships and perils—often in extremity for want of water, and once or twice having to defend the party from attacks of the natives. This journey contributed very valuable information concerning the country.

The third journey, in 1874, started from Geraldton, a few miles north of Perth, and, taking a direction N.E. and E., after very arduous experiences, struck the telegraph line a little above the Peak Station.

These three journeys give Mr. Forrest a high place among Australian explorers. He does little more than reprint his journals—which are re-

plete with that kind of useful information which will constitute the data for further colonisation. There is not much of adventure to interest general readers—there is a necessary sameness in the diurnal records of spinifex and thirst; but Mr. Forrest's experiences are noted down with careful accuracy and commendable modesty. A valuable report of the state of Western Australia, by Governor Weld, is added, and some long details of speeches, &c., at public receptions, which might have been spared.

Mr. Forrest is a type of explorer of which we may be proud, and his book contributes materially to our knowledge of the interior of the continent which our colonisation has hitherto only fringed. Conclusions respecting the arid and uninhabitable character of much of the interior seem established.

Arabistan; or, the Land of the Arabian Nights. Being Travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Persia, to Bagdad. By WILLIAM PERRY FOGG, A.M., Author of 'Round the World,' 'Letters,' &c. With an Introduction by BAYARD TAYLOR. Sampson Low and Co.

It cannot be said that Mr. Bayard Taylor—who, if we mistake not, himself needed at one time the aid of another to introduce the account of some striking journeyings of a compositor—has been very generous towards Mr. Fogg. If he undertook to write at all a preface to a volume of Eastern travel, surely he ought to have done something more adequate. If Mr. Fogg's book meets with favour, it will not be, we think, to be attributed to Mr. Bayard Taylor's effort. But Mr. Fogg might as well, perhaps better, have stood on his own feet. When he has once quitted beaten paths, he writes with great force and attractiveness. He has the 'open eye,' and eke the Yankee 'cheek.' He can meet a pasha on his own ground, and question him unflinchingly; and is not 'put out' by trifles. But generally he really manages by his dash to get hold of some fresh fact; and what we admire in him is that, together with these qualities, he has the knack of finding the best side of foreigners. Our readers will admit there is something Yankee in the process, but there is a heartiness in this record of it that is refreshing. 'At the close of the play, the majority of the games being against me, on one occasion in Damascus, I called the attendant, and, being the losing party, I proposed, according to Western notions, to pay the score. This my Arabian friend at first strenuously opposed, but I insisted; and holding out to the servant a dozen or more silver coins of various denominations, from a *piastre* (five cents) to a *mejeide* (about a dollar), I pointed to the *narghilehs* and coffee, and by pantomime told him to take his pay. Having no definite idea of the proper charge, I should have been entirely satisfied if he had chosen the largest coin in my hand. To my surprise he selected a two-piastre piece. Thinking that he might have made a mistake, I again pointed to the table, *narghilehs*, and coffee, and held out my hand to him to take the proper

'sum. But he only made a low salaam, and held up the trifling coin as 'all right.' The best part of the book is that concerning Bagdad; and those who wish to learn about that romantic city, and the ways of the people there, could not do better than consult 'Arabistan,' which, in spite of its over-gorgeous binding, is a better book than many we get from America.

Among the Zulus and Amatongas : with Sketches of the Natives, their Language and Customs ; and the Country, Products, Climate, Wild Animals, &c. Being, principally, Contributions to Magazines and Newspapers. By the late DAVID LESLIE. Edited by the Hon. W. H. DRUMMOND. Second Edition. Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas.

The first edition of this book was an 'In Memoriam' volume, printed for private circulation. It is so full of intelligence, useful information, and general interest, that we are very glad that it has been given to the public. Mr. Leslie went to Natal when a child; entered into business as a merchant at Durban, but took to hunting and trading with the native tribes of the North; whereby he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Zulus,—their politics, manners, modes of thought and life, &c.,—which, perhaps, was unsurpassed. With a considerable degree of scientific knowledge, a vigorous intellect, and a ready and graphic pen, he became a valuable interpreter of Zulu to England and Europe. Mr. Drummond, in his work on 'The Large Game and Natural History of South and South-East Africa,' bears testimony to Mr. Leslie's great knowledge and experience. The papers here collected—about fifty in number—relate to all kinds of matters connected with Zulu hunting, Kaffir doctors, marriage, the Tsetse, Kaffir characters and customs, hunting journals, with one or two tales, &c. They have considerable literary merit, and convey a good deal of reliable and valuable information. Mr. Leslie died at the early age of thirty-five.

Three Months in the Mediterranean. By WALTER COOTE. Edward Stanford.

The Mediterranean is not so familiar to us as to make the interest of a book about it depend entirely upon what the writer brings to it. It has still its towns and coasts of which ordinary readers know but little and are glad to know more. Mr. Coote sailed from Liverpool, touched at Gibraltar, Genoa, Leghorn, and Pisa, Naples, Messina, Alexandria, and Cairo, the Levant, Constantinople, Smyrna, Greece, Malta, Tunis, and Carthage; and he tells us what he saw with modest intelligence and vivacity, and with considerable descriptive power. His little book pretends to no more than *impressions de voyage*, but it is a very pleasant book to read. It is a good deal more than a reproduction of guide books. The individuality of the writer enters into all that he describes. He is a pleasant travelling companion whom we shall be glad again to meet.

Travels in Portugal. By JOHN LATOUCHE. With Illustrations by the Right Hon. T. SOTHERON ESTCOURT. (Ward, Lock, and Tyler.) We are glad to see the second edition of Mr. Latouche's fresh and instructive book, of which, in common with almost all our critical contemporaries, we spoke with such high commendation in our last number. It is, in respect both of independent observation and freshness and freedom of style, one of the best books of travel of the year.—*The Story of the Jubilee Singers, with their Songs.* (Hodder and Stoughton.) This is a compressed and improved history of the remarkable experiment and success of the Jubilee Singers, brought down to the present time, with the addition of a considerable number of new songs, including 'John 'Brown's Body,' the 'Lord's Prayer,' and several other of the pieces with which the first set of Singers electrified every audience. The Singers, with some changes in their *corps*, are in England again. They were unable to meet even half the demands for their presence on their first visit, and, commendably anxious to supplement their great service to the admirable institution for educating their race at Nashville, they have paid a second visit to England and are having, we believe, great success. This volume is in every way an improvement upon the first.—As a companion to their guide-book for Northern Italy, Messrs. T. Cooke and Sons have published *A Tourist's Handbook for Southern Italy* (Hodder and Stoughton), which comes to hand just in time for the season. The former volume ended with Florence; the present comprises the rest of the Peninsula. All the necessary information about money, luggage, routes, &c., is given. Necessary brevity reduces description, but all that the tourist will care to see is indicated, and information is given sufficient for intelligent appreciation.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Introduction to the Study of International Law. Designed as an Aid in Teaching and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, lately President of Yale College. Reprinted from the Fourth American Edition. Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

Dr. Woolsey's very high reputation as a jurist has carried his able work on International Law into a fourth edition. It has become the text-book on the subject on both sides the Atlantic, and that in virtue of the ample information and judicial impartiality which are the characteristics of its eminent author.

This fourth edition has been revised; the treaties brought down to the present time; and a note discussing the case of the *Virginus* added, in which Spain is justified in the capture of the *Virginus* on the high seas, not only on the ground that she was really a Spanish vessel falsely bearing an American flag, but on the higher ground of self protection, which justifies the seizure of any vessel known to be engaged in violating its laws.

Essays on Social Subjects. By MATTHEW JAMES HIGGINS ('Jacob Omnium'). With a Biographic Sketch of the Author by Sir WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Higgins was entirely *sui generis*. He was a satirist and a humorist, but his satire and humour were of a very peculiar order. He seized the remote and unnoticed aspect of the thing or the question with which he dealt, and turned it suddenly face to face with the most obvious aspect, suggesting a certain grotesque departure from the true type in the very features to which society had most perfectly accommodated itself, and in which very often it most thoroughly believed. He had a quick fancy, united with rare analytic and logical powers; and, besides this, an unusual self-restraint and reverence for individual character, such as most frequently rendered spite and narrow ill-nature impossible to him. He was one of the valued influences which bring social life, in spite of its modern complexities and disparities, to a unity in its relations with literature; and in thus setting forth, in forms suited to the humour of the day, an ideal of social right and duty and fairness, he did no slight service. What seems trifling or whimsical in his methods may, to a great extent, be accounted for by a wonderful sensitiveness of mental constitution, which led him to forecast multitudes of objections—the necessary offsetting of individual demands in a complicated society; but the leading moral aspect of the question he seldom missed. All this the careful student will find illustrated in the essays reprinted here. We regret that our space will not permit us to particularise. Perhaps in nothing was the salient characteristics of his mind and method seen more expressly than in his treatment of that institution at which Thackeray also made a decisive blow through the *alter ego* of 'Policeman X,' in the ballad of 'Jacob Omnium's Hoss.' The biographic sketch is full of fact and remark, which tempt us to disquisition. It puts its subject very fully and faithfully before us in small space, and gathers up with rare tact the apparently contradictory tendencies in his character. There is a dash of grotesquerie, too, when we read, for example, how Mr. Higgins, being some six feet eight inches in height, was distinguished from another of the same name, who was six feet four inches, by the application to the latter of the title, 'Little Higgins.'

Jack Afloat and Ashore. By RICHARD ROWE, Author of 'Episodes in an Obscure Life.' Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Rowe always writes with picturesque force, showing the results of a quick observation—apt to run, after the manner of Dickens, into concatenations of detail—a humour that slides easily either into sentiment or pathos, and a warm charity that finds points of interest in characters hardly interesting in themselves. All this is found in the present volume, which is almost as picturesque and graphic as Mr. Rowe's former works, notwithstanding that the subject is precisely of the sort to tempt him to

the side on which he usually errs by excess. Nevertheless, few will begin to read the book and not go on to the end—he is so apt at catching traits that are likely to escape the ordinary observer, and so full of out-of-the-way information, which he manages to communicate in a masterly manner. The object with which it is clear that he has written this book should also have its own influence with the reader. His whole mood is charged with benevolence, and he has the adequate tact and humour to relieve the strain and pressure which the benevolent mind, working in the line of reform, is so very apt to carry with it.

Thrift. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of 'Character,' 'Self Help,' &c. John Murray.

Mr. Smiles in this instance has hardly put his best foot foremost. The first few chapters read rather like a working up of materials which had been rejected in the writing of his former books; but as you go on you discover that he has started with a definitive plan, has great aims in view, and that this book is even more original than some of the former ones. He states a principle clearly, adds, it may be, a few facts, and then caps all with an anecdote, a biographic instance, or a good story. The title seems more and more appropriate as you proceed. Building Societies, Savings Banks, Lotteries, Assurance, and a hundred other cognate subjects are discussed in this attractive and commanding manner, and the book contains not a few short biographies of real originality and value—the more that they are compressed into a page or two, and hardly a word wasted. Those of the Crossleys, Mr. Baxendale, and Pickford and Co., are especially fresh and interesting. The great subjects of competition, of giving, lending, charity, method, amusements, debt, dirt, and so on are discussed in a simple and thoroughly popular way. The last few chapters are, to our thinking, almost perfect in a line of literature which seems easy but is most difficult. The last, on the Art of Living, deserves to be widely read and deeply pondered by young and old also. Ceaseless industry in collecting his facts, careful statement, with a quick eye to practical illustration, a fine feeling for characteristic traits in leading men, together with an easy yet polished and graceful style, these are the most marked points in Mr. Smiles' writings, and have combined to raise him to the high rank which he so deservedly occupies. He well exhibits in practical work his own principles of industry and thrift. The concluding words are so suggestive and full of sympathetic colouring that we may quote them:—

'The art of living may be summed up in the words, "make the best of everything." Nothing is beneath its care; even common and little things it turns to account. It gives a brightness and grace to the home and invests nature with new charms. Through it we enjoy the rich man's parks and woods as if they were our own, We inhale the common air and bask under the universal sunshine. We glory in the grass, the passing clouds, the flowers. We love the common earth, and hear joyful voices through all nature. It extends to every kind of social intercourse. It engenders cheerful goodwill and loving sincerity. By its

'help we make others happy and ourselves blest. We elevate our being and ennoble our lot. We rise above the grovelling creatures of earth and aspire to the infinite. And thus we link time to eternity, where the true art of living has its final consummation.'

Written since the attack of paralysis, of which the author speaks in his preface as having delayed the publication of the book, we may take it as an illustration of the gentle courage, the care, the industry, the large heartedness, the generosity which he seeks to stimulate and encourage.

East and West London. By the Rev. HARRY JONES, Rector of St. George's-in-the-East. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Mr. Jones has had one charge in Westminster and another in the far east of our 'city of extremities;' and he fully verifies the truth of the expression, that among the poor, typical scenes constantly repeat themselves. He is energetic, practical, and, within certain limits, 'prudent,' giving one the idea that, without pretension, he is quite the man for his work. He writes with appreciation of the grim humour of the situations in which he occasionally finds himself placed, and also of the difficulties which a clergyman in such districts is constantly called upon to face. He has not exactly imitated Mr. Hansard in some of his endeavours, but he tells us enough to prove that he has run risks, describing, as he goes on, some of the odder industries, or ways of 'knocking out a living,' among the very poor. The book is most interesting on account of the insight it gives us in this respect; but it will also be found helpful by the practical philanthropist, because of the many hints it gives as to the true methods of dealing with the poor of our large cities. Mr. Harry Jones could not write in an uninteresting way; but here he has the subject so much at heart, his facts are so familiar, and he shows so much *naïve* good-nature in his narrative, that this book may be regarded as *unique* in its way, and may be confidently recommended to all those who would like to have a glimpse of the London poor as they really are.

Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. By W. STANLEY JEVONS, M.A., F.R.S. H. S. King and Co.

This is a volume of the 'International Science Series,' now in course of publication by Messrs. H. S. King and Co. Like most of the series it is written in plain language fitted for general apprehension, and the writer is thoroughly qualified for his task. There is a mystery about the laws that regulate the circulation of money which plunges even the most clear-headed minds into mazes of confusion. No one has yet written on the laws of currency and banking without being landed in quagmires. Professor Jevons has not shared this fate, because he has only skirted the debatable land, confining himself for the most part to historical and descriptive work. His volume is a descriptive essay on the monetary systems of the world, past and present, the materials out of which and the processes by which money is made, the way in which paper does service instead of coin, and the manner in which the cheque and clearing

system economises labour in its use. The book supplies the preliminary information which ought to be possessed by all before they proceed to high and dry discussions of theories of currency and banking. It has been supplied by Professor Jevons in an interesting and workmanlike manner, and, so far as we have had opportunity for verification, his statements may be relied upon as thoroughly trustworthy. Towards the close Mr. Jevons describes the cheque-bank system, which he regards as marking an important epoch in monetary development. Unfortunately since he wrote we have learned that the Cheque Bank, as an institution, has failed to be profitable, and is to be discontinued. It may be hoped, however, that the principle which has been its main characteristic will be utilised in some other way; for there can be no doubt it offers great facilities—which may be almost indefinitely multiplied and extended—for the transaction of business.

The Theory and Practice of Banking. By HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, Esq., M.A. Third Edition. Vol. I. Longmans, Green, and Co.

Mr. Macleod's work has won its way to mercantile confidence, and may now be regarded as our chief authority on banking. The third edition, of which this is the first volume, has been remodelled and simplified by the omission of certain preliminary discussions on political economy, more fully treated in works of the author subsequently published. The present edition restricts the discussion more closely to the theory of credit.

The author fairly claims credit for having largely contributed to the exposure of the arithmetical errors and the unphilosophical conceptions upon which the Bank Act of 1844 is founded, and to have demonstrated the principle now acted upon by all banks throughout the world—the Bank of England included—viz., that 'the only true way of controlling the 'paper currency, or credit, is by sedulously adjusting the rate of discount 'by the bullion in the Bank and the state of the foreign exchanges.' Mr. Macleod is justly proud of the acceptance of his general principles of political economy by M. Chevalier in an elaborate report on his works to the Academy of Moral and Political Science of the Institute of France; and by M. Rouher, who distributed an account of his system of Political Economy to all the Chambers of Commerce in France.

Mr. Macleod's is the only work in this country giving a full exposition of the theory and mechanism of credit and banking, which is somewhat surprising, and not much to our scientific credit.

The History of Creation; or, the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes. From the German of Ernst Haeckel. Two Vols. H. King and Co.

Although this work is termed by its author 'a popular exposition' of the doctrine of evolution, it is of so strictly scientific a nature that its

claims to be taken as a trustworthy guide can only be adequately criticised by scientific specialists having equal knowledge with Haeckel himself. The author is well known for the zeal and pertinacity with which he has advocated what is generally known as Darwinism. Less modest than Darwin, however, he rushes in where cautious experimentalists have hitherto feared to tread. He drives the Darwin doctrine of development to its farthest logical extreme; and whereas Darwin has never excluded the action of a Creator, but expressly requires it in order to the creation of the first primordial forms, from which all things have come, Haeckel dispenses with conscious purpose and intelligence, and reduces everything to a self-mechanical force. In a wonderfully learned fashion, which cannot fail, and was probably intended, to impress the non-scientific reader's imagination, he essays to fill up the gaps between species, between the organic and the inorganic, vegetable and animal life, and to drive back everything to the Moneres, which derive their existence again from Protoplasm. The peculiar feature of the book is that it contains an actual attempt to show the pedigree of the animal creation, in order to justify the reduction of all to the primal identity of formless Protoplasm.

We have said that it would require scientific learning equal to Haeckel's own to discuss the details of his work; but fortunately we are under no necessity to do that. Life has other duties than to pursue scientific specialists through all the wanderings into which a perverse and predetermined purpose may impel them in order to bring proofs in favour of a foregone conclusion. Haeckel, in this work, correctly defines the difference between philosophical capacity, as the power of forming adequate conceptions that will account for the facts, and the mere observing of individual phenomena, to which many experimentalists confine themselves. Without the former, he says truly, no inductive science is possible. But if the scientific inquirer takes up with a certain theory, resolved to make all facts and phenomena fit into it, and to throw aside all that are not serviceable, what difference is there between him and the *a priori* speculator whom Herr Haeckel treats with such sovereign contempt? Both alike make their own fancies the measure of the universe; both alike discard the facts that are not acceptable to them; both alike fail to be the interpreters of nature and reality. Haeckel is bolder and more rash than Darwin just because he is less faithful to truth. What Mr. Darwin offers as a theory or hypothesis, Haeckel claims has been demonstrated as a great inductive law. He will allow no doubt or uncertainty in regard to the Theory of Descent, and alike asserts its adequacy and its logical completeness. The theories of natural selection, heredity, and the struggle for existence, are elevated by the German naturalist to the level of demonstrated propositions; and he has not the slightest difficulty in showing how a world may be created, how life may be evolved out of the lifeless, and how reason and consciousness will emerge from the non-rational and the unconscious. The great gulf fixed between matter and feeling, which to a Dubois Reymond seems impassable, does not daunt Ernst Haeckel. He is restrained by no doubts, checked by no feeling

of modesty, but goes on his high dogmatic way as if he had been made the recipient of a revelation (we shall not offend him by using the term Divine) which enabled him to see the end from the beginning; instead of being a scientific inquirer who is bound carefully and toilsomely to make his way by explaining every fact in the light of other facts, and performing the humbler but more useful part of an interpreter instead of a scientific dogmatist.

We have said that Herr Haeckel ignores all the facts that are not convenient, and his dogmatism is so extreme as to be offensive; while the arrogant and dictatorial manner in which he deals with opponents is alien to a true scientific temper. In one way it may be well that Evolutionary Materialism should be presented in the light it bears in Herr Haeckel's hands. We have been told over and over again that Theism has nothing to fear from the theory of development, that there is a majestic grandeur in the idea of evolution through immense cycles of immeasurable time, and that, therefore, our conceptions of the Creator may be heightened instead of suffering injury or loss from the acceptance of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis. We do not deny that there may be a sense in which Evolution is reconcilable with Theism, or that the Theory of Descent may be so held as to be compatible with belief in self-conscious, creative intelligence. We have said that Mr. Darwin himself, so far from excluding, expressly postulates a Creator. And if Mr. Darwin means, or will say, that the creative act which he assumes must have taken place at the first, and implied the creation of all that was to be afterwards developed—that it was first of all involved before it was evolved—then the Theist need have no quarrel with him. The difference between them will refer only to the manner and not to the fact of creation. Mr. Darwin, equally with the Theist, must postulate the creation *in potentia* of all that is afterwards to become actual. But it is impossible for any evolutionist to deny that the theory by which he removes the Creator to the farthest limit of inconceivable time does often suppress the idea of creative action. It is only for the first germ or the first few germs that creative action is required—everything else that afterwards flows from these is assumed to be sufficiently accounted for through the interaction of the molecular particles and the conditions of their environment. There is a silent suppression of the conception of a Divine *potentia*, and therefore an attribution to matter of powers of self-regulation and self-development. Haeckel, adopting this view, presses it to its furthest possible limit, and excludes all intelligence, all conscious purpose or thought, and therefore all Divine influence. He does not, indeed, explain how Protoplasm has power to become Moneres, and how Moneres came to develop into the infinite diversity of life which actually exists—he assumes it all. He dogmatically asserts the reality of spontaneous generation, and simply brushes all the difficulties aside by which the idea is beset. This, of course, is easy work, but it is neither philosophical nor scientific. Herr Haeckel has no word to explain why one kind of Protoplasm should have had the power of developing from Moneres into men, while other kinds of Protoplasm remain persistently *inorganic* all through the ages. But if there were

different kinds of Protoplasm, whence the difference? The first *κινούμεν ἀκίνητον*, as Max Müller says, remains as unknown as ever. Nor does Herr Haeckel attempt to meet the difficulties (except in an airy superficial way) interposed in the way of the evolutionary theory by the science of language. That science has proved that language could never have been derived directly from imitative and interjectional sounds, but has proceeded from roots, every one of which expresses a formal concept, and therefore must have been preceded by thought. This erects an insuperable barrier to the acceptance of Evolutionary Materialism. Herr Haeckel simply disregards it; and from that fact we may judge of the trustworthiness of his general views. We do not deny that his book contains much valuable scientific material, but as a 'History of Creation' it is a blank failure, and its dogmatism and arrogance render it as offensive as its philosophy is unsound and inadequate. The work, we would only add, has been admirably translated, though the translation was only revised by 'E. Ray Lankester,' whose name is made prominent on the outside and title-page. The translator is said to be 'a young lady'—obviously of the strong-minded order.

Life's Dawn on Earth: being the History of the Oldest Known Fossil Remains, and their Relations to Geological Time and to the Development of the Animal Kingdom. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal; Author of 'Acadian Geology,' &c. Second Thousand. Hodder and Stoughton.

No one is so well qualified as Principal Dawson to write the history of Eozoon; and it is so interesting and instructive a one, that it deserved to form the subject of a special treatise.

Only sixteen years ago geologists were startled by the announcement that the Laurentian rocks of Canada—highly crystalline limestones, equivalent to the Gneiss of Scotland, the oldest rock-formation of the British Isles—were fossiliferous, so that the term Azoic, hitherto applied to rocks of that age, was no longer appropriate. The nature of the contained fossils was not, however, so clear as to defy opposition; and though the evidence was soon accepted by the first savans of the day, there were others who would not readily give up their preconceived notions. The earliest specimens were regarded as merely mineral concretions; but the circumstance of their uniformity in character, while consisting of different mineral ingredients, led Sir William Logan to suspect their organic origin. For this he was already somewhat prepared by other considerations: the constant occurrence of graphite and iron ores in the Laurentian rocks had suggested the probability of abundant vegetable life, and the alternation of bands of limestone pointed equally to the existence of animal organisms; all that remained then was to verify by the best tests available the suspicions thus aroused and warranted. Dr. Dawson being consulted, he brought the microscope into requisition, and soon detected evidence of organic structure. This was confirmed by Dr.

Carpenter and Professor Rupert Jones, for whose opinions specimens were brought over to England; and the studies which they had been making of the Foraminifera enabled them to work out the natural history of Eozoon, and assign, with pretty tolerable exactness, its place amongst the Protozoa. This first (as far as we yet know) of living creatures was, therefore, of the very simplest form of animal life, though of much larger size than the modern representatives of the same order.

The nature-prints of polished sections of Eozoon, etched with dilute acid and then electrotyped, are most valuable, as no drawing by hand could possibly impart so correct an idea of the structure of the animal.

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archeology. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. Illustrated. J. B. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia. Trübner and Co., London.

The author of this work is enthusiastic for his cause, but his discretion and judgment are scarcely at all times equal to his enthusiasm. He enters the lists against those he terms the 'scientists' with the greatest ardour and gallantry, and he deals them many a hard and heavy blow; but he endeavours to occupy too much ground. As with Americans generally, his plan—like everything in the country—must be on a big scale. The result is, that while we have abundant materials drawn together, often of great value, they too frequently assume the appearance of a miscellaneous collection, without the unity of connection that distinguishes a true book. We cannot say that Mr. Southall's 'Recent Origin of Man' is free from this blemish, notwithstanding his evidently assiduous labours in connection with it, and the zeal with which he fights for his views. The Transatlantic aspect of the work, moreover, will militate against its acceptance on this side, though the forms of expression to which critical English readers will object be in themselves as justifiable as many in use at home. Those who are not deterred by these blemishes may be assured that they will find a formidable array of arguments in 'The Recent Origin of Man' against modern theories which have come to be generally accepted, but are seen on a closer examination to be without sufficient evidence. The readiness with which the most comprehensive theories are built upon the most slender array of facts is made manifest repeatedly by Mr. Southall. The announcements of science with regard to the antiquity of man are shown to have been premature, and to have been constantly varying, so that every few years some scientific novelty—generally an old foe with a new face—is presented as the final solution of the mystery of the universe. Mr. Southall says he has no patience in these circumstances with the imperious airs of science, but if we lose patience we shall give the enemy the advantage.

Genesis and Science; or, the First Leaves of the Bible. By the Rev. JOHN MUCHLEISEN ARNOLD, B.D., D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Missionary Society. Second Edition. Longmans and Co.

Mr. J. M. Arnold has long been known as a vigorous writer and ardent missionary. His knowledge of literature is considerable, and he makes abundant references to the facts and details of science, history, philology, and ethnology. These references are thrown together loosely, the valuable with the worthless, the settled conclusion of science with the wildest conjecture, the well-known fact with the most extravagant hypothesis, so that without further indication of the sources of his information and the grounds of his dogmatic assertions, we fear that his reader will derive small advantage from these essays. There are some very shrewd remarks on Materialism, but the sketch of its history is crude, and it is disfigured by some most unnecessary details. Why should he here describe the profligacies of Alexandra VI. ? or make Cromwell (against whom he is at liberty to entertain political or religious grudges) a fruit of the materialistic philosophy of Hobbes ? He professes to deal with the theory of Evolution, but he caricatures it, which is a very easy thing to do, without adequately answering it. Some of the difficulties of the hypothesis are set forward with a trenchant pen, but the long joke about how the 'monkey became a man' will convince no one.

The most interesting and perhaps valuable attack upon the vast and undated antiquity of the human race, is something like an exhaustive proof that we have no records of any nation which transcend the flood. The rejection of most of the results of modern geology by a mere *ipse dixit* of his own will not commend the argument. The discussions of the fall, the deluge, the size of the ark, the sons of God, &c., are entertaining from the curious admixture of legendary and mythical matter which the author accumulates in illustration of the historical accuracy of the records which have been 'faithfully preserved by Moses,' but which have been modified and degraded by the historiographers and traditions of other nations. If this method had been carefully followed out, and the reasons given for the belief that the legends of Nineveh, Persia, China, and South America all reveal a local colouring, and a clear development from an anterior source, something would have been established of service to the Biblical critic. It is a pity that Mr. Arnold has not utilised his vast reading by a more scientific and judicious use of his materials.

Lucretius and the Atomic Theory. By JOHN VEITCH, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow : James Maclehose.

It is quite impossible for us in our limited space here to do full justice to the clear, exhaustive, and graceful manner in which Professor Veitch has, within narrow limits, treated one of the most interesting and most difficult of philosophical problems. His fine tact in following up the

leading idea of Lucretius, carrying with 'him' all the time a refined sympathy for the poetic side of that great genius, who foresaw so much and so far, is such as we could well wish to see carried more frequently into philosophical discussion, at once to elevate and to refine it. For though Professor Veitch sets out with the interpretation of what is remote, he very soon proceeds to show us that it touches closely a hundred points at which modern discovery and discussion are most active; and he finds himself confronted by the speculations of Professors Huxley and Tyndall (who, with many others, he finds, are rather inconsistent when they allow themselves to roam into the region of abstract truth), the Authors of the 'Unseen Universe,' and many others. He is very keen in his siftings of the contradictory terms too often used by the modern atomist, and is very successful, to our thinking, in redeeming from their endeavours a sphere of mystery—the Unconditioned, in a word, God. Nothing could well be more faithful or more conclusive than his exposure of Professor Tyndall's logical inconsistency at pp. 70-1; and this, at p. 83, is so good that we must gratify ourselves by quoting it.

'We may quite well allow atomic combination, mechanical and chemical, in obedience to idea; we may allow the apparent or phenomenal passage when proved, *which has not yet been done*, of the inorganic basis of life into the living germ; the rise of sensation in the animal organism, and of personality in man; and all these as keeping pace with increased structural development. But we should err in isolating these successive stages of progress from the free power of their real causality—contemporaneous Life, Reason, and Will, fixed in an Unity. It would be easy to name this doctrine Pantheism. It is really not so. It is at once Pantheistic and Theistic. It is pantheistic, inasmuch as it separates no power from the Deity; it is theistic, inasmuch as it represents the world-evolving power as regulated by idea, and, therefore, grounded in Personality.'

With its fine insight, its quick, clear perception, large, calm philosophic reach of thought, and exquisite style, we can conceive no better book to put into the hand of students.

The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Second edition, revised. With Illustrations. John Murray.

Since the publication of the original essay ten years ago, Mr. Darwin has been adding to his store of observations on the nature of climbing plants, and we have the outcome of his prolonged researches in this volume. He gives us, too, the benefit of his opinions on the recent labours of Sachs and De Vries in the same field of study.

Every one is aware of the fact of many of our plants being climbers, but few will be prepared to find how much that is curious is involved in the process. Our author has devoted his attention specially to plants that twine, of which the hop is a familiar instance; those which use their leaves for climbing, such as the clematis; and those which throw out

tendrils, as the common vine and the passion-flower. It seems that in all cases the faculty of climbing is primarily due to the circumstance that the newer growths revolve; for though some few plants in the second and third categories scarcely show any signs of doing so, Mr. Darwin gives reasons for believing that such have lost the faculty through force of outward circumstances. Instances are given of climbing plants having adopted the erect principle of growth in situations where their natural powers could not be brought into play, and of having subsequently regained their original habit—a circumstance to which the author very naturally attaches a high significance. He, of all men, is certainly entitled to do so. Some of his readers however will be hardly prepared to accept the conclusion which, he says, is forced on his mind, that the capacity of revolving is inherent, though undeveloped, in almost every plant in the vegetable kingdom.

A Course of Practical Instruction in Elementary Biology. By T. H. HUXLEY, LL.D., Sec. R.S., assisted by H. N. MARTIN, B.A., M.B., D.Sc. Macmillan and Co.

This book is exactly what it pretends to be—eminently practical. One who is about to enter upon the study of Biology cannot do better than provide himself with a copy of the book, a microscope, and the appropriate apparatus, and go step by step through the course, beginning, as Professor Huxley does, with the most elementary forms of vegetable and animal life, and working gradually up to the higher forms of each. Under the head of ‘laboratory work,’ precise directions are given both what and how to observe, so that any one with a clear head and delicate touch can work out each lesson for himself; and he will rise from the study with an intelligent conception of how the more highly developed organisms are built up.

Our Place among Infinities: a Series of Essays contrasting our Little Abode in Space and Time with the Infinities around us. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, Author of ‘Saturn and its System,’ &c. Henry S. King and Co.

Science Byways. A Series of Familiar Dissertations, &c. By RICHARD A. PROCTOR. Smith, Elder, and Co.

We remember to have read already in one periodical or another the greater portion of the articles which are gathered together in these two volumes; but Mr. Proctor is so pleasant a writer that he need not make any apology for thus putting them again before the public in a more convenient form than that of scattered essays in various magazines.

The former of these volumes is of the more set purpose; the main topic being a reopening of the discussion which was fought out with some keenness rather more than twenty years ago, when Whewell, Brewster, and Baden Powell argued for or against the probability of the other heavenly bodies

besides our earth being inhabited. The progress of science since that day has been so rapid, that many ascertained facts can now be brought to bear upon the argument; and in Mr. Proctor's hands it takes a different turn from that of any of the former disputants. Of the principal bodies in our own system it can be demonstrated, with pretty tolerable certainty, that some have not yet arrived at, while others have passed, a habitable stage; but of the systems beyond, the argument is all inferential. The author inclines to the view that at some period or other all the heavenly bodies are destined to be the theatre of life. Passing from this speculative subject he treats the reader with some chapters illustrative of the grandeur and immensity of the universe; and winds up with a disquisition on the influence of astronomy, as then understood, upon the Jews and other nations of antiquity.

'Science Byways,' as indeed its title indicates, is of more varied character—mainly astronomical, but digressing into meteorology, mental physiology, and coming down even to automatic chess and card playing. Some of these articles, we fancy, must have been written by way of relaxation from severer studies; but perhaps they will be all the more readable on that account, though Mr. Proctor has the happy knack, much rarer than he seems to think it, of putting a really scientific article into an attractive form.

Tobacco: its History and Associations, including an Account of the Plant and its Manufacture; with its Modes of Use in all Ages and Countries. By F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A. With 100 Illustrations by the Author. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Fairholt does not discuss the physiological questions involved in the use of tobacco, concerning which such a fierce conflict rages. He restricts himself to the matters indicated on his title-page, and has filled an instructive and interesting little volume with facts connected with the *habitats*, growth, manufacture, and uses of tobacco, gathered from a wide range of reading; and, we need not say, very intelligently and skilfully put together. The chapter on tobacco-pipes and cigars, and that on snuff and snuff-boxes are especially curious. It is, however, almost appalling to think that the consumption of tobacco for the whole world is estimated at nearly two millions of tons a year, or seventy ounces per head. In Great Britain, in 1858, the consumption averaged nineteen ounces per head. Upwards of £8,000,000 per annum are spent on tobacco and snuff. In France it is still more. A thousand million of cigars are yearly consumed in Austria. The history of the tobacco trade is one of the most curious in the annals of commerce. A weed originally smoked by a few savages has come to be one of the most cherished luxuries of the whole civilised world. Mr. Fairholt thinks that smoking does not increase drunkenness. Our Saxon forefathers were notorious drunkards, as the English have been throughout their history. They are, Mr. Fairholt

thinks, less given to drink now than at any period of their history ; while the Turks and the French smoke more than we, and both are sober nations. The greatest smokers, as a rule, are temperate men. Still, the enormous consumption of tobacco, and the individual habit—first in boys, then in ‘over indulgence in men—suggest matter for very grave ‘consideration.’

Diagram Illustrating the History of the Consumption, Stock, and Price of Cotton, from the year 1834 to the present Time. By JOSEPH SPENCER, 105, Portland Street, Manchester.

Mr. Spencer has compiled, in a skilful, tabular, and diagrammatic way the weekly statistics of the cotton market for forty-two years. His method is, on a large sheet with a graduated margin, and divided into small squares,—First, to state the American crop of cotton each year; Second, by certain lines and distinctive colours to register the sales made to spinners in Liverpool each week, in averages of six, thirteen, twenty-six, and fifty-two weeks respectively; Third, to indicate by lines like those in an isometrical map the number of weeks’ stock of cotton in Liverpool at any given week; and Fourth, to give the prices quoted for middling Orleans cotton in the ‘Liverpool Cotton Brokers’ Weekly ‘Circular.’ By this method every fluctuation of supply, consumption, and price, is clearly shown, and the general course of the market strikes the eye at a glance, and imprints itself on the memory without taxing the brain, as statistics sometimes do. The labour of preparing such a diagram must have been immense, and could only have been achieved by one who had kept careful registers.

As a systematic, concise, and simple record of the course and progress of not the least important branch of our national trade, it will be interesting to all who seek such information in a compact, handy, and easily available form. The statistician and the student of economics will find its perusal very useful; but its convenience and value to all engaged in the cotton trade is simply incalculable.

Some curious facts stand out very prominently. The largest American crop was in 1859 to 1860, when the receipts at the ports of the United States were 4,676,000 bales; in 1870 to 1871 they were 4,256,000 bales; in 1874, 4,042,000 bales; in 1875 only 3,702,000 were received. The largest average sales to the trade were in the eighth week of 1872, when the six weeks’ average was 82,000 bales per week; the thirteen weeks’ average 75,200; the twenty-six weeks’ average 68,500; and the fifty-two weeks’ average 68,200 bales per week. The fifty-two weeks’ average ending in the first week of December, 1875, was only 58,017 bales per week. The largest stock, relatively to consumption, was on the twenty-seventh week in 1848, being forty-four-and-a-half weeks’ supply; at the same period in 1875 it was only sixteen-and-three-quarter weeks’ supply. The highest quotation for middling Orleans cotton was made in August, 1864, being 81½d. per lb. From that time it has fallen, with occasional,

sometimes violent fluctuations, until now, in the beginning of December, 1875, the price stands at 7 3-16d. per lb. We commend the diagram to the study of all our readers whom its contents may concern.

Essays and Papers on some Fallacies of Statistics. By Dr. RAMSEY. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This book consists of sundry essays criticising rather severely the sanitary statistics published by the Local Government Board. One axiom underlies the whole of them, and is everywhere assumed, namely, that the registration posts should be a strict preserve of the medical profession, and that all statistics collected by laymen are *ipso facto* valueless. Passing this professional prejudice by, the chief point which the writer appears to us to establish is, that in comparing the death-rate of manufacturing centres with agricultural districts, sufficient allowance is not made for the enormous disproportion of the infant population. This is often so great as to raise the death-rate of the crowded towns of Lancashire and Warwickshire far above that of the average country village, whilst really the conditions of the former can be proved for each decade of human life to be more favourable than the latter. Indeed, Dr. Ramsey does appear to prove that the health and sanitary condition of our town populations are far better than would be generally expected.

On other points Dr. Ramsey does not realise the tendency arising from the complex conditions of social life around us, of contradictory errors to neutralize each other. Notwithstanding, this book deserves the careful consideration of all interested in the compilation or study of vital statistics.

The Universe ; or, the Infinitely Great and the Infinitely Little. By F. A. POUCHET, M.D. Third Edition. The Translation Revised. Illustrated by 270 Engravings on Wood. Blackie and Son.

We are glad to see this third and cheaper edition of Dr. Pouchet's interesting and able work. It is somewhat reduced in bulk and in illustrations, but it is not thereby lessened in either popular or instructive interest. Dr. Pouchet is a well-qualified interpreter of scientific discovery, and has admirable skill of elucidation and arrangement, as well as great power of eloquent exposition. There is just a touch of sensationalism in his descriptions, which is characteristic of his school and nation ; but the book is absorbing in its interest, and is one of those compendiums of the romance of natural history which are so popular with almost all classes of readers.

Disestablishment from a Church Point of View. By WILLIAM GILBERT, author of 'Shirley Hall Asylum,' 'De Profundis,' &c. Tinsley Brothers.

We are not aware that Mr. Gilbert's book on Disestablishment has spread dismay among the bishops, or attracted special notice from the

'Guardian.' The 'John Bull' still goes placidly along, unruffled, and the 'Record' has only blinked. But a book may be good and true, and yet fail of its immediate practical object, when it deals with a matter of such magnitude and so rooted in vested interests as is the temporal and political element in the Church of England. And yet, to those who carefully read Mr. Gilbert's book, there may be some cause for surprise. When Mr. Matthew Arnold in his delicate and bantering fashion charges at Dissent, he unconsciously suggests more than one reason why the Church can ignore the arguments of Dissenters. But in Mr. Gilbert's case Mr. Matthew Arnold's arguments will not hold. Mr. Gilbert was brought up as a devout Churchman, is still a Churchman, and the very interesting autobiographic details he gives us show how little he is of a Philistine. There is so much of freshness in Mr. Gilbert's details, that it is surprising their literary interest did not compel more extended notice. As to the facts, they are familiar to us from of old. Mr. Gilbert's merit is that he states them in a new way, showing, that whilst things have so much improved in other respects, secret simony is still possible; that if a Troutbeck appropriation could scarcely be carried through now-a-days—*i.e.*, the application of a charitable bequest to pay the debts of a vicious prince—devices that lead to no very different result are still sometimes had recourse to. We confess it is very depressing, when one thinks of the slow and subtle effect such things must have in sapping and undermining the belief among the lower orders in anything spiritual and Christian, to learn the relations of the Church to property of certain kinds—public-houses, and whole districts of houses of a yet worse order. There seems, however, to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of Mr. Gilbert's figures. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster and the Bishop of Winchester seem to have been specially remiss. Mr. Gilbert had himself particularly dealt with the Troutbeck case in his book 'Contrasts:' his ostensible reason for recalling it here is because the perversion was carried out with the bench of bishops looking on. Mr. Gilbert firmly avows his conclusion that, 'taking into account the advance of morality and civilisation, there are 'as great vices at present existing in the Establishment as there were in 'the days of the Hertfords, the Lowthers, the Seftons, and others of the 'same stamp.' And to show that Mr. Gilbert is no wild bigot, but a reasonable, right-respecting Churchman, this may be quoted:—'I consider that, either retaining the endowments or relinquishing them, the Church would be the gainer by disestablishment, and with that view alone would I advocate it. At the same time I am perfectly ready to admit that if any plan could be adopted, allowing the Church to retain 'her endowments, it would not only be an immense source of satisfaction 'to me, but to many thousand others. One point alone I would insist on—'and that I trust would be considered equitable by the reader, of whatever denomination he may be—that existing life-interests ought strictly 'to be respected.'

So wholly sincere and straightforward are Mr. Gilbert's confessions of the way in which he was led to his present attitude, that we cannot refrain from making a short quotation. 'I assert, and truthfully,' he says, 'that

'I am actuated by no sectarian, political, or democratic motives, but solely by the belief that by releasing the Church from State patronage and control its pure doctrines would not only have greater scope to develop themselves, but that Christianity in general, and Protestant Christianity in particular, would be benefited by the change. This view of the subject, I should further state, has rather been forced upon me than sought for. In spite of my desire to close my eyes to the manifold abuses existing in the Establishment, they continued so pertinaciously to thrust themselves under my notice, that at length I was obliged to admit their existence, notwithstanding my ardent desire to remain in ignorance, or, at the best, to remain under the influence of that peculiar feeling which induces us to avoid, in all possible manners, the investigation of a subject where the results are likely to be painful to us. . . . At length these abuses appeared so glaring that an irrepressible desire came over me personally to exert myself in aid of those wishing to obtain its separation. But then, again, a terrible difficulty arose before me. Notwithstanding all my efforts, I could not obliterate from my mind the impression that I was deserting a cause to which I had hitherto been faithful, and I feared lest by so doing I might commit an unworthy action. Again, I feared that I might offend many of my clerical friends, whom I hold in the highest estimation.'

There is something deeply pathetic in the struggle here indicated with which every man must sympathise: a dutiful, honest straightforwardness, which is but too seldom manifest in controversy. All can appreciate this; and those who wish to see the various facts and figures which, slowly accumulating before Mr. Gilbert's eyes, forced him to break with old opinions and feelings, must betake themselves to this book, which is as accurate and methodic as it is high-minded and regardful of other men's sentiments and reverences.

Mr. LEO GRINDON's thoughtful and yet popular book on *Life, its Nature, Varieties, and Phenomena* (F. Pitman), in which the observation of the naturalist is combined with the thoughtfulness of philosophy, the sentiment of poetry, and the devoutness of religion, in a natural and interesting way, has reached its fourth edition.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

The Inn Album. By ROBERT BROWNING. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The necessity which seems to be laid on Mr. Browning to use his characters as mere mediums for his own reflections, appears to us to limit, in certain directions, his rights as to choice of subject. It is almost susceptible of demonstration that even where his characters are most superficially discriminated from what we may assume to be the author's personal traits, they are yet mere transparencies through which his light

shines with a certain sub-consciousness on his part that the very contact and contrast of suddenly-shifting colours may produce a peculiar grotesquerie of effect. Even in the case of Pompilia, in 'The Ring and the Book,' do we not feel that the innocence, which in her is so mingled with occasional quaint depth of suggestion, is in no sense Italian, but is rather English, and, indeed, in one sense provincial, and provincial in an order that might be said to belong to Mr. Browning alone of all our great poetic writers. It is not insignificant, but far otherwise, that in 'The Inn Album' Mr. Browning does not feel it necessary even to discriminate his characters to the cursory intelligence of the reader by so much as distinctly naming them. Mr. Browning's artistic determinations are certainly seen here in very forcible manner. Throughout all, the interest to those who read in the true mood is Robert Browning; precisely as, to follow up a former figure, we do not care for the figures on the dull canvas when the light is removed from behind it. Now, of course, it is evident that a great temptation rests with a grotesque, whimsical, self-quizzing genius such as this to choose mediums which shall allow it to triumph to the greatest extent by the direct show of contrast between the characteristics of writer and dramatic medium. The sense of delight in a new effect may justify to him what can hardly be so justified in the sense of the ordinary reader. He is, in fact, bent on experiment of a special kind, and should reserve his appearance till he has completed it, and can show it in relation to practical and healthy laws of use and emotion. Our greatest dramatic writers, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, had, no doubt, all passed through *something* of the process which has been carried to such an extent by Mr. Browning, but they soon found correctors from two sides. First, the need of balance in the range of character itself in order to attain dramatic unity; and, secondly, the necessity of meeting the immediate demands of a mixed audience for *moral* impression; and these two demands have been the more directly felt the greater the dramatic genius—Shakespeare first, then Jonson, and then Marlowe, *sed longo intervallo*! Wherever man can be at all interested in situation and incident as founded, however remotely, on the relation and development of human character, there, too, you find a hunger for moral proportion. It is thus that the mixture of unnaturalness and high morality in the lower-class drama is to be accounted for. In this necessity, too, lies a certain safety to society from stage-pieces not otherwise to be recommended. Now, Mr. Browning has submitted to neither of these laws; he has, in fact, directly defied them both; and, though it may seem ungrateful to say it, it is true that our safety from him, as well as from the low class stagewright, lies, if not in precisely the same direction, yet in the operation of the same law, working reversely. 'The Inn Album' will not be read save by those who have the corrective within themselves, who are, so to say, intellectually *curious*, and can take delight in artistic experiment as such. Mr. Browning's course has been a gradual departure, work by work, from simplicity of *motif*, so far as it bears, or can bear, on faithful development of character in dramatic relation; so that, as we shall show, it is in no sense correct to say, as the 'Athenæum' has so short-sightedly said, that in

'The Inn Album' he has returned to his first manner. In his earliest stage Mr. Browning mainly contented himself with what were on the face of them separate studies—portraits, self-painted we may say, and in these there was little attempt at exhibiting the character in action and in relation to others. If there was hint of this it was accidental and suggestive, merely taking on the tint of the self-narrator's mind, and conveying subtly at the same moment *Mr. Browning's* commentary on the action and its effect on the subject. In 'The Ring and the Book,' where the attempt was made to unite this peculiar method of self-revelment with something of variety and action, the moral unity was so far maintained by Pompilia, whose presence, in spite of special criticisms upon it such as we have suggested, remains the great justification for that work; with its repulsive yet patient analyses of the workings of the human mind in one of its most morbid phases. In 'The Inn Album' Mr. Browning has given us a work of the same order, but *without the Pompilia*, and to us it seems that even his great genius, his curious mode of lighting up and relieving, without sense of disharmony, the dark corners of the human mind, and his almost unique power of sympathetic self-drawal from the obscurer moods of the character portrayed, has failed, *absolutely* failed, in justifying itself effectually in this work. He has, we admit, managed to make plain to the reader the leading incidents as he goes along, but he has not made the motives of his characters clear, consistent, and comprehensible to us in their actions; while, at the same time, by choosing types which belong so emphatically to the present day, he tempts us at every point to appeal to our daily experience. 'The Inn Album' is thus in no sense a return to his first manner, in which the great point—a justification of motive and action to the narrator's own mind—was prominent. We, therefore, regard it as retrograde and perverted; and can only honestly say that those in influential positions who fail to perceive and appreciate the points we have dwelt on, will by-and-by, if they should persevere in their practice, become as great puzzles to us as Mr. Browning when he tried, with no superficial change of style, to make a poem—a lyrico-dramatic poem—out of the wholly exceptional and untoward materials of an old hardened rake, who had seduced a certain woman; a younger rake, who had loved her; the woman who had been seduced, but comfortably married; an unexpected meeting of the three in an inn parlour; an insult suddenly tendered to the woman; a murder in defence of her; and a suicide by poisoning, without one single relieving, not to say, moralising element. For this is simply what 'The Inn Album' is—this and nothing less nor more than this—and it will remain to future times as a monument at once of the subtlety and the short-sighted perversity of our great dramatic genius of the nineteenth century. It would not be grateful work to epitomise the story of the poem; for, put it as you will, it could not come out otherwise than as an imitation of a very bad and sensational paragraph in the 'Police News.' But this is the less to be regretted as the newspapers have already made most readers acquainted with the poem thus far. It will suit our purpose better to do justice to Mr. Browning by saying that, personally, we have found much

in separate passages of the poem to admire and ponder over. Our main criticism lies deeper, has reference to initial conception and dramatic law. In fairness we may refer to one or two passages which we have read with no little pleasure. The description of the inn parlour, for example, is full of power—not a touch but has its effect; and the dingy shabbiness of the whole interior is deepened by a fine stroke of landscape painting, which is instinct with Mr. Browning's genius, though two lines strangely recall a touch in one other poem, of which Mr. Browning might well have been thinking :—

‘ The younger personage
Draws sharp the shrieking curtain, sends aloft
The sash, spreads wide and fastens back to wall
Shutter and shutter, shows you England's best.
He leans into a living glory-bath
Of air and light where seems to float and move
The wooded watered country, hill and dale,
And steel-bright thread of stream, a-smoke with mist,
A-sparkle with May morning, diamond drift
O' the sun-touched dew. Except the red-roofed patch
Of half-a-dozen dwellings that, crept close
For hill-side shelter, make the village clump,
This inn is perched above to dominate—
Except such sign of human neighbourhood,
And this surmised rather than sensible,
There's nothing to disturb absolute peace,
The reign of English nature—which means art
And civilised existence. Wildness' self
Is just the cultured triumph. Presently
Deep solitude, be sure, reveals a Place
That knows the right way to defend itself :
Silence hems round a burning spot of life.’

As specimens of the manner in which Mr. Browning can delicately close exceptional traits in familiar surprises of words, and of the incisive, acid-biting way in which he can communicate the man by a sort of aside, we give two little sniffs. The older aristocratic rake, who has been initiating his millionaire snob-companion into the ‘ways of life,’ thus disclaims merit in his teachings :—

‘ The fact is—you do compliment too much
Your humble master, as I own I am ;
You owe me no such thanks as you protest.
The polisher needs precious stone no less
Than precious stone needs polisher : believe
I struck no tint from out you but I found
Snug lying first 'neath surface hair-breadth deep !
Beside, I liked the exercise : with skill
Goes love to show skill for skill's sake. You see
I'm old and understand things : too absurd

It were you pitched and tossed away your life,
 As diamond were Scotch pebble! all the more,
 That I myself misused a stone of price.
 Born and bred clever—people used to say
 Clever as most men, if not something more—
 Yet here I stand a failure, cut awry
 Or left opaque,—no brilliant named and known.
 Whate'er my inner stuff, my outside's blank.'

The lady's answer to her former lover, after he has addressed her in a vein of the most forcible but improbable rhetoric—wholly untrue to the man into whose mouth it is put—the lady, in the course of her reply urges:—

'Your entry broke
 Illusion, bade me back to bounds at once.
 I honestly submit my soul; which sprang
 At love, and losing love lies signed and sealed
 "Failure." No love more? Then no beauty more
 Which tends to breed love! Purify my powers,
 Effortless till some other world procure
 Some other chance of prize! or, if none be,—
 Nor second world nor chance,—undesecrate,
 Die then this aftergrowth of heart, surmised
 Where May's precipitation left June black!
 Better have failed in the high aim, as I,
 Than vulgarly in the low aim succeed
 As, God be thanked, I do not! Ugliness
 Had I called beauty, falsehood—truth, and you
 My lover! No—this earth's unchanged for me,
 By his enchantment whom God made the Prince
 O' the Power o' the Air, into a Heaven: there is
 Heaven, since there is Heaven's simulation—earth:
 I sit possessed in patience; prison roof
 Shall break one day, and Heaven beam overhead!'

Such is 'The Inn Album,' such our impression of it. It is full of rare and penetrating power, which flows out here and there into passages instinct with genius of the highest order. But separate passages do not make a dramatic poem. It is vicious in conception, and exaggerates to excess many of the author's former errors; it is now rugged and now so unnecessarily coarse, and even vulgar, that to all save students of literature, whose duty it is to read and to study morbid developments and their relations to literature, we say, pass 'The Inn Album' by, and devote yourself to what is purer, or, at any rate, broader and healthier in its mode of dealing with the vice and folly of real life and their issues.

Guido and Lita: a Tale of the Riviera. By the Right Hon. the Marquis of LORNE. Macmillan.

The Marquis of Lorne shows so much of taste and true poetic fervour that we are very reluctant to say that his poem fails to reach the point

which but a *little* patience and reserve on his part might have secured it. Yet such must be said. He has found a good subject, sufficiently remote to admit of romantic incident, and yet sufficiently stirring to give opening for the dash and movement which we most readily associate with the heroic couplet. And when he is describing action pure and simple, or looking at nature, he does well: it is when he pauses, turns round, reflects, and wishes to say fine things after the modern manner, that he fails. Then he becomes artificial, involved, burdened by phrases and words with which the measure will scarcely consort. The Christians of the Riviera are harassed by the Moors, but there has been a pause in the conflict, and Guido, the son of Count William of Orles (Arles), falls so far a victim to the 'piping times of peace' as to become a 'fop,' to the grief of his brave old father, who, as they are on the way to a tournament, tries to stir the man in him. As they return, they are caught in a storm, and seek shelter in a fisherman's hut, where Guido sees and falls in love with Lita, the fisherman's daughter. He sees her again, and then she tries to avoid him, and finally extracts from him a promise not to meet her again for a year and a day. War meanwhile breaks out, and Lita is carried prisoner, and as this fact is one reason why Guido goes so readily in pursuit of the Moors, it is to be inferred that the poet means to show how true love can cast out the fop and make the brave man. Lita escapes, comes back, and acts the part of a Maid of Saragossa, attending to old Count William's wounds when he falls in a sortie. At this point Guido returns, to hear her commended by his father, and the poem closes amid a peal of marriage bells. From this bare outline of the fable, it is seen at once that there was great scope for spirited treatment, and certainly Lord Lorne has written some exquisite passages: the pity is that he was not more self-severe. Not to speak of several instances of inexcusable cockney rhymes, unallowable inversions, transposed accent, and quadruple rhymes, he is guilty of whole passages which will not scan truly—in one instance, at least, dropping a whole foot from one line, to tack it on to the next. Then to employ such phrases as 'subtly wrought for death,' as applied to flame, is quite beyond the limit in such verse. Yet so many are the finished, musical, and quotable bits, that we half feel we have done wrong to write as we have done. This, for instance, is good :—

'Sail, set all sail, we'll gain upon them fast,
The canvas curtsies to the creaking mast:
A mightier power than human will may yield
Compels her onward o'er the sapphire field.'

And this :—

'The wind increases; the flo'illa, strown
Far o'er the sea, is tossed apart, and thrown
From swelling ridges, whence the world is seen,
To lonely hollows walled with waters green.'

That description, too, of Lita asleep in the castle of the Moor, Moslem-el-Sirad, is, on the whole, musical and good; but poetic work of the

highest order should be equally perfect in all its parts, and this is decidedly what the most favourable criticism cannot say of Lord Lorne's poem, though we add that a little more of conscientious labour of the file might even yet make this a very powerful poem.

Jonas Fisher. A Poem, in Brown and White. Trübner and Co.

The somewhat enigmatical character of the title of this poem becomes plain enough in the reading. Jonas Fisher is a man who has escaped from the devouring jaws of vicious and sinful habit, and has become not only a believer, but an earnest worker—a volunteer home missionary. In vigorous verse he explores the slums, and describes the sights he has seen, and also the friends his work has brought him into contact with. The chief of these are Mr. Sullivan, a Christian Irishman, and Mr. Augustus Grace. The latter is a man of thorough benevolence, always ready to aid; his purse, in fact, being at Jonas's disposal. But he is apt to criticise dogmas very freely, and now and then he lapses into utterly rationalistic positions, tempered always, however, by charity of the broadest, and by high aspirations. He is, in a word, a fearless seeker of truth; though he has little reverence for symbols as such, he sees their value as insignia under which to march and round which to rally. While he is very frank in conversing with Jonas on religious, social, and political topics, he shows himself every inch a humorist, and a satirist of no mean order. On such questions as cremation, marriage with a deceased wife's sister, cliqueish criticism, prurient art, and a hundred others, he is not only clear, but original, and supremely suggestive. It can easily be conceived, from what we have said, that many will find here not a little from which to dissent; but we hazard the assertion that, having begun to read the book, they will read on; for incident of the most striking, touching, and realistic character is occasionally combined with the discussions of which we have spoken. The spirit of the book is thoroughly Protestant—Romanism and Ritualism being both dealt with in the cleverest and most dashing manner; so decisively, indeed, is much in the former declared to be simply Pagan—'the Babylonian lurking below' the Christian—that we should not by any means be surprised to hear that the book has been honoured by entry in the *Index*. However severe and satiric the author may be, he always shows a very tender regard for the poor and suffering, and very gladly should we have quoted, had we had space, the striking passage in which he pleads for covered spaces and plentiful supply of seats in London parks, &c., in a style which, for mingled seriousness and rattling humour, would have delighted the late Sir Arthur Helps. There is so much in the book that appeals to the temper of the present day, that we have no doubt it will be widely talked of; and if its stern realism and pathetic force should lead to access of interest in the disregarded poor, one object of the writer will no doubt be realised. And let it be said that, though in the form of poetry, many valuable hints may be found here as to the best modes of dealing with that class; for if, as the author

says, one incident repeats itself among them, the great lessons to be gathered are everywhere the same. Every page, with its powerful pictures, its smart characterisations, its satiric point, and finished phrasing, would offer valuable morsels for quotation.

'In dangerous paths, a blind belief
Goes safer than a blinking doubt.'

'Who makes men slaves to make them good,
Casts devils out by Beelzebub.'

' "Life's ship of fools,"
Tho' captainless, is manned by skippers.'

But we feel we have failed to give any idea of the large scope, the power, the insight, and the minglement of stern and almost coarse realism, with a controlling mysticism, which we find here. It bears the mark of decisive power, and though it stirs many hard questions and may excite prejudices, we feel sure that it will do good by stimulating independent judgment on the greatest subjects.

Nero. By W. W. STORY. Blackwood and Sons.

How far is the whitewashing of historical characters to be carried? That is not an inapt question to-day, when so many of the old notions as to certain landmarks of judgment are being overturned. We remember well Mr. Lewes's defence of *Nero*, which was very ingenious indeed; but we carried our own antidote with us in that case, and could argue back on Mr. Lewes's own ground. But when a man of genius can find sympathetic approaches such as to justify him in elevating a 'proscribed character' like *Nero* to dramatic proportions, and treating him at length and in a kind of isolated elevation—able, in a word, to interest us in him; that is, to find some ground of real humanity, after all escaping round and beyond the accepted picture, and so redeeming it from the unrelieved blackness of purely historical portraiture—we cannot help being possessed by a certain unrest, as if the old firm ground of fact were tottering under us. Now, notwithstanding that Mr. Story, thus far possessed by the influence of Robert Browning, has succeeded in gaining a certain psychologic unity by a very arbitrary selection of scenes and pictures, he has failed, both in reconciling dramatic proportion with the ineffaceable lines of history, and in recalling the Rome of *Nero's* day. His characters are, after all, little more than names for men and women of our time, as far from Roman as well could be. His labelling is half his art. He has skilfully found a relief by tracing out the gradual inrush of evil into *Nero* through his yielding to it, until, finally, the brain, corrupted and weakened under vicious indulgence, loses balance, and insanity becomes the only apology for actions such as all humanity abhors, and only abhors. And thus, unfortunately, Mr. Story disturbs the totality of impression by raising in our minds the very question which has recently come to the front by the decisions of certain judges in respect of responsibility for actions performed under insanity directly induced by vicious

tendency and practice. It is difficult to draw the line; but in the view of art, it is almost clear that Nero's proclivities were from the first so unrelieved that, to gain the necessary sympathy to start with for high dramatic purposes, you must give us, 'not Nero, but another.' Why, this fine passage over Poppæa dead—fine, truly fine, artistically, as a relieving element—does it not make us smile somehow when we realise that it is from the mouth of Nero?—

Nero. 'Yes, she is beautiful! How still she lies!
How perfect in her calm! *No more distress,
No agitations more; no joy—no pain.
I'll keep her as she is. Fire shall not burn
That lovely shape; but it shall sleep embalmed—
Thus—thus for ever in the Julian tomb.*
And she shall be enrolled among the gods.
A splendid temple shall be raised to her,
A public funeral be hers, and I
The funeral eulogy myself will speak;—
And this is all. She never will come back—
Never will smile—never will sing again.
Pity—oh, what a pity—Xenophon!
See to it that she be embalmed, I say,
And all her beauty kept just as it is.
There, my Poppæa, sleep—

Look, Xenophon,

I thought she smiled and moved! You're sure she's dead?'

How consistent it is that Shakespeare—and here we enter into no discussion on points recently raised—should be so careful dramatically to emphasise at the outset the good and noble points in Macbeth, he who was to lapse into the traitor, the regicide, the common murderer and hirer of assassins, and, worse than all, the 'lily-livered coward,' in the running from Macduff after that first pass of arms at the close. Now, Mr. Story has tried to follow, but ineffectually; history is too assured. But when we say this, we do not fail to admire the evident artistic conception, the faculty of fixing the imagination on the *assumed* essential characteristic, and maintaining it throughout, especially as seen in Poppæa. That, too, is a fine touch in the love of Sporus for his master.

Moses; a Drama in Five Acts. By E. CARPENTER, M.A.,
Author of 'Narcissus' and other poems. E. Moxon and Sons.

Mr. Carpenter's drama opens with the arrival of the people at Sinai. The disaffection of Aaron, Miriam, and Korah runs through it, until Korah meets his doom. Mr. Carpenter, however, has taken unwarrantable liberties with the narrative of the fate of Korah, who is represented as simply falling by the sword in civil strife, the opening earth being only the graves dug for them. So also with the narrative of the death of Aaron. Moses is represented as being told of it, and as directing his

burial on Mount Hor. Both narratives are too explicit for such a rendering. The poem contains some passages of genuine poetry, and also lines that it would be very difficult to scan, *e.g.*, in the idolatrous song of the people—

‘But lead us forth by meadow and rivulet.’

We do not say that Mr. Carpenter should not sing: his note is too distinct to be thus banned; but Carlyle’s axiom will come to our thought, not to sing what can be better said. We have, however, read Mr. Carpenter’s drama through: we cannot, perhaps, give a better assurance that it does contain some good poetry.

Tennyson’s Works. Author’s Edition. Vols. III., IV., V.
Henry S. King and Co.

These volumes complete Messrs. King’s new library edition of Tennyson. They contain ‘The Idylls of the King,’ ‘The Princess and Maud,’ ‘Enoch Arden,’ and ‘In Memoriam.’ We must accept them as containing, we trust, the final arrangements and revisions of the author. We say we trust, because there is a point when artistic finish passes into fastidiousness, and the congruous forms of creative impulse are superseded by bits put on, which are not always improvements. A poet who turns out his work so deliberately cast and delicately finished as Tennyson does, may well let it remain, and not only resist, but suspect the disturbing impulse which urges the *labor limæ* in hope of a nearer approach to his ideal. We do not say that the minute touches which this last edition contains are not improvements. For the most part they are. But we think they are hardly improvements so great as to compensate for their disturbance of accepted forms.

The arrangement is different, especially in the Idylls. It is fitting, and for the advantage of both the work and the reader, that the poet should dispose the productions of different periods, some of them separated by a generation, in their symmetrical and sequential order. The edition is an elegant one, not so sumptuous as Mr. Strahan’s six-volume library edition, but as legible and pleasant to read, and of course superior to that in its revision. It is a satisfactory proof of culture and taste that so many editions of a poet so pure and refined should be in demand.

St. George and St. Michael. By GEORGE MACDONALD, Author of ‘Malcolm,’ ‘David Elginbrod,’ &c. In Three Vols.
Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. George MacDonald has in this novel more than regained the ground he seemed to us to have lost in some of his recent efforts. ‘Malcolm’ was not only somewhat doubtful in construction, but its plot rested on relations that imparted a secret dissatisfaction, which the reader could ill get rid of even when, towards the close, they were fully revealed; and certainly ‘The Vicar’s Daughter’ was in many points weak and mawkish. Here he is throughout simple, pure, and strong, and, as always when he is at his best, his work is suffused with high lesson, here very properly and very powerfully kept in tone with the colour and progress of

the story. 'St. George and St. Michael' seems at first sight rather a far-fetched title, but nothing could be more faithful and expressive of the period of the characters here depicted—St. George, for the gaiety and dash of the Cavaliers; St. Michael, for the belief and devotion of the Round-heads—the Cromwell men; and this is the England to which Mr. MacDonald vividly transports us. Here his fine instinct for gathering up personal or class traits, or even larger tendencies, from minor touches and passing references in literature, as a magnet passing through steel filings, stands him in right good stead; and all the culture, the sincerity, the fire, the varying motives that drew enemies closer together, or divided for life those who had been bosom friends, are presented to us with the hand of a master. A bit of song most naturally interjected, or a seemingly unimportant quotation aptly set, gives us a faithful glimpse into the days of the Revolution; and the quaint odour of some of the old phrases—for the form of speech in those days is faithfully but not slavishly imitated—is such as not only to delight the artistic sense, but to impart to Mr. MacDonald's book a high historical and philological value. This last is of course but a secondary matter, and most readers will find interest here, and never think of these things. What a fragrance of truth and sweetness there is about the heroine, Mistress Dorothy Vaughan, who cannot part with her Royalist sentiments and sympathies, even to gratify her love for Richard Heywood, the playmate of her childhood, who is, of course, a Puritan and a soldier. They are therefore driven apart by the stress of the times; and yet, through it all, they deeply influence each other.

The actual outburst of war, like a stormy wind driving the leaves before it, sunders them, and Dorothy seeks shelter in the castle of Royalist friends, the Herberts. Well read and old-fashioned, she furnishes a subject of anxious but rewardful interest to that impulsive Irishwoman, second wife to the Marquis of Worcester, whose son's name is inseparably connected with the steam-engine; and though Mr. MacDonald secures her presence by a slight anachronism, it is more than justified by the element of interest which her appearance imparts to the story. Some of the talk between Lord Herbert and his wife is extremely true, ingenious, graceful, and never drifts very far from the real line of the story. To find out by what gracious means Mr. MacDonald contrives the *dénouement*, carrying the reader's sympathies with him, as he reveals the very heart of that stirring portion of our history, our readers must go to the book itself, the least of whose merits is that it is written with a poetic grace and beauty to which Scott himself did not attain, whatever his merits in other directions. We trust this is but the beginning of much successful work of this kind from the same honoured hand.

My Love she's but a Lassie. By the Author of 'Queenie.'
Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

The author of 'Queenie' has, in her new novel, made a great advance in maturity, dramatic presentation, and movement. Her obvious carefulness and faculty of growth are good augury for a series of novels that will give her a high place amongst her somewhat numerous sisterhood. Walter

Huntly, the hero, has nothing about him that is very distinctive. He is a type of the staid, strong, somewhat mature military man, of which lady novel writers are very fond. It seems to be an accepted maxim, of which Lytton was one of the first apostles, that the ideal of love-making is to be found in a disparity of years, ranging from ten to thirty. We are not precisely told how old Huntly is, but he is a captain in one of her Majesty's regiments, who has been a long time in India, and Mabel is only sixteen. We confess that we like a more equal pairing of young things, and feel a kind of relief when committed to an engagement in which the difference is not more than three or four years. Mabel is a very distinct and clever creation. Her development under the special conditions—a senile father who has become the victim and husband of an intriguing and wicked French governess, and a sedate lover like Huntly, together with the plot against her property, and ultimately against her life—is natural and powerful. The secondary loves of her half-sister Maud and Colonel Cust are also well wrought into the story, and their respective characters are well individualised and conceived. Our complaint of 'Queenie,' that it somewhat lacked movement, does not apply to the novel before us; but the action occasionally verges on the melodramatic, as, for example, in the imprisonment and escape at Brussels, and the meeting on board the *Star of Columbia*. Both, however, are portrayed with great accuracy of description and considerable dramatic power. There would, however, be greater strength in the evolution of the plot through more likely and ordinary processes. Shipwrecks, murders, and sudden deaths are the fair properties of the novelist, but the use of them should be dominated by the probabilities of ordinary life; and there is defect where half-a-dozen extraordinary events must concur to work out the desired issue. We give to this novel, however, a very strong word of commendation. It is vigorously written and well wrought out; it is inlaid with thoughtful observation; and, what is by no means a common thing, is written in excellent English.

John Holdsworth, Chief Mate. A Story. Three Vols.
Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.

John Holdsworth is a story of the Enoch Arden type. The hero is chief mate of the good ship *Meteor*, and next voyage is to be captain. He has been but three months married when he sails for America. The ship is lost, and he and eight others are ten days exposed in a boat, every conceivable horror and hardship being experienced. One by one seven of the miserable little company perish, and on the tenth day the boat is seen by an Australian-bound clipper. Holdsworth is found unconscious, and his sole remaining companion dead. The narrative of the shipwreck and of the sufferings of the boat's crew is drawn out to great length, and is almost horrible in its detail of endurance. The chief effect upon Holdsworth is that his memory becomes a blank. He cannot remember his own name, or anything whatever of his past life. A kind-hearted Sydney merchant on board nurses him, and takes him into his own office. After five years he comes to England, his

memory still a blank, save as things that he sees restore it. Of course he finds his way by a series of accidents to Southbourne, where he had left his wife, who after two or three years of supposed widowhood had in sheer physical necessity married a dentist who turns out a drunkard. Holdsworth is so changed by suffering that he cannot be recognised. He takes lodgings in the street where his wife lives, gets acquainted with his own little girl, but heroically keeps his secret until the drunken dentist gets drowned. The story is well told. The nautical descriptions are minute, and we suppose faithful. There is a good deal of pathos in the story of the shipwreck and the sorrow of Holdsworth, only the prolongation of it urges the pathos into the horribly painful. A little more invention, somewhat modifying the often-depicted situations, would have redeemed the story from traditional commonplace.

With Harp and Crown. A Novel. By the Authors of 'Ready Money Mortiboy.' Tinsley Brothers.

Readers of 'Ready Money Mortiboy' will expect from its authors a clever realistic novel, combining somewhat of the typical description of low and fast life which abounds in Dickens, with somewhat of the caustic and yet good-humoured moralising of Thackeray, together with a genial sympathy with the Bohemian weaknesses and miseries which they describe. The strength of the novel unquestionably lies in its typical oddities of Bohemian life. Chauncy Chocomb, his cousin Dr. Joe, Mr. Rhyl Owen the schoolmaster, Dick Carew the *littérateur*, Hermann the Picture-dealer, Mrs. Spenser and Rickety Jem, Fred Revel, Mrs. Chocomb, the Hermit, all are Bohemians of various types, and the chief interest and strength of the writers have been lavished upon them. They are all drawn with great cleverness, and with the sympathetic eye that intuitively sees the soul of good in things that are evil. The redeeming qualities of Joe Chocomb, Dick Carew, and Fred Revel are as true to life as their recognition is human and benevolent. The writers tell us that their moral is the beneficial effect upon human virtue of prosperity, and their chief type of it is Joe Chocomb. It fails however in Gerald, whose transient love is hardly perhaps so true to human nature, considering the early delineation of him, and is terribly cruel to Marion, the very noble heroine of the story. The power of pathos of the writers is brought out in the death of Rickety Jem and the end of Mrs. Spenser, in which again we are forcibly reminded of Dickens. The story is an able and a wholesome one, and is written with a good deal of artistic skill.

This Indenture Witnesseth. By Mrs. ALFRED W. HUNT, Author of 'Under Seal of Confession,' &c. In Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a readable and satisfactory novel. The somewhat fanciful title refers to a curious love-making scene introduced early in the first volume, when Brian Templemore and Audrey Wentworth, who are desperately in love with each other—but from prudential reasons abstain from telling each other the fact—divide into two a piece of parchment, which contains,

we suppose, the words, 'This indenture witnesseth,' written twice over. Upon these precious morsels they write their respective names, and give mutual promises each to forward the fragment to the other within three weeks or a month of a projected marriage. This scene occurs at the Cape, on the eve of Audrey's departure with her brother for England, and Brian Templemore's joining his regiment in the Kaffir wars. The latter had become interesting to Audrey at a ball given to the officers of the *Britomart* just before the terrible and glorious catastrophe with which that vessel is identified. He was, moreover, one of the very few men saved from the wreck. When Audrey and her brother reach England, they find that a large fortune and estate, on which they had been led to count, had utterly disappeared in the failure of a bank, and that they were penniless. Dudley Wentworth, however, has the good fortune to discover a wealthy relative in the cathedral town adjoining his now bankrupt estate, a gentleman tradesman, who offers him a place in his business, and consents to buy the estate, reserving to Dudley the power of redeeming it at a future time. But the altered condition of the poverty-stricken Wentworths eats into the selfish and grasping nature of Dudley, and has a depressing social effect upon both brother and sister. There is much clever satire on the laws of English caste; while the harshness, meanness, and absurdity of them are admirably portrayed. Among other consequences, when Brian Templemore returns home to the very neighbourhood where the Wentworths are residing, his love for Audrey cools. Weak and impressionable, he does enough to keep the flame of love burning in the heart of poor Audrey, though he has not the manliness to do more. He complicates matters by renewing a shameful flirtation with a servant-girl, and even gives to her the locket containing his portion of 'the indenture.' Other lovers approach Audrey and try to win her heart, and her brother basely deceives her as to some change in the feelings of Templemore. Here the story becomes far too intricate to be described, and rushes on from incident to incident with amazing rapidity, and even brilliance. Foreign travel, terrible surprises, changes of fortune, elopements, and death scenes; Corsican *piagnoni*, and most cleverly-contrived events, which, wonderful enough in all conscience, yet never verge on the perfectly improbable, rivet the attention, and bring out the grand but too faultless character of the ultimately successful lover of Audrey as well as the delicately blended elements of good and evil in the manhood of Brian Templemore. The remarkable spinsters who appear as *deæ ex machinæ* do their part well, and the character-painting all round is above the average. The novel deserves high praise for its spotless purity, its sound sense, and the vigour and originality of many of its conceptions.

The Evil Eye, and other Stories. By KATHERINE S. MACQUOID,
Author of 'Patty,' &c. Chatto and Windus.

Mrs. Macquoid in her 'Through Normandy' seriously committed herself to the idea that a Normandy market-place is the most delightful

of resorts, knowing neither loud tongues nor bad odours. She was never tired of celebrating the taste of the market-women and their mode of arranging their stocks, and now she gives her fancy full flight, and weaves romances round the Normany market-places; and, sooth to say, she does it in a very sprightly way. 'Marie Farnette' is really well told, and is full of close study of character. The manner in which Marie's love of admiration leads her to encourage the attentions of Nicholas Marias, while she really loves Léon Roussell, is described with no little effect. When Léon seems cold she is miserable, and more miserable still when gossip carries to her the news that he is to wed Elise Lesage. She falls ill, and does not appear at market, and when, on attempting her ordinary work, she finds it needful to take a 'lift home,' it is providential that she overhears Léon deny the truth of the rumour. Explanations soon follow, and all winds up happily. The worst of it is, that all the stories deal with Normandy life, and are all so very much alike, that having read a couple of them, you feel that the others are little more than variations. 'The Evil Eye,' which gives the title to the volume, is not nearly so good, in point of literary execution, as some of the others. The close of 'Berthe's Wedding Day,' which is one of the best, is, indeed, deeply pathetic; and it is a pity that a little more of the feeling was not thrown into some of the other stories. We should not omit to say that one or two of the woodcuts in illustration are executed with real skill, and do—what woodcuts nowadays so often fail to do—really illustrate and aid Mrs. Macquoid's ideas. We close by repeating that there is always something sparkling about Mrs. Macquoid's style, and that were it not for the 'passion of production' which has got hold of her, we might well look for work of a very high class from her hand; but it seems that she has far too much yielded herself to the necessity of working out her every view, of which this present volume is a notable example.

Sherborne; or, the House at the Four Ways. By EDWARD HENEAGE DERING. Three Vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

'Sherborne' is about as turgid and repulsive a book as we have recently come across. It is a novel in form, but it is a polemic in purpose. The interests of the Pope are more vividly present to the writer than those of his characters. The plot turns upon the existence of a mysterious will and a missing heir. There is a profusion of interlocutors, and a good deal of sensational incidents, with sundry marriages as the resolution of the whole; but the conversations are slangy and vicious, although not without smartness and strength. The book, however, is most difficult reading, one feels as if one's ears were being perpetually boxed.

Mr. Dering's zeal for the Pope is surely that of a pervert, and is utterly destitute of both wisdom and reason. Everything pertaining to Popery is æsthetically beautiful, metaphysically true, and morally and religiously good; while the opposite qualities characterise every form of Protestant life. Even its girls are neither beautiful nor pure. Mr. Dering's dogmatism is fanaticism, pure and simple, his judgments are wilfully blind, and

his vituperations would have stood a good chance against O'Connell himself. He mistakes if he thinks any cause can be served by such unscrupulous violence as this. If he would learn how to write novels that, without polemics, may really make the worse appear the better reason, let him study those of Mrs. Augusta Craven. If he wishes to help Protestantism against its old foe, by all means let him multiply books like this.

Dear Lady Disdain. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. Grant and Co.

We have only good to speak of Mr. McCarthy's new novel. We have scarcely met in it with a sentence or an incident to jar upon the pure artistic pleasure which its perusal has given us. There is a refined chasteness in style, delineation in character, and good taste in dialogue, which it is really refreshing to meet with in the multitude of slip-slop and extravagant novels which have to be looked through. We have not often met with more skilful characterisation than the contrast in the development of passion in Christmas and Marie; the mixed elements in Sir John Challoner and Ronald Vidal; or the delicacy with which Marie's disillusionments about her father are managed. Dione Lyle, too, is an exceedingly refined and well-drawn character. A very keen perception, as well as very generous sympathies, is also evinced in the portraits of Natty Cramp, the enthusiastic and aspiring hairdresser; and in Isabel Jansen, the women's rights lecturer. Mrs. Seagraves, the patroness of the friends of humanity, with her semi-Mrs.-Malaprop blunders and revocations, is, perhaps, the most distinctive and successful character in the book. All the characters, however, are most admirably drawn. The Legitimist captain is almost as good as his sister. Every character is distinct and fresh, and is congruous to the end, and the scenes, both English and American, are delineated with great knowledge and skill. There are of course the usual improbabilities—not so much of incidents as of their fortuitous concurrence—without which characters could not be brought together or novels get written; and one gets a little impatient with the dulness of Christmas in the last great scene in the library, although the frank and even bold modesty of Marie is admirably in keeping, and is true to the character of a true earnest woman such as she was. Perhaps, too, some things do not get done so fast as they should. But, altogether, we very earnestly commend Mr. McCarthy's story as one of the most artistic in its quiet, bright way, and one of the most wholesome of the novels of the year.

Throstlethwaite. By SUSAN MORLEY, Author of 'Aileen Ferrers.' Henry S. King and Co.

'Throstlethwaite' is very pleasant to read. It is written in a style that is simple, pure, and level. The author makes no attempt to be smart or sensational; she tells her story in good equable English; and the story itself is like the style. It is a well-constructed tale of ordinary life, exhibiting certain contrasts of character, as working out the ordinary

destinies of higher middle-class life, and as affected by its circumstances. Leonard, the 'idle apprentice,' is not so much wicked as weak. He is good enough and attractive enough to inspire Ruth's love, although they have been playmates from childhood; but he cannot conceal from her the fatal taint of moral baseness which trials, not very severe, bring out. The authoress has shown her chief skill in working out the disentanglement of circumstance and of conflicting feeling in Ruth's very noble, womanly character. The 'good apprentice,' Stephen Powys, is as noble as Leonard is base, and, as a matter of course, he wins at last, although the odds are greatly against him. Ruth's simple and high-toned character is again contrasted very cleverly with the worldly good-nature and *fineness* of her sister, Mrs. Kennedy. The husband of the latter, Colonel Kennedy, is a fine character, and much material for moralising is suggested by his relations to his wife, which are very subtly brought out, and probably represent a not unfrequent experience of life. Mrs. L'Estrange is also a fine, well-drawn character. The story is a useful one, and is well told.

The Banns of Marriage. By DUTTON COOK, Author of 'Young Mr. Nightingale,' 'Hobson's Choice,' &c. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

These two vigorously-written volumes contain five tales on the natural history of oddly-assorted marriages. They are, as might be expected, somewhat unequal in style, plot, and execution. We have two or three stories which turn on the agonising, but ultimately defeated, intention of a confirmed bachelor to submit to the banns in question. In one case Smugwealth marries a buxom barmaid, to find terrible incongruity of temper; and the effect is described of the deadly power for evil which the dissolubility of the marriage-tie would put into the hands of either party. The husband finds the dreadful secret out that his marriage is invalid; and the deteriorating influence of this discovery, accidentally made, reveals some high moral lessons and some of the pitfalls which the present condition of the law of marriage has dug beneath the feet of unsuspecting victims. Another of the stories shows very humorously how easy it would be for a conspiracy to be hatched, by a little personation and clever fraud, to prove that an easy-going bachelor had married his house-keeper, when all the time he had been lying in his bed in the agonies of gout. The writer seems especially set upon the cynical task of exposing the folly of an old man marrying a young girl, and the Quixotic absurdity of seeking a wife either above or below one's own level in education or social refinement. Some of the imbroglia are very amusing. There is great realism in these stories with the exception of the last. Here improbability becomes farce, and can only be interpreted by lunacy. The *dramatis personæ* of these stories are somewhat akin to those of the 'Pickwick Papers,' and the vigour with which many scenes are drawn promise considerable success, if Mr. Dutton Cook were to take a larger canvas for his pictures, and resolve to work out his conceptions into greater detail.

Onwards ! But Whither ? A Life Study. By A. E. N. BEWICKE,
Author of 'Lovely Carlotta.' Smith, Elder, and Co.

The improbabilities of this story are extreme, and the style in many portions of it is stilted and inaccurate; and as the 'Study of a Life,' or of an oddly-assorted group of lives, it is obscure and indefinite. Two young ladies, Cecile and Lettice Methven, living an unnoticed life in an English country town, are smitten with the desire for higher education. Cecile resolves to do one great thing,—produce a great work of art; and Lettice, who has a more wholesome ideal, and who resolves to *be* something, determines to read the seven Great Epics in their own languages. Neither of them can be said to realise her ideal; but they set about it by undertaking a journey to Rome, with their younger brother as their chaperone. On the way they fall in with a Papal Zouave, a German Officer, and a Russian Prince. The amount of love-making that goes on all round is too absurd. Cecile, the artist, fascinates the German, the Zouave, and the Russian Prince, and throws herself into violent pique with the latter for fancied slight. He dotingly follows her to Cannes, where, for a few days, they blissfully understand one another. But the Prince is here surrounded by diabolical toils, skilfully devised by a black-hearted mother, with the view of deliberately breaking the heart of Cecile, and severing her son from such a *mesalliance*. The flight of the Methvens leads to the utter ruin of the Prince, morally and physically, and he is subsequently found a victim of creeping paralysis. Meanwhile, the other lover of Cecile, the German, wins the heart of Lettice, and the brother dies; and the unfortunate Cecile becomes the conquest of the eager proselytism of the Ultramontane Zouave. However, an accidental meeting of the invalid Russian with Lettice brings Cecile to his side, and he dies in her arms. Almost at the same time, the half-brother of Cecile, a homely, matter-of-fact Scotchman, is allowed to marry the beautiful sister of the Russian Prince. The only 'study' we can see is the attempt to show how unwise it is for a person to act impulsively, and go thoroughly in for any pursuit, pleasure, ideal, or affection. The 'Whither?' in this case terminates in the severest order of conventual life. There is a great show of quotation from Rénan, Emerson, Carlyle, &c., and an assumption at times of a silly profundity. The most natural character is that of poor young Reggie, who dies, supposing that 'death is about the 'stiffest exam. any fellow can go in for, only it is a blessing that it is 'not competitive.' The story appears to us made up of incongruous materials, and they are not put together with artistic skill.

Eight Cousins. By LOUISA W. ALCOTT. Author of 'Little Men,' 'Little Women,' &c. Sampson Low and Co.

Miss Alcott always writes with great truth and naturalness; and notwithstanding occasional Yankeeisms, is so refined, and brings out her lessons with such studied regard to consistency, that we do not hesitate to say that there are few of our own writers for children who will be more warmly welcomed or more reluctantly parted with. The party of aunts

and great-aunts here are very vividly contrasted with each other, as are the seven boys of the various families, and Rosa, who forms the eighth cousin. Her care for Mack, the bookworm, in the midst of his threatened blindness; her patience and her powerful influence are very well pictured to us; as well as her kindness to that little servant-girl, erewhile work-house child, Phœbe. There is just enough of innocent humour in the book to carry youngsters pleasantly forward, and, indeed, the old folks will gladly go with them, if we do not greatly mistake.

The Prose Works of William Wordsworth. For the first time collected, with additions from unpublished manuscripts. Edited, with Preface, Notes, and Illustrations, by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, St. George's, Blackburn, Lancashire. Three Vols. Edward Moxon and Son.

Considering that Wordsworth, unlike some poets, looked on himself as a successful writer of prose, and was prone to political discussion, it is very remarkable that no effort has till now been made to give a collected edition of his prose writings to the public. The more gratitude do we owe to Mr. Grosart, who has well prepared himself for the task by previous studies, and has unweariedly ransacked every corner where anything additional or helpful might have been expected to be found. That Wordsworth fully anticipated such a publication, is proved by his own writing, and is a circumstance which adds decided value to the work before us; for nothing is more reprehensible than the habit which has recently come into vogue of publishing writings of distinguished men which bear on the face of them that they were never intended for the eye of the public. Whatever Wordsworth wished to be published we may be sure has some value; and if it should not at once appear to us, we had better hold dogmatic condemnation for a time in reserve. Now the only portions of the first volume of whose appearance here we are not quite sure are some of those fragments of conversations which are reported, and which must fall under another category. However, these occupy after all but a very small proportion of a volume, and one instalment certainly has a significance of its own. Professor Dowden has said in the course of an essay on Wordsworth, that poets have always been good prose writers, never abandoning themselves to the license of fine writing, prose-poetry, and that sort of thing—a statement which ought hardly to have gone so unqualified. Burns was surely a poet, and yet in his letters he sometimes ran into prose-poetry; Mr. Swinburne certainly comes near it now and then; and Professor Wilson, he of 'The Isle of Palms,' is sometimes loose and high-flown enough. But Wordsworth's style points the other way. Certainly he never mounts the stilts, or endeavours to make prose carry a greater burden than it can well bear. He is simple, nervous, direct, full of purpose. A calm reserve, and a judicial manner of setting forward facts and drawing inferences from them in a quiet, self-detached kind of way, are often so evident, that the presence of a methodic persistency, which at first sight seems almost alien from the poet's temperament, forces itself

on the reader's mind. This however is far more consistent with the poetic side of Wordsworth's mind than might at first appear. He is in his poetry, as well as in his prose, self-withdrawn and self-dependent, taking service from the impulses and passions which control and modify the outward result, and never yielding to them. His passion is like a flame burning through a clear, but subduing medium, which cools and tempers and keeps it to one tone. His will is ever near to the passive sense and intellect, ready to upbear them, and this is as patent in his prose as in his verse. Those earlier political writings, with which the first volume opens, bear this out. The fact or the contemporary interest is soon lifted into the light of principle, and the imagination forecasts, fixes results in a word, foretells. The 'Apology for the French Revolution' derives value from the fact that it is a clear representation of the inevitable development of certain forces of human nature in certain conditions; and had it not been for the infusion of some measure of this quality also into his addresses to the electors of Westmoreland, they would certainly have been unworthy of republication. Whatever changes Wordsworth's political ideal underwent in the course of years, this power remained to him—a consolation and a refuge. The paper on 'The poor, the working classes, and the clergy,' is suggestive; but it is a most surprising thing that a mind like Wordsworth's could ever have brought itself into such *rapproch* with *things as they are*, as to find an advantage for the nation in the existence of patronage and the poverty of curates.

The second volume contains that very characteristic letter on Burns and poetic biography, in which it is surprising to find a man of Wordsworth's type laying down a law which would starve out that instinct of curiosity to know those who have benefited us, which is so radical in human nature, and in its own degree beneficial. The truth is, that in spite of the elevation and purity of his character and life, which might have made him tempt the utmost scrutiny, he only in this followed up his own great principle, absorbing the man in his song, as in his poetry he ever absorbed the thing in the image, breathing round it an atmosphere which rarefied and isolated, but so far put it out of all actual and immediate relations. The Essay on Epitaphs is thoroughly Wordsworthian, full of fine reflection and suggestiveness; and his 'Guide to the Lakes' is so perfect that it well deserves a place here.

The third volume, which has been in several respects the most interesting to us, contains the 'Notes and Illustrations of the Poems,' 'Letters and Extracts from Letters,' and 'Conversations and Personal Reminiscences.' Here is a rare enjoyment for students of Wordsworth, especially for those who, by loving and long continued association, have raised themselves to the bracing meditative atmosphere of his solitary yet humanising thought, in which all things take on something of a new and spiritual aspect. Here they may trace his progress, and follow his own mind reviewing itself, and yielding the most attractive of commentaries. They will appreciate the more, the deeper they have penetrated his poetic purposes, the manner in which he pierced beyond accidentals, and caught the human and universal aspect of the passing circumstance, im-

parting to every question and topic he touched something of his own elevation and purity; and relating his poems, even those which seem of the most remote and abstract nature, with matters of the most practical present moment. Full of mystic and dreamful instinct for nature as he was, he was never divorced from man; and if his notes and these reports of conversation have a specific value, it is because they show us how he himself reconciled, and most often successfully reconciled, the two apparently opposing sides of his activity. But we cannot find space to exhibit in detail all which this last sentence suggests: we must content ourselves with a reference to Mr. Aubrey de Vere's *Reminiscences*, which strike us as being of signal value in the aspect to which we have just referred. It is not only that they evidently embody faithful recollection, but that they are penetrated by that 'annexing' sympathy which enabled him to divine Wordsworth's secret, and simply to set it forth.

We are not sure but Mr. Grosart's editorial prerogative should have been extended in some instances. For example, he gives two conversations from different persons respecting Sir Walter Scott's misquotation of Wordsworth's fine lines,—

'The swan on still St. Mary's lake
Floats double, swan and shadow,'—

and it strikes us that he should have made the misquotation in the two cases uniformly, as in the case of one of them the omission of the peccant plural is clearly to be attributed to a lapse of memory; for Wordsworth's whole spirit and method lay expressed fully in the very points that were missed by Scott.

'The swans on sweet St. Mary's lake
Float double, swans and shadow,'

Wordsworth, as he himself urges, never could have written. Why? For the reasons we have already given. No material object, or creature even, existed for Wordsworth in and for itself, but only in its capacity to reflect ideal or eternal truth. And he himself gives us this explanation:—
'The scene when I saw it, with its still and dim lake, under the dusky hills, was one of utter loneliness. There was one swan, and one only, stemming the water, and the pathetic loneliness of the region gave importance to the one companion of that swan, its own white image in the water. It was for that reason that I recorded 'The Swan and the Shadow.'
'Had there been many swans and many shadows, they would have implied nothing as regards the character of the scene, and I should have said nothing about them.'

Mr. Grosart in this work has generally shown careful research, tact, and the instinct which proceeds from full sympathy. Any biographic work pursued without this is sure to come out a *caput mortuum*, however correct and laboured; and if Mr. Grosart's writing may sometimes seem a trifle high-set, his enthusiasm, which is of the most genuine kind, is enough amply to justify it.

A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne. By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, M.A. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

A history of English dramatic literature almost necessarily becomes a history of the Elizabethan drama and dramatists. All that went before them is only preparation for what was to follow, and all that comes after tells of deterioration and decline. There is thus a regular growth and development, which, of course, reached its culminating point in Shakespeare; and after him there is a story of decay, ending in the death of the drama in the artificiality and inanity of the time of the last of the Stuarts. This peculiar completeness of the English drama, as if it were an organic product of general forces long in operation, which first worked gradually up to the manifestation of their utmost fulness, then gradually waned, and finally became exhausted, makes our dramatic literature a specially attractive subject to the competent and sympathetic student. Of course, genius gives laws to itself, and its spontaneity and exuberance impress these on the materials with which it compasses its ends; and equally, of course, these qualities were never so unquestionably present and powerful as in the case of Shakespeare. Nevertheless, Shakespeare connects himself more directly than any other writer with the stream of the national life, of which he was at once the product and the most brilliant and perfect illustrator. His own individuality is even absorbed in his national mission; and it is the highest object of criticism to exhibit the indissoluble connection between the Shakespearian drama and the age and nation to which it belongs. Nor is this view incompatible with the universality which is rightly claimed for Shakespeare. His universality is nothing abstract or merely philosophical, but is based upon and grows out of the historical past, which it sums up and interprets. He is universal because he was national at a period in the world's history when the national development of England was most powerfully influenced by the forces that were transforming society and making possible the conditions under which modern civilisation has been developed. It is no light praise to say that Professor Ward has performed his critical and historical task under a full consciousness of the influences and aims, both of a national and a universal character, that moulded the English drama. If the reader finds the early portions of the first volume dry, and it seems to him like an oft-told tale, he will find himself rewarded by the light which the materials throw upon the after-course of the story. Mr. Ward may not be brilliant, but he has mastered his materials, he applies a high standard of criticism, his culture is varied, and he has produced a History of the Drama which is destined, as it deserves, to hold a high place in our literature. Of course, where there is so wide a range and so great a multiplicity of subjects, it is simply impossible that there should not be differences of view between the critic and his readers. Criticisms of individual plays and estimates of individual dramatists will be regarded as defective or erroneous according to the idiosyncrasy of the student, or even to the influence of accidental causes

on the formation of his judgments. But the criticisms of Professor Ward will always be found careful, and well-supported; and in his critical observations and literary generalisations he is often exceedingly felicitous. His criticism of Shakespeare is free from the extravagances of the purely deductive school, of which Ulrici is a type, while, at the same time, it is far from being a collection of haphazard remarks. His work deserves a fuller notice than the space at our disposal allows us to give it. We can only therefore thank the author for his admirable volumes, which are full of instruction, and are the result of a wide culture, close and careful study, not inconsiderable critical capacity, and real insight into the course of events and the growth of national character.

Final Reliques of Father Prout (the Rev. Francis Mahony).

Collected and Edited by BLANCHARD JERROLD. Chatto and Windus.

This volume consists mainly of Mr. Mahony's correspondence from Rome, sent to the 'Daily News.' Mr. Dickens was fortunate enough, when the paper was first started, to secure his services in that capacity, which he did when he accidentally met him on the Milvian Bridge in Rome. It was the period of the latter days of Gregory XVI. and the earlier days of Pius IX., which he respectively described as 'The Fag End of a Long Reign' and 'The Bright Dawn of Better Days.' Pius IX. has since shown that his are the fatal virtues that destroy a cause. No epoch could be more fruitful to such an observer and satirist as Mahony was, and no correspondence could be more brilliant, informed as it was by high classical scholarship and inspired by the peculiar sympathies of a literary and quasi-liberal Roman Catholic priest—more strictly, perhaps, half-priest. He was the Erasmus of the epoch, and expounded it with almost equal learning, wisdom, and satire. Part of this correspondence was separately published, under the title of 'Facts and Figures from Italy,' by Don Jeremy Savonarola. Mahony also became Paris correspondent to the 'Globe' shortly after the Revolution of 1848. Passages from the letters sent to that paper are included in this volume. A biographical sketch is prefixed, to which one of his pupils in the Irish College of the Jesuits has contributed some very interesting 'Familiar Memorabilia,' which resolves some of the anomalies of his character and opinions, and lets light in upon some of his remarkable attainments, especially in out-of-the-way knowledge.

The book is not so well put together as it might be. It has not in it the permanent literary elements of the famous 'Reliques.' It relates chiefly to passing phases of history, to which the distinctive genius of Mahony was necessarily subordinate; but it sparkles all over, and is full of interest. Mahony, like Sidney Smith, could write on no subject without being brilliant and witty.

Victorian Poets. By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Stedman is one of the most promising of the new order of American critics. He always writes neatly, with constant reference to principles

with discernment; and with true catholic taste. Indeed, sometimes we feel that his taste is wider than his knowledge is exact, else it is hardly possible that he could have rested content with some of his classifications, which bracket together persons who would almost rather sacrifice the loved name of poet than be sent down to posterity in one another's arms, even metaphorically. But it is too bad to blame Mr. Stedman for lack of knowledge of our *cabalistic* strifes—'Fleshly School,' and others—though let it be known that he does sometimes disturb his critical balance by the introduction of incongruous personal details. On the whole, in spite of this, however, he judges the better, in that, from the safe verge of distance, he can afford to disregard petty distinctions that figure perhaps only too large with us. He writes appreciatively yet discriminatingly of Landor; declares Mrs. Browning the greatest of all poetesses; gets enthusiastic over Tennyson's perfection of rhythm; desiderates the lack of balance and form in Browning, though he awards him the palm for thought and subtlety; is generously appreciative of Robert Buchanan; is something more than fairly open to the merits of Morris and Rossetti; and is inclined a little to lavish praise on Mr. Swinburne. He does well to include Mr. Austin Dobson, for we believe that for airy delicacy and daintiness, often unexpectedly enshrining depth and true passion, Mr. Dobson stands almost alone. But he does not do so well to look askance at Mr. Mortimer Collins; and when he says that 'the books of Mr. Roden Noel may pass without comment,' he shows himself to be overborne by mere form; for Mr. Roden Noel, though his eccentric rhymes may sometimes grate on the ear, has individuality, which so many lack, and has wholly distinctive and masterly power in nature-painting, sometimes fixing an unusual aspect of nature in the finest of epithets, full of colour and significance. Mr. Stedman has spent a good deal of space on people for whom the future will perhaps have less to say. Then certainly it does seem odd to find a man who knows so much about English poets so ignorant respecting Mr. R. H. Horne, who certainly has not sinned by writing too little, whatever other sins may lie upon him. Mr. Stedman's theory about the decadence of the Alexandrian or Idyllic period we have not space to examine; suffice it, that in our idea it does not traverse the whole reach of the facts, and helplessly misses many of them. But Mr. Stedman's volume will be found readable. It is the result of great industry, loving study, and a desire always to perceive and to celebrate the best, and that on grounds of pure critical reason—an element which is too often lost sight of with us as well as with his own countrymen.

The Religion of our Literature: Essays upon Thomas Carlyle, Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson, &c.; including Criticisms upon the Theology of George Eliot, George MacDonald, and Robertson of Brighton. By GEORGE MCCRIE. Hodder and Stoughton.

We cannot attempt to test Mr. McCrie's estimates of the theology of the writers criticised in his volume. The task would demand large space

and detailed criticism. We should probably differ on many points from the author. We agree with him, however, so substantially, that our dissent would be in degree rather than in principle. We admit very fully that the Christianity propounded by the principal writers of whom he treats differs in many important respects from that of the New Testament, and that there is need for correcting the false theological teaching of poets as well as of preachers. No one, we apprehend, has ever suspected Thomas Carlyle or George Eliot of being an exponent of Evangelical Christianity. In most criticisms on their works their grave defects, theologically and religiously, have been pointed out. The fundamental defect of George Eliot, the absence of all spiritual faith and hope, was strongly and ably pointed out in these pages in a criticism on 'Middlemarch.'

It does not follow, however, that the standpoint of every critic of error is the true one, and, at the risk of being charged with furtive sympathies with what Mr. McCrie condemns, we must avow ourselves unable to endorse the assumptions and principles of his condemnation. That all religious teaching must be brought to the test of the New Testament, as containing an authoritative record of the facts and teachings of the religion of Jesus Christ, we earnestly maintain, but that it is the same thing to bring it to the test of Scotch Calvinistic theology, as embodied in the standards of the Presbyterian Churches, we are not so convinced of. Yet this is what Mr. McCrie has done. Not contented with asserting the perfect righteousness of God against the maudlin teaching of weak, unprincipled good-nature, dignified by the name of Love, he assumes that that righteousness necessitates, for example, the perdition of all the Heathen. He condemns Carlyle for his doctrine of earnestness *per se*, as if the only virtue of earnestness were its being rightly informed. No doubt Carlyle does exaggerate his commendation of earnestness to the disparagement of truth—wrong is largely right with him if it be but earnest enough; but it is the exaggeration that Mr. McCrie should have dealt with. But surely there is virtue in sincerity. The Apostle Paul did not send all men to perdition whose religious notions were erroneous. He taught that, 'not having God's revealed law, they were a law unto themselves;' and Peter says that God 'has in every nation them that fear him and work righteousness.' The only conceivable equity is to judge heathen nations, not by the teachings of Jesus Christ, but by the light that they have. Mr. Carlyle is surely right in his commendations of thoughts 'that dwell honestly as true in men's hearts,' including, of course, the honesty of the process whereby the thought is attained. In his jagged exaggerating way he seems only to repeat so far the great principle that Paul propounded. So far as he thinks it of no importance what a man thinks true, he is, of course, absurdly and paradoxically and mischievously wrong. This is only a specimen of what we think Mr. McCrie's mistaken method. Instead of dealing with exaggerations and perversions, he meets his opponents with flat contradictions. Surely, again, he does not mean to charge even Carlyle with maintaining that, *per se*, idolatry is a good thing, but only that relatively it is better than Atheism, or no religious sense at all. Does Mr.

McCrie again really know the history and work of Mohammed when he pronounces upon him an absolute and unqualified reprobation, and condemns Mr. Carlyle for having 'anything to say in defence of Mahomet.'

Nothing damages truth more than bad and unfair arguments. We are sure that Mr. McCrie will not benefit the divine religion of Jesus Christ, as he does not follow His example, by wholesale denunciations of other systems. Some elements of good there have been in even the worst, or it would never have taken or retained its hold of human hearts.

We think that most of the writers Mr. McCrie criticises are seriously defective in their religious conceptions, but we do not think Mr. McCrie's method of indiscriminate running a muck at them is likely to convince them that they are so.

Round my House: Notes of Rural Life in France in Peace and War. By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Mr. Hamerton describes, first, at great length his searches after a house in France which should be something less than a *chateau* and something more than a *maison de campagne*. The interesting description and information he contrives to throw into his quest hinders it from being tedious. Through a friend he at length finds what he wants somewhere in Burgundy, apparently near Autun, within a day's reach of everywhere. His life here is made the centre of a series of delightful chapters on French manners and customs; country society, nobility, money matters, households, political parties, peasant life, the clergy, courtship and marriage, &c. The literary purity and artistic charm of Mr. Hamerton's writing, together with the opportunities of observation which lengthened residence gave him, make these chapters very fascinating to read. Inasmuch as they are purely descriptive, they can neither be summarised nor quoted,—but except Miss Mulock's 'French Home Life' we have had no recent contribution to our knowledge of French people so full and interesting.

Mr. Hamerton's house was in the track of the war, and two chapters of exciting war experiences give an element of adventure to a quiet and very charming book.

Gravenhurst; or, Thoughts on Good and Evil. Second Edition. *Knowing and Telling: a Contribution to Psychology.* By WILLIAM SMITH. With a Memoir of the Author. William Blackwood and Sons.

The memoir prefixed to this edition of a work which, with its companion volume, 'Thorndale,' has long been placed upon the selectest shelf of thoughtful readers, reveals a very beautiful life, gently meditative and vigorously thoughtful, as every one would expect who knew Mr. Smith's works; but also tender and refined in delicate affections and sympathies to a degree not often met with, and which only a wife could reveal as it is here revealed. Something is clearly due to the glorification of a deep

and admiring love ; but beneath the mere colouring there are the outlines and proportions and movements of a life of rare temper and beauty. How often such lives are revealed to us only after they have passed away ! It must, indeed, be so of necessity. Mr. Smith was a quiet thinker, and not a very prolific writer. He is an instance of how greatly a man may leaven the thought of his age by a single work. He will be more to his admirers than he has been before through this beautiful and touching memoir, written by one capable of appreciating his genius and worthy of his love. We regret that so much of Mr. Smith's power was dissipated in articles for Reviews, some of them such as could produce no permanent results ; a list of a hundred and twenty-six contributed to 'Blackwood' alone is here given. He also wrote for this journal and for the 'Contemporary Review.' It was probably a pecuniary necessity ; but Mr. Smith might have laid future generations under obligation for works of vigorous, original, and refined thought. Three of his articles contributed to the 'Contemporary Review,' and one from an unpublished manuscript, are contained in this volume. Some further selections of his more important articles is surely desirable.

Lectures Delivered in America. By the late CHARLES KINGSLEY,
Canon of Westminster. Longmans and Co.

The marks of a failing mind, we regret to say, make their appearance in these lectures. For the most part they are mere reminiscences of other writers, with here and there a gleam of the old enthusiasm and keen individual charm which we associate with Charles Kingsley. Never very exact, or predisposed to careful verification, we found in him from the first more of the prophet than of the historian proper, more of the guesser at great laws than the patient student, willing to wait a wide survey of facts before coming to final opinions. Generally he was concerned with illustrating a foregone idea ; and latterly, at all events, he was inclined in some respect to shy a fact that *seemed* to make the other way. But his instincts were keen, and not seldom he reached great truths without labouring slowly along logical processes. What seems to us of most value in the present volume is the endeavour to exhibit in the lecture on Westminster Abbey the close ties by which Englishmen and Americans are bound to a common past, and the lessons so skilfully deduced from it. The lecture on the Greek Theatre is good, but unsatisfactory ; we think involuntarily of a paper of the late Bishop Thirlwall's on a kindred subject, and cannot help contrasting Canon Kingsley's style rather to his disadvantage in this instance. As was fitting, the volume is dedicated to Canon Kingsley's American friends, of whom he had many ; but we think that, had he lived, he would not have published these lectures without extensive modification, revision, and additions. In a certain critical sense, they are the more valuable as we have them ; but that is not likely, we fear, to render the volume better for the purpose of publication. The lectures are neither learned enough, nor popular enough ; and, like what is indefinite, may miss their mark.

Shakespeare's Plutarch. Being a Selection from the Lives in North's 'Plutarch' which Illustrate Shakespeare's Plays. Edited with a Preface, Notes, Index of Names, and Glossarial Index, by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Mr. Skeat has supplied—and, of course, in a highly scholarly way—an interesting addition to our Shakespearian library. It is well known that, with the careless freedom of genius, Shakespeare availed himself of plots and suggestions for dialogue wherever he could find them; and a very large element of Shakespearian literature and criticism consists in the examination of Italian and other sources upon which he drew.

He was very largely indebted to Plutarch; how largely, Mr. Skeat shows us in this volume. Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward, Lord North of Kirtling, published his translation of 'Plutarch,' in a folio volume, in 1579. A second edition appeared in 1595, and five subsequent editions before 1676; after which it was probably superseded by a new translation, for which Dryden wrote a preface in 1683. North made his translations not from the Greek, but from the French version of Jacques Aymott, who is said to have translated from a Latin version. Necessarily, therefore, it was inaccurate, although Aymott's translation was well executed. It is interesting to note Shakespeare's adoption of North's blunders, as also his frequent paraphrase of his vigorous and [racy] English—the English of our Authorised Version of the Bible. Seven of the 'Lives' are here reprinted, and Shakespeare's indebtedness to them—in some instances curious in their minuteness, in others, in their extent—will be at once seen by readers of the Roman plays of 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Coriolanus,' and 'Antony and Cleopatra.' Mr. Skeat justly refers his readers to the remarks on Shakespeare and Plutarch in Archbishop Trench's 'Four Lectures on 'Plutarch,' which we recently commended to our readers.

Mademoiselle Josephine's Fridays, and other Stories. By M. BETHAM-EDWARDS. (Henry S. King and Co.) We are sorry to have overlooked so long these fresh and piquant stories of Miss Betham-Edwards. They concern art and artist life, and in a good and pure sense, chiefly on the sunny side of it. The descriptions of Mademoiselle Josephine's Friday receptions and of the motley assemblies found there, with the interweaving of love, conspiracy, and tragedy, and of the Grand Duke's little Court at Weimar, and of Cagliostro's erratic genius, are very clever. The authoress is, however, equally at home 'At the World's End,' on the quiet shores of the Mediterranean, her descriptions of which are very enticing, and in the solitudes of Cumberland. Her stories are carefully finished, although they do not expand beyond the magnitude of sketches. They are light and very pleasant reading.—*Her Title of Honour.* By HOLME LEE. (Henry S. King and Co.) A cheaper edition of one of Miss Parr's most graceful and effective stories. In outline it is the story of Henry Martyn,

the Persian Missionary, and of his love, filled in with the tender and sympathetic imaginations of a writer in warm sympathy with both his religious heroism and his strong human love.—‘The Works of Miss ‘Thackeray.’ Vol. I., *Old Kensington*. (Smith, Elder, and Co.) The publishers will lay lovers of good literature under a great obligation by the elegant and compendious edition of Miss Thackeray’s works, of which this is the first volume. She contributes to our literature a type as distinct as that of her father; and in the refined thought, the keen observations, the quick but rich imagination, the tender human sympathy and the dainty literary touch of it, it has a charm of its own as great in its way as that of Charles Lamb’s. Miss Thackeray’s works, like all true works of genius, grow upon us in their reperusal. Than ‘Old Kensington’ a more charming sketch has not been given to this generation of readers.—*Culmshire Folk*. By IGNORUS. (Henry S. King and Co.) We can only mention this cheap edition of a novel which has won very unusual commendations from all its literary critics. Its author has been more than once compared with George Eliot, and deemed superior to Anthony Trollope. Our own high judgment was expressed in no measured terms when the first edition appeared. Lady Culmshire may fairly claim to be an original contribution to the picture-gallery of fiction.—*Pilgrimage to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury; with the Colloquy on Rash Vows, and the Characters of Archbishop Warham and Dean Colet*. By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Newly Translated, with an Introduction and Illustrative Notes, by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected. (John Murray.) Mr. Nichols proves the first visit of Erasmus to the shrine of Walsingham by the details of his description. He thinks, however, that the second was possibly only an imaginary one, devised for setting forth the perplexities which his votive Greek inscription had caused the ignorant monks. He identifies Dean Colet as his companion in his visit to Canterbury. Mr. Nichols purposed merely to present a translation of these little-known colloquies, of which none more modern than that of Bailey, the lexicographer, exists. But the revival of pilgrimages has given additional importance to Erasmus’s keen satire. It is humbling to think that it should again have pertinence. Mr. Nichols was revising his translation for this new edition just before he died. Lovers of learned, witty, merciless satire will rejoice in it. The notes and illustrations by Mr. Nichols are a valuable addition.—*A Winter Story*. By the Author of ‘The Rose Garden.’ (Smith, Elder, and Co.) A story from the wise and graceful pen of this writer is always welcome. Few who have read ‘The Rose Garden’ will forget its spell. The present story is not equal to it, but it is written with a good deal of thoughtful wisdom and delicate discrimination. It is a kind of psychological study, tracing the influences, chiefly of two children, which gradually chased away a morbid feeling caused by an accidental mistake in giving a draught which proved fatal. There is but the slenderest thread of story, but the interest in the moral process never fails.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

The Orphan of Pimlico; and other Sketches, Fragments, and Drawings. By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. With some Notes, by ANNE ELIZABETH THACKERAY. Smith, Elder, and Co.

The sweepings of Thackeray's study are gold-dust. One sighs to be told of unpreserved scraps and sketches, which seemed to have flowed as from a perennial fountain, and were therefore permitted to perish in the nursery. Miss Thackeray has here been incited to produce some sketches which have been preserved, of greater maturity and completeness than the pleasant volume recently compiled from school-book covers and book-margins, under the title of 'Thackerayana.' We would not spare either. No admirer of Thackeray can regret the publication of that volume; and yet we can understand both the filial and the artistic feeling that has been provoked into the publication of this. All kinds of imaginary scenes, grotesque figures, and wild fancies are here reproduced, most of them accompanied with *facsimile* annotations or suggestions of scenes,—from the fully-outlined 'Orphan of Pimlico' to the miscellaneous contents of a scribbling-sheet. The famous gold pen seems rarely to have been at rest, and all kinds of pictorial and literary fancies flowed from it—Shakespeare at the feet of Elizabeth, for instance: "My name, 'tis William; 'but how shall I call you?' He stooped down; she kissed him on his 'monumental forehead. "Call me Betsie," she said.' Some of the drawings are finished pictures, and of an order of excellence that justifies the author's application to furnish illustrations to one of Dickens's works, and that produces upon us the impression that we have as yet very inadequately estimated Thackeray's artistic powers. Had Thackeray not been a great author, he would have taken no mean rank as an artist. The book has an additional interest from the fact that all Thackeray's own annotations are in *facsimile*. Miss Thackeray's notes are brief, but sufficient for information. The book is elegantly got up as a drawing-room table-book, and, of course, is a good deal more than a mere artistic amusement. We cannot attempt any indication of its miscellaneous and affluent humour. All kinds of sketches and fancies are to be found in it—English, American, and French,—and they bear a good deal of looking at.

Leaves from a Sketch-Book: Pencillings of Travel at Home and Abroad. By SAMUEL READ. Sampson Low and Co.

Mr. Read does not aim at being exhaustive, and perhaps he therein shows more wisdom than most people who have power both with pen and pencil. He leisurely notes this or that as he passes along, whether in France, Spain, Italy, the Low Countries, or in Scotland. He makes a careful, loving study of it, and sometimes by the merest outline he is more suggestive than others would be in an ambitious rendering of the whole details and surroundings. And he is right in putting forward in the preface a modest claim for a certain unity in his 'casual pencillings.'

'In many old cities, old castles, abbeys, and churches of this and foreign lands, which the writer has examined, the architecture and the situation bear tokens of past social and national history;' and the very unpretending yet valuable letterpress certainly does match well with his pencillings in this respect, and will be found of a kind to set the inquiring reader off into many fresh tracts of thought and observation; and all this without in the least sacrificing the element of 'delight,' which should be the first thing in a gift-book, as this is meant to be. We turn over the pages, admire the delicacy of the outline of that bit of shadow, and end with a sigh, wishing we could but re-travel many of the old towns it calls to mind. This will doubtless be the feeling of not a few in looking through this handsome volume, and therefore we cordially commend it to the attention of purchasers of such books at this season. It is at once tasteful, instructive, and beautiful in exterior,—and what more can be said?

The Land of the Pharaohs: Egypt and Sinai. Illustrated by Pen and Pencil. By the Rev. SAMUEL MANNING, LL.D., Author of 'Those Holy Fields,' 'Italian Pictures,' 'Spanish Pictures,' &c. Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Manning has written freshly of scenes and places which are much 'done' by tourists; and now and then, when he is a little more beyond the ordinary track, he is really powerful. He has served a good apprenticeship to work of this kind, and it may be said of him that, while he never sacrifices dignity in retailing the trifling gossip of the journey, he does occasionally cast a very interesting glance into the social conditions of those amongst whom he moves; and sometimes he throws a gleam of humour around the strange, or squalid, or repellent things that he meets. The anecdote of the Arab, the opera-glass, and the two wives at the Great Pyramid, is very good indeed. Dr. Manning has been privileged to have to deal with such exquisite specimens of wood engraving as we have here, and his letterpress is a worthy companion. This adds another to a very delightful series of volumes which do not pretend to original discovery or research, but which are so picturesque and vivacious, and full of wise and hearty remark, that, in some aspects at least, they may be pronounced better than if they were never so learned. Dr. Manning, in a word, cannot help sympathetically touching the reader to a more kindly interest in the ignorant, prejudiced, and often superstitious peoples amongst whom he has travelled—the highest influence any book of travel can have.

Homes and Haunts of Luther. By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D. Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Stoughton is perfectly at home in the antiquarian commission with which he seems to have charged himself, and of which this very pleasant volume is the result. Through a series of years he visited the numerous and wide-spread haunts of the great Reformer, making descriptive sketches and picking up bits of information, testing and shaping the latter

by the best historical authorities, from Melancthon, Mathesius, and Seekendorf, to Michelet, D'Aubigné, and Dr. Waddington. Of course there is nothing new to be said about Luther, but often as every detail of his marvellous history has been retold, we have no book exactly like this—a series of sketches, with profuse pictorial illustrations, and skilfully interwoven anecdotes of the various places associated with his name. Dr. Stoughton writes pictorially and gracefully. A more interesting gift-book will hardly be forthcoming for the season.

Beauty and the Beast: an Old Tale New Told. With Pictures.

By E. V. B. Sampson Low and Co.

Mrs. Bligh scarcely succeeds in attaining to the style of simple archaism which the old story demands. Every now and then a modern idiom dispels the illusion that is gathering over us, and we feel that it is a modern telling of an olden story. Nevertheless, it works its spell, and we read it with almost as much interest as we did in the nursery. The illustrations are very effective; they have not the exquisite delicacy of the illustrations to 'The Story without an End.' The colouring sometimes verges on the sensational, nor is the drawing faultless—e.g., Beauty on p. 50 has a very long arm—but they are bold and clear, and well designed. Altogether, it is a very beautiful gift-book for young folks, which those who are older will not disdain to look through.

The Sylvan Year: Leaves from the Note-Book of Raoul Dubois.

By PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON. With Twenty Etchings by the Author and other Artists. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

Raoul Dubois is a naturalist created by Mr. Hamerton as the narrator of his slender story, and as the describer of the exquisite pictures of woodland and other natural scenery which it is the object of the volume to present and illustrate. Mr. Hamerton rightly thinks that, while to the man of science nature may be a subject for purely scientific analysis, to the artist nature cannot be adequately estimated apart from human life and its experiences. Dubois is created, therefore, as a kind of healthy Obermann; not like his prototype, the victim of *ennui*, enduring hopeless suffering, but cheered and strengthened in suffering by the inspirations of external nature, although Mr. Hamerton is conscious enough that it needs a more potent inspiration than that of nature to minister adequate consolation in human sufferings, and to make them minister to what in man is noblest and highest. The literary charm of the book is its descriptive passages, which are artistically inspired, and written in a nervous, beautiful way. The twelve months of the year are made to exhibit their characteristic phenomena. It claims to be one of the drawing-room books of the year in virtue of its very effective etchings, of which Mr. Hamerton himself contributes eight, A Lançon, A. Greux, E. Hédouin, G. Greux, and L. Mossard, the rest. These can hardly be criticised in detail save with the book before the reader; they can only be characterised, those of Mr. Hamerton especially, as of a very high order. The group of ancient

chestnuts, which is put as a frontispiece, is exquisite in its articulation and tone. In the 'Rivulet in the Forest' the light is not quite so successfully managed. 'A Poacher Cleaning his Gun,' by A. Greux, after A. Roehn, has almost the softness of a steel engraving, and these scarcely merit distinctive mention. To admirers of the etching-needle the volume will be a welcome study.

Tropical Nature: an Account of the most Remarkable Phenomena of Life in the Western Tropics. Compiled from the Narratives of Distinguished Travellers and Observers. With numerous Illustrations. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

As the title-page intimates, this is a compilation. The productions and phenomena of pampas, mountains, rivers, and lakes; climate, storms, &c.; vegetation, Indian quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and insects; volcanoes, earthquakes, &c., are classified in chapters, and popular information about them is given in an intelligent and entertaining way. The volume is profusely illustrated in good style, and is a very elegant and instructive Christmas volume.

Historical and Legendary Ballads and Songs. By WALTER THORNBURY. Illustrated by J. WHISTLER, F. WALKER, JOHN TENNIEL, J. D. WATSON, &c. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Thornbury has here collected the productions of a quarter of a century, which are illustrated by a very admirable series of designs, some of which have also done duty before in 'Once a Week;' the latter, by some of our best book illustrators, are worthy even of the high praise bestowed upon them by Mr. Thornbury. They are among the best book illustrations of the year. We are better able, with this volume before us, to form a judgment of Mr. Thornbury's merits as a ballad-writer. He cannot take place in the first rank. With all his 'go,' he somewhat misses the true ballad fire, and some of his verses are limp, and their lines weak and diffuse. Nor does he always manage his rhythm well; while the reflection of Macaulay, Tennyson, and Browning is sometimes a little too obtrusive. Nevertheless, he sings well, and although he will not greatly fire the heart or quicken the pulse of his readers, he never fails to interest them. We have not space to justify our criticism by examples, but these might be found on almost every page. Mr. Thornbury will not, perhaps, be pleased to regard his text as subordinate to its illustrations. At any rate, we may say that, taken together, the book is elegant and attractive.

The National Portrait Gallery. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Twenty portraits of notable men, very admirable both as likenesses and as works of popular art. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Bright head the series, and Mr. W. H. Smith, the Rev. M. Panshon, and the Duke of Argyll end it. The biographies also are good; they are, as befits

descriptive sketches, genial without flattery, and are both discriminative and terse. The best informed will find the biographical information useful; while those who are dependent upon others for their opinions of public men, will not greatly miss the truth if they accept those of the volume. It is a better book for both the drawing-room and the library than the generality of such productions.

The Poets and Poetry of Scotland, from the Earliest to the Present Time. Comprising characteristic Selections from the Works of the more Noteworthy Scottish Poets; with Biographical and Critical Notices. By JAMES GRANT WILSON. Illustrated with Portraits engraved on Steel. Blackie and Son.

This is a very admirably-edited work. It is to consist of two volumes, of which this is the first, comprising the period from Richard the Rhymer, born A.D. 1219, to Richard Gale, born A.D. 1776. Scotland can boast many minstrels, and two or three great poets. Mr. Wilson is perhaps in danger of exaggerating the claims of some of the former; but both his biographical sketches and his critical judgments are, on the whole, sober and just. He thinks that his country can boast 'a body of poetry and song, than which there is none superior in the literature of any land, 'ancient or modern.' It is a big claim, and perhaps no one but a Scotchman would have ventured to prefer it; but it may be freely conceded that Scotland can boast poetry enough to make the present work a very interesting cyclopedia, which will make busy literary men, as well as the general public, acquainted with many obscure names, and some literary gems worth knowing. The concise biographies will be valuable as a contribution to literary history, and the illustrative selections are not only made with judgment, but they very often consist of entire works, which is a great advantage to both author and reader.

It is said that Scotland has 'given birth to two hundred thousand poets.' Mr. Wilson has mercifully restricted himself to two hundred and twenty. We thank him very sincerely and very heartily for his labours.

The Mysterious Island. Dropped from the Clouds. Abandoned. The Secret of the Island. By JULES VERNE. Translated from the French by W. H. G. KINGSTON. Sampson Low and Co.

The Survivors of the 'Chancellor.' Diary of J. R. Kazallon, Passenger. By JULES VERNE. Translated from the French by ELLEN TREWER. Sampson Low and Co.

Hans Brinker; or, the Silver Skates. A Story of Life in Holland. By MRS. MARY MAPES DODGE. New Edition. Sampson Low and Co.

We have exhausted our commendatory epithets of Jules Verne's wonder books; surely never were sober good sense, encyclopædic science,

and exciting romance so blended for the wonder and instruction of young folks and the absorption of their gravest elders. We should like to see the man, but only once as a curiosity, who thought these three volumes of adventure on the Mysterious Island in the Pacific a line too long. We are almost vexed with ourselves for the hours of which they have beguiled us ; and yet, hardened and hoary as we are in reviewing all kinds of literature, we should like nothing better than to read them over again. The realism of 'Robinson Crusoe' is marvellously blended with the Oriental romance of 'Monte Christo.' It is a 'Robinson Crusoe' history over again, only all the resources of the British Association are added to it. Five men—a scientific engineer, a young naturalist, a practical seaman, who can turn his hand to anything, a clever newspaper reporter, and a faithful negro, accompanied, let us not forget to note, by a sagacious dog—escape from Richmond, during the siege, in a balloon, and come to grief on the Mysterious Island ; upon which they live for nearly five years and have every conceivable kind of adventure and experience, many of which, owing to the discoveries of modern science, De Foe could never have conceived of, even had he possessed the opulent imagination of the superb Frenchman. The *dénouement*, the reappearance of the 'Nautilus' of the famous 'Twenty Thousand Leagues,' the almost ubiquitous and omnipotent providence of Captain Nemo, and the destruction of the island, are as extravagant as a Christmas pantomime, as pyrotechnic as a dozen melodramatic finales, and as superb as tragedy. Prospero is a child to Captain Nemo. We can only say to those who buy Christmas presents, buy these volumes for every boy you wish to bless you for years to come. They are as instructive as they are romantic ; only, alas ! the science will, for one or two perusals at least, be utterly overpowered by the romance.

'The Survivors of the *Chancellor*' is a painful record of sufferings on a raft, in which all conceivable incidents of extremity at sea are included, the author's graphic and imaginative power only making it more harrowing. 'Morten Paz,' one of Jules Verne's earliest stories, also a tale of horror, is appended. The volume is not a very attractive one : the horrors are too great. The imaginations of the writer are too successful.

'Hans Brinker' is an American story of Dutch life, which has gained a good deal of popularity for its admirable descriptions of Dutch localities and customs. It is here revised and reproduced uniformly with the publisher's admirable series of Jules Verne's books.

Hymns for Infant Minds. By ANN and JANE TAYLOR. Selected, Revised, and Illustrated by JOSIAH GILBERT. Hodder and Stoughton.

It needed not Mr. Gilbert's filial reverence to commend these popular hymns of his mother and his aunt. Next to Dr. Watts' 'Divine and Moral Songs,' they have probably found greater favour than any production of their class. They are in almost every nursery. This is the fiftieth edition. The editor has omitted ten hymns not in the original edition, and which

he deems inferior, and has added twenty-one taken from other publications of the authors. The charm of this edition, in addition to fine toned paper and clear type, is twenty-eight exquisite illustrations, with one or two exceptions, original. Mr. Gilbert's professional reputation as an artist is very high—but neither in conceptive drawings nor execution has he, we think, ever surpassed these delicate and picturesque drawings. They are slight sketches, but for light grace and beauty, two or three of them are perfect little gems—*e.g.*, Christ giving His disciples their commission to preach, Children saying their evening prayers, Christ healing the sick, Christ with Martha and Mary. It is a little gem of a book, which should have a place in every selection of new year's presents.

Mammalia; their Various Forms and Habits. Popularly Illustrated by Typical Species. Adapted from the Text of LOUIS FIGUIER, by PERCIVAL WRIGHT, M.D., F.L.S., Professor of Botany in the University of Dublin. With Upwards of 260 Engravings. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

We always know what to expect from Mr. Figuiet's picturesqueness, dash, and admirable grouping of matter, but with the drawback of sacrificing exactness for effect. Here the Frenchman's vividness is combined with the Englishman's accuracy. Dr. Wright has tested and corrected the scientific statements, and the result is a very admirable book of history and anecdotes about mammalia, profusely adorned with very spirited illustrations.

The History of Bluebeard's Six Wives. A Veracious Account of how Each of these Predecessors to Fatima met her Tragical End. Collected from Mendacious Chronicles, by SABILLA NOVELLO, who affectionately Dedicates it to her Nieces, POZIA and VELERIA, in Memory of bygone 'Tell-us-a-Story' days. Illustrated by George Cruikshank, jun. Grant and Co.

This sumptuous quarto is dedicated to young ladies, and is not encumbered with any dry-as-dust information concerning the origin of this wild and sanguineous chronicle. Sabilla Novello does not condescend to adjudicate between the Slavonic or Aryan cradle of the myth, nor to present any of the hideous stories out of which Pervault fabricated the children's Bluebeard; but she has given a slight element of the comic to her exposition of the damning crime of 'curiosity' by incongruous nineteenth century allusions and modern slang. Why the poetical justice of Fatima's revenge and triumph should not have been introduced we know not. The vermilion and ultramarine employed in the broad farcical illustrations of the story do not give us any very high idea of the taste or skill of Mr. George Cruikshank, jun. The drawing, colour, and *posé* of the figures are, it is true, in harmony with the rough and brutal hyperbole of the whole legend. The grim expression of the tyrant when prepared

to remove the head of the wife who first inflicted on him, by her spell, the curse of his blue beard, is amusing enough, and there is some grim humour in the countenances of the dwarf, the decapitated giant, and the timid maiden who flew to the arms of the monster in a transport of gratitude. The title-page is very cleverly done. Many little eyes will open wide as saucers at the expression of truculent selfishness; and the sound of *fec-foh-fum* mutters and murmurs over these cream-laid pages.

The Land of the Lion; or, Adventures among the Wild Animals of Africa. With Thirty-two Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This is an admirable book for exciting the interest, and at the same time informing the minds, of young folks. Nine chapters are devoted to almost as many wild animals of Africa—the lion, the hippopotamus, the elephant, the buffalo, and the crocodile. Their habits are described and methods of hunting them, interspersed with characteristic anecdotes and exciting adventures.—*Half Hours with the Animals: Narratives exhibiting Thought, Sympathy, and Affection in the Brute Creation.* With Thirty-two Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A companion volume to the above, sufficiently described by its title. The House, The Stable, The Farm-yard, The Field, The Wood, Abroad, are the topics of its half-dozen chapters. The illustrations, from Landseer, Herring, Hills, and others, are very good. These are the very best kind of children's books.—*The Book of Praise for Children.* H. K. LEWIS. We can only commend this as the wisest, and, we think, in every respect the best selection of its kind that has come into our hands. Almost all the good children's hymns in the language are included, some of those of recent writers will be new to most. Twaddle, under pretence of simplicity, is avoided; and children are credited with an appreciation which superficial observers have no notion of. The book ought to be in every family where children are.—*Hymns and Poems for Little Folks.* With over One Hundred and Fifty Full-page Illustrations. (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.) A capital selection of nearly two hundred children's pieces, from all available sources—a few of them religious. The full-page illustrations, on every other page, will be a great attraction to the juveniles of the nursery, while the intrinsic merits of many of the pieces will interest the older children. It is a very effective popular book.—*Men of Mark in British Church History.* By WILLIAM MARSHALL, D.D., Coupar-Angus. (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Co.) Dr. Marshall has sought to sketch Church history through short biographies of Church leaders. The men selected are Thomas à Becket, Wycliff, the English Lollards, the Scottish Lollards, Wolsey, George Buchanan, and Cranmer. Dr. Marshall's sympathies are broad; he can recognise noble qualities in men from whom he differs most. He has written, therefore, with solicitous fairness, and while his own views and preferences are not concealed, he does as full justice to à Becket as he does to Wycliff. It is a very admirable little book, well written and well informed.—*Bambles and Adventures of our School Field Club.* By

G. CHRISTOPHER DAVIES. With Four Illustrations by H. Sanderoock. (Henry S. King and Co.) The title-page suggests the character of the book. Mr. Davies intimates that it is in part a record of his own school life. The scene is Oswestry, of the grammar-school of which the author was a pupil. Every variety of a schoolboy's experience in the woods and fields, from birds'-nesting to wild-fowl shooting and otter hunting, is described in a very attractive way. Mr. Davies has the feeling of a naturalist, and writes as well as he sees. His father, to whose scientific learning our own pages have been indebted, writes two excellent chapters on the geology of the district.—*Will Foster of the Ferry*. By AGNES GIBERNE, Author of 'The Curate's Home,' &c. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This well-written narrative, charged with religious thought, which is not uttered superfluously, is a powerful recommendation of thrift, patience, order, and contentment, as well as of 'the cleanliness which 'is next to godliness.'—*Sunnyland Stories*. By the Author of 'Aunt Mary's Bran Pie,' &c. Illustrated. (Henry S. King and Co.) A charming group of pretty stories, told in Sunnyland by Goldilocks to a little visitor, who would have been sorely disconcerted with the less sunny region of her own lowlier home after enjoying these strange visions of previously unimagined beauty, if she had not learnt from the said stories the art of seeing beauty everywhere. In fact, these stories are veritable fairy spectacles, which will permit the humblest wearer of them to see diamonds in every dewdrop, and costly 'paint' in frosted window-panes, and every kind of heaven-made wonder in the primrose and the snowdrop: to see the lovely and the precious in all God's ways—in lowly things and daily duty. The illustrations are very sweetly and tenderly drawn.—*Self-Formation; or, Aids and Helps to Mind-Life*. By the Rev. PAXTON HOOD. New Edition, Revised. (James Clarke and Co.) A new edition of one of Mr. Hood's earliest and best books. Upon a string of purpose Mr. Hood threads an amusing medley of observations, anecdotes, and parables, which make the perusal of the book like a walk down the path of an orchard, plucking fruit from every tree. It is a capital book for young folks, if it do not teach them to substitute desultory observations for reasoning.—*The Wild Horseman of the Pampas*. By DAVID KER, With Four Illustrations. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mr. Ker has written, out of the knowledge of his own travelling experience, a very spirited book for boys, founded upon the fights between American Indians and European settlers, English and Spanish. The Wild Horseman is an Indian chief of great skill and daring, who, however, turns out to be a stolen child of English parents—the lost brother, indeed, of the hero of the story. Mr. Ker's descriptions are very exciting. Harry Frankland's ascent of the Sugar-Loaf Mountain will make many a boy's heart throb. The story is full of wild adventures.—*The Young Surveyor*. By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. (Sampson Low and Co.) This is a Yankee story of somewhat exciting, not to say extravagant adventures, which minister a little too exclusively to the sensational.—*An Island Pearl*. By D. L. FARJEON. Christmas Number of 'Tinsley's Magazine.' Mr. Farjeon's stories are always worth reading. He is the ablest re-

presentative of the Dickens school of fiction, both in descriptive power, in graceful fancy, and in sympathy with suffering. He is, however, in danger of being led, as in his present story, into undue dependence upon sensational and improbable incident. It is a defect in art to make an entire story turn upon a misconception which in real life would at once be removed. The story itself is very beautiful.—*Micheline*. A Tale. By Madame EUGENE BERSIER. Translated by Mrs. CAREY BROCK. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) A very admirable story of the French Revolution. The heroine is an orphan, shipwrecked on Mont St. Michel,—whence her name. The scenes of the story are the Manche coast and Jersey, both of which are picturesquely described, while the residence of the heroine with the gaoler of the fortress and her love passages with his son are told with much beauty and pathos, and are cleverly set in a framework of historical surroundings.—*A History and Handbook of Photography*. Translated from the French of Gaston Tissandier. Edited by J. Momsen, F.R.G.S. With upwards of 70 Illustrations. (Sampson Low and Co.) This useful and interesting little book may well have a place in the Christmas parcel in virtue both of its popular account of a very interesting science and of its capital illustrations. It is a history of photography, simple enough to interest young people and solid enough for their elders. A touching story is told of a young man who applied to a French optician about the price of a camera, showing to him a view of Paris printed on paper, also indicating the chemicals by which the result had been obtained. This he left with M. Chevalier, the price of the camera being too much for his means, and his own lens being broken. He went away and did not again appear. But he was the real discoverer of the Talbotype process.—*Oliver Westwood; or, Overcoming the World*. By EMMA JANE WORBOISE. (James Clarke and Co.) Miss Worboise's pen is indefatigable, and her shrewd, common-sense, practical, wholesome stories always commend themselves to the judgment and moral sense, while they rarely fail to interest. 'Oliver Westwood' is, we think, as good as anything that she has written. It is skilfully constructed, well sustained, and the dialogue is vivacious and full of good sense. Oliver is a kind of respectable Oliver Twist. He is of base birth, left to the care of an aunt, and the story consists of his struggles as a boy and a man to overcome his disadvantageous circumstances. Miss Worboise's stories have this great commendation—no one can read them without having good feelings and purposes strengthened.—*Stories from China*. By the Author of 'The Story of a Summer Day.' With 75 Illustrations. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) We always feel the dialogue form of conveying information to be a little stiff and artificial. It may, however, be effective for young folk. Here is a little book of conversations between a mother and her daughters, full of interesting information about the people of the Flowery Land, and by one who apparently knows them well.—*Life on the Deep: Memorials of Charles March, Commander, R.N.* By his NEPHEW. (Religious Tract Society.) There is no indication on the title-page that this is a second edition. We spoke in warm commendation of the book

when it first appeared, a couple of years ago. It is the memoir of a pious, warm-hearted, noble sailor.—*Seven Autumn Leaves from Fairy-Land*. Illustrated with Nine Etchings. (Henry S. King and Co.) Why these stories should be called 'Autumn Leaves' we do not see. They are intended for 'little curly heads,' and are told with a good deal of spirit and freedom. They will not fail in taking hold of the fancy of little folk.—*Stories from the Lips of the Teacher*. Retold by a DISCIPLE. (Sampson Low and Co.) The American author of this little book thinks that our Lord's parables have been long waiting to be retold, inasmuch as 'long intimacy has impaired their vividness, rubbed off the 'bloom of their poetic beauty, and even rendered the mind insensible to 'the delicacy of their truth.' We can only say that we prefer the originals to this somewhat wordy and preachy paraphrase of them, and that we prefer the paraphrase to the reasons adduced to justify it.—*Sunday Echoes in Week-Day Hours: a Tale Illustrative of the Parables*. By Mrs. CAREY BROCK. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) Mrs. Brock's tales have attained a well-merited popularity. They are, as she intends them to be, somewhat Churchy, but in a legitimate way: we nevertheless enjoy and commend them. This story is skilfully constructed so as to have a unity throughout. Nursery and home doings are made use of to illustrate the lessons of the parables,—e.g., the building and fall of a tower of nursery bricks to illustrate the 'Two Foundations.' Scenes and incidents from real life are interwoven in a natural and effective way. The young folks grow up into life, and the story is brought to an end in a satisfactory way. It is a capital Sunday book.

Messrs. CASSELL'S SERIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Messrs. Cassell, like Nelson, deserve a gazette to themselves. Their serials are produced with unfailing regularity and undiminished profuseness. Like the Messrs. Chambers, they have defined for themselves a character of popular literature, which, while written as a rule by thoroughly competent scholars, is yet conceived in a style and inlaid with illustrative materials that make even somewhat recondite subjects attractive general reading.

First, we have to report the completion of the third and last volume of Mr. James Grant's *British Battles on Land and Sea*. The very theme is instinct with exciting materials. Mr. Grant, in his 'Romance of War,' showed how well he could combine scientific exposition with popular description in his account of military operations. Here all the chief battles of Britain, by land and by sea, from the Norman Conquest to the capture of Coomassie, are graphically described, with just so much of historical setting as is necessary for the appreciation of the issues.

We cannot say very much of the illustrations, which are so profusely given. Those of battles especially can be only fancy groups of small sections of the conflict, and generally consist of somebody in a melodramatic attitude and a queer mixture of smoke and smudge. One peril of the book is that it will fascinate young minds, and imbue them with

the feeling that young Norval describes. A great deal of history is here taught in very romantic form.

They also complete Vol. III. of *Old and New London : a Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places*. The first two volumes, by Mr. Walter Thornbury, treated of London proper, or what is here called the Eastern Hemisphere of London. This third volume, by Mr. Edward Walford, is devoted to Westminster and the western suburbs—that part of London that is west of Temple Bar, including the Strand, Soho, Kensington, Chelsea, Marylebone, Lambeth, Bayswater, and Hampstead, as well as Westminster. It is impossible to subject to anything like criticism a popular chronicle and medley such as this, and we have no disposition to hunt down any slips of date or circumstance for the sake of showing how learned we are. We have no vocation to disparage writing so effective in its appeal to ordinary readers. In this work, too, the theme is at once full of interesting material and free from any possible excitement of bellicose passions. Anecdotes and biographical sketches are skilfully introduced. Few readers, whether old or young, will tire of the book. Strange things are told, which seem very ancient and yet are so modern. We can scarcely, for instance, credit some of the customs and abominations that extended even into Victoria's reign. The illustrations here serve a valuable purpose in preserving to us the appearance of many interesting old buildings which have been taken down. Our own young people have welcomed none of Messrs. Cassell's publications more eagerly, and we ourselves must confess to having been seduced into a perusal of more of it than comports with the ordinary credit given to reviewers.

Mr. Edmund Ollier has completed the first volume of *A History of the United States*, bringing it down to the deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm, in 1759. The style is direct and business-like, and Mr. Ollier seems to have his information well in hand. He would perhaps have told us more about the aborigines had Mr. Bancroft's very learned and exhaustive volumes been published a few months earlier. Old maps and engravings furnish interesting illustrations. Adventures of individual explorers, such as Raleigh and Captain Smith (the hero of the romance of Pocahontas) are skilfully interwoven. The sympathies of the writer are liberal, and do justice to the Puritan settlers of New England. The history promises to be as successful as the other works of its class.

In *The History of Protestantism*, Vol. I. of which is completed, the Rev. J. A. WYLLIE, LL.D., has undertaken a more arduous task than any of his associates in these popular histories. When one thinks of the varied historical and political knowledge and of the philosophical grasp and acumen necessary for even just conceptions and generalisations, and of the many profound problems, and complicated, not to say inexplicable, events that are involved, one feels that even the author of the 'History of Civilisation' would be scarcely adequate to such an undertaking. It is one thing to trace various rills to their mountain sources; it is another thing to understand their causes and contributive value.

Dr. Wyllie has, however, produced *memoires pour servir* sketches full

of interest, and of things most important in their bearings. His work, as men now understand the philosophy of history, can hardly be accepted as a conclusive history of Protestantism, but it is a valuable popular narrative of the events that have contributed to that history. Dr. Wylie lacks, too, somewhat of the careful exactitude and the well-adjusted conciseness that we could desire in such a work; but great historians are few, and the work before us is a really valuable contribution to popular knowledge on a great and germinal theme. Protestantism, in its principle, as distinguished from its accidental designation, and Priestism, are the two antagonistic forces into which the whole of Christendom resolves itself.

The Races of Mankind: being a Popular Description of the Characteristics, Manners, and Customs of the Principal Varieties of the Human Family. By ROBERT BROWN, M.A. Vol. III. With upwards of one hundred and thirty illustrations. The third volume of Mr. Brown's really useful and able work treats of African tribes, of Persians, Kurds, and the various tribes of the Indian stock. Not only are the characteristics of these various peoples set forth with physiological and ethnological knowledge, and in a popular way illustrated by well-selected historic references, anecdotes, descriptions, &c., from the writings of travellers, but very admirable engravings—superior, we think, to those of the other works we have mentioned—are profusely scattered over the pages. We may instance as remarkably good the full-page portrait of the Shah of Persia. The pill of knowledge is very skilfully covered with the jam of very amusing reading.

SERIAL VOLUMES.

What can be said about the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* (Religious Tract Society), save that they are in no degree diminished, either in affluent variety or in literary quality? They are still repositories of wholesome literature for families, accessible to the poorest and acceptable to the richest. Almost every department of useful knowledge and of interesting literature is here represented. Biographical sketches of contemporary personages, music, caricature, fiction, fables, travels, natural history, poetry, ethnology, all find a place. The fictions in the *Leisure Hour* are 'Cross Currents,' by Henriette Bowra; 'The Tall Man,' by Gustav Nieritz; 'The Siege of Stralsund,' by J. de Liefde; with innumerable lesser stories and sketches. In the *Sunday at Home* we find the same variety, only with a character suited for Sunday reading. A series of sketches for children, a series of short sermons for family use, sketches of Jewish life in Palestine, Sabbath thoughts, &c., are among its distinctive features.

The *Quiver* (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin) is so closely allied in character to the *Leisure Hour* that distinctive characterisation is impossible. Perhaps its papers are a little longer and of a somewhat higher literary character. The principal stories that run through the volume are, 'Lost in the Winning;' 'Mayflower,' by the Author of 'Little Butter-cups;' 'Edward Turner,' by the Author of 'Martha's Vineyard;' 'Fanny Forest,' 'The Bridge Between;' 'Still and Deep;' by F. M. F.

Skene; 'Aunt Jessie'; 'Surly Bob,' with the usual miscellany of papers, some of them very admirable.

Cassell's Magazine (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin). The two serial stories of *Cassell's* this year have been, 'The Manchester Man,' by Mrs. G. Linnæus Banks; and 'Pretty Miss Bellew,' by Theo. Gift, neither of them equal to Mr. Gibbon's fine novel of last year, but both clever and interesting. The miscellanies of *Cassell's* are always somewhat brighter, not to say lighter, than those of its contemporaries. They aim more at amusing; even its more instructive papers are thrown into very lively forms.

Little Folks (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin) maintains its undisputed pre-eminence as the prince of magazines for the nursery. It, too, has a serial story, written with effective simplicity, and its usual repertory of puzzles and short stories, music and poetry. No nursery can be dull with a volume of *Little Folks* in it.

Messrs. Dalby and Isbister sustain in unflagging strength—the loss of Dr. MacLeod and Dr. Guthrie notwithstanding—*Good Words* and the *Sunday Magazine*. For the former Mrs. Oliphant writes 'Whiteladies,' and Jean Ingelow, 'Fated to be Free;' for the latter, the Author of the 'Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family,' writes a 'Story of Rome in the 'Days of Jerome;' and an anonymous author, 'Janet Mosen's Troubles.' The miscellanies of both seem to hit a mean between the severely edifying and the merely amusing. They are always solid and instructive, and almost always interesting. The names of old contributors—Dean Stanley, Dr. Blackie, Principal Tulloch, Professor Shairp, Dr. Alexander, H. A. Page, and others—are retained.

Messrs. Strahan and Co. put forth two new magazine candidates for public favour: *Evening Hours*, a family magazine after the type of *Good Words*, in which they have secured an admirable list of contributors; among them C. C. Fraser-Tytler, author of 'Mistress Judith,' who writes 'Jonathan,' a serial story. Katherine Saunders, Mrs. Carey Brock, the Author of 'Episodes of an Obscure Life,' Canon Barry, Julian Hawthorne, and others contribute papers. *The Peep-Show* is a picture magazine for little readers, and caters for them excellently. *The Day of Rest* has, as its serial story, 'The White Cross and Dove of Pearls,' by O. H. Bassett. Each part contains some forty articles. Among the contributors are Dr. C. J. Vaughan, George MacDonald, C. C. Fraser-Tytler, Rev. John Hunt, and C. L. Trench. The magazine is equal to any of its contemporaries.

Happy Hours (James Clarke and Co.) is, as usual, a good, homely, practical miscellany of stories and papers for family reading, in which young folks are well catered for. *The Christian World Magazine*, in addition to the usual stories by the Editor and Marianne Farningham (both of which this year, 'Oliver Westwood' and 'Through Night to Light,' are good), contains Mrs. Beecher Stowe's story, 'We and our 'Neighbours,' reprinted from the *Christian Union*; a story by Mary Baskin, 'Conquered at Last'; a translation of Manzoni's 'Betrothed Lovers,' and the usual miscellany of papers.

The Picture Gallery, 1875. Vol. IV. (Sampson Low and Co.) Each number of the present volume of 'The Picture Gallery' is devoted to a British painter, of whom a short biographical sketch is given, together with four illustrations from his works, reproduced by the Woodbury process. These are not equally successful, but some are very clear and fine in tone.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

Life in Christ: a Study of the Scripture Doctrine on the Nature of Man, the Object of the Divine Incarnation, and the Conditions of Human Immortality. By EDWARD WHITE. Elliot Stock.

When a writer of such eminence as Mr. White, a Biblical theologian of such culture and breadth, a man who has for thirty years been regarded as the chief and most able exponent of the doctrine of 'conditional immortality,' does, in the maturity of his powers, and with accumulated stores of reading and meditation, endeavour to show the bearing of his main doctrine upon all related dogmas of the Christian faith, it is due to him that we should attempt to understand his position. It ought then to be understood that Mr. White offers us in this closely-printed volume of nearly 600 pages an entire scheme of Biblical psychology and a system of Christian theology. The argument becomes an exposition of the whole doctrine of Scripture on the Nature of Man and the objects of the Divine Incarnation, as well as the conditions of Human Immortality. Let not our readers be repelled by this representation of the drift of the volume. The style and treatment are often vivacious and even fascinating. The numberless topics are marshalled with consummate ease and arranged with artistic skill. The various links in the chain of argument are forged and riveted each in its right place, and though some of them burn with intensity and coruscate as they lie, they are often carved, and even decorated, with a masterly hand. Whether the author is right or wrong, and his ideas true or false, his logic is not only on fire, but it blazes and leaps with prophetic fervour, and is clearly the work of a great moral nature consciously to itself in harmony with the truth of things.

Mr. White does not formally justify his appeal to Scripture as to the revelation of the thought of God, nor vindicate the supernatural origin of its disclosures against modern scepticism or the higher criticism. He conceives that a true exhibition of the whole doctrine of the Bible on these profound themes will do more than anything else to establish its Divine origin.

Now we will not dispute this general principle; and we gladly admit that in many parts of this exposition we find ourselves in strong sympathy with the author's enthusiasm for Evangelical verity, and his fervent and enlightened vindication of the doctrines of grace. Let the sublime fact of the Incarnation and the stupendous significance of the death of the God

man be adequately stated, and it becomes its own evidence. The Word of Life is legible by the light it gives. Mr. White, however, appears to us to adopt a method at the outset which is open to serious criticism. He draws a picture of human mortality 'under the light of science only,' the effect of which is to extinguish every gleam of affirmation which nature has been supposed to bear to life after death. The voice of 'science' utters the terrible dictum that 'when the organism dissolves, the life dissolves with it; sentiment must vanish before fact; it is wholly impossible from a scientific point of view to contemplate the human species apart from the immense life-system of the globe to which it belongs.' 'The prevailing speculations on the animal origin of man do not qualify the blackness of the outlook.' 'The intelligence of animals is as genuine a manifestation of mind as that of man, and animals die and return to their dust.' Mr. White introduces a powerful caveat to the doctrine of Evolution, and puts exceedingly well other considerations which demonstrate the difference between man and animals; but he concedes to the anti-Christian the position 'that by the unassisted light of science and history we are able to reach no coherent or satisfactory conclusion as to the origin of mankind, its relation to the animal races, or its future destiny.' This solemn assertion is emphasised by an impressive chapter, in which he strives to make his reader feel the awful multitude of human beings who have crossed the threshold of time. Having piled up this agony of computation he proceeds to descant on the 'orthodox' answer to the questions 'whence?' 'whither?' for this interminable and baffling procession of living, dying men. The answers of confessions of faith, of great theologians, of martyr-missionaries, of popular preachers, are brought together into one volcanic and fulgurous chapter, which is enough to make the calmest tremble. The doctrine held by many Christians undoubtedly has been and is that these countless millions have passed onwards, downwards, into an eternity of conscious, irretrievable torment. It is hardly necessary for him to suggest, as he does with a touch of his irrepressible humour, whether Christendom can have erred in this estimate of the case. Mr. White finds the *πῶρον ψεύδος* of this petrifying conception in the doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul,' and proceeds somewhat hastily to throw aside the various natural arguments and some of the Christian philosophy in favour of this position. Abstract ontological relations with the Infinite are rejected. Nothing but moral relations can affect human destiny. 'To be cast off by God may be to perish.' 'The indestructibility of substance' is discarded as an argument for immortality, and the moral instinct and widespread intuition of the 'survival of the soul' cannot be construed into any probability of 'eternal survival.' 'The light of nature cannot give any assurance of *everlasting* duration.' By adducing the views of Whately, Perowne, and others, he shows how vain it is to look in any of the arguments for survival for a proof of 'the abstract dogma of the immortality of the soul.' He then proceeds, in a second book, to discuss the Biblical doctrine of Life and Death, asserting that in no portion of the Holy Scriptures is there any reference to the 'immortality of the soul' as such.

First of all, Adam is declared *not* to be inherently immortal, because his immortality is represented as having been always conditioned by continued access to the Tree of Life. 'The living soul' of Adam is asserted to be identical with 'the soul of every living thing,' and the spirit of man to be in essence as the spirit (*ruach*) of the beast. 'Death' is, according to our author, the disintegration of compounded elements; the separated parts are not the man. In a sentence in p. 107 he seems to us, however, to do much towards dissolving his own theory. 'The *death* of the *'grain* is its disintegration—the breaking up of the organisation, a process in which one element survives, to gather around itself fresh materials 'in a veritable resurrection. The humanity [of Christ] was broken up, destroyed, and poured out its life unto death; but a divine and a spiritual element *remained*, around which God built up again the dissolved 'humanity.' This theory seems to show how firmly Mr. White, on philosophical grounds, is holding the survival of the soul of man—consequently the survival of that dim, ghostly, boundless procession of souls of which he has given such a graphic and terrible picture.

'The death threatened to Adam' is declared to be death, and nothing more; 'ceasing to be,' not immortality of suffering. If delayed in execution, if the Tree of Life was no longer accessible, the impending doom was thenceforth written on humanity. Here Mr. White indulges in powerful declamation, to the effect that the threatened curse of eternal punishment could not be contained silently in Adam's 'curse of death.' We cannot refrain from the criticism that there was an equally inexplicable reticence on the part of the Almighty, on Mr. White's own subsequent interpretation, of the doom of the first man. Why, we may ask, was he not warned that, after a long earthly probation of impending death, he *would*, indeed, physically die, and then, for untold millenniums, his soul would await in terrible suspense the judgment-day, then to be reunited to the reanimated body, and once more to encounter the fiercest terrors of destruction—to be 'killed with death,' after the manner in which our author imagines all these waiters for their hideous doom finally do meet it? Surely on Mr. White's interpretation also there was infinitely more in the 'curse,' 'Thou shalt surely die,' than Adam could have guessed.

Mr. White does not sympathise with those who see no hint or hope of 'future life' in the Old Testament. He finds these hints throughout the Books, tracing them from Daniel back to Moses. Though 'the death penalty' of the Theocracy meant, according to our author, death, and not 'eternity 'of suffering,' he does find therein both the future punishment of the wicked and the idea of resurrection. But he takes every passage which has been supposed to suggest *eternal* torment, and powerfully argues that in their obvious meaning they convey no such idea. Our author is, however, compelled to allow that the Pharisees at the time of Christ included under their *oral* tradition the doctrine of the 'immortality of the soul;' and he claims to throw light on the relation between them and the Sadducees, and on the way in which our Lord answered their queries and mediated between them. He seems to us to fail in the right interpretation of this difficult question. He has not taken sufficient notice of the opposing tendencies of

thought on this subject apart from tradition, as seen in the 'Wisdom of Solomon' and of the Son of Sirach; nor does he refer sufficiently to the extent to which, in Philo and the Book of Henoch, the clear belief in the spirituality and continuity of the soul of man is evinced. From whatever source derived, whether from heathen philosophies or personal intuitions, our Lord appears to us to vindicate the doctrine of the *resurrection* by appealing to a more fundamental conception, viz., that of the survival of the soul, denied by the Sadducees, but without which it is almost impossible to think it. To prove that the dead *rise*, our Lord drew from the language of God to Moses an indication of the continued 'life' of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As though He had said, You, Sadducees, ought not to repudiate the 'anastasis,' if from the sacred volume to which you appeal there is enough to sweep away your main materialistic objection to the idea of such 'anastasis.'

Having reached this point in his argument, Mr. White proceeds with great elaboration to maintain his principal thesis, that the object of the Incarnation is to *immortalise mankind*, not to confer happiness or completeness of being on a race already immortal. Immortality has, according to him, no basis in biology, metaphysics, or Scripture, but it has in the work of Christ. Whenever 'life eternal' is spoken of, Mr. White contends that we are rigidly bound to understand 'endless existence.' It was this which Christ came to confer, and to make the appanage of His own disciples, and for *the first time*. Apart from Him and this Divine work of the Incarnate God, the human race would have perished eternally in death. There would be neither the survival of his soul nor the resurrection of his complete manhood. The union of the Divine with the human nature, the taking of the manhood into God, has alone saved the race from extinction. He then proceeds to discuss the method of this salvation. We have seldom read a nobler vindication of the Evangelical doctrine of justification than that which is contained in chap. xviii., and we commend it to any who are spellbound by that popular notion of atonement and justification which reduces the work of Christ to a mere assertion of Divine compassion and the example of a perfect surrender to the will of God. He maintains that if 'justification unto 'life eternal' had not been obscured by belief in the natural immortality of man, it would never have been corrupted and rejected with the contumely from which it now suffers; that if properly apprehended as the gift of life, it would be seen to be '*exclusively the gracious act of God, and not the work of mortal man.*'

His special view enables him to lay the greatest emphasis on the Catholic doctrine of the twofold nature of the Personality of Christ. The union of an Eternal Spirit with the life of man gave all its efficacy to His sacrifice. The curse which the Lord Jesus bore was *the curse of sin*, viz., according to Mr. White, LITERAL DEATH,—not more, nor less. This was enough, but it was imperatively necessary, and the resurrection which followed was solely in virtue of His Divine nature. The argument by which our author expounds the objective value of this work of Christ is one of the most powerful exhibitions of the

truth about it that we have seen, though we cannot accept the enormous strain he puts upon it in regarding it the efficient cause not only of all that makes life a blessing, but of existence itself. He repudiates the charge of the anti-supernaturalist that, in the dominion of a Holy God, the innocent creature cannot be made legally to suffer for the guilty, by the reply that Christ is *not* a creature. '*God Himself must suffer* in one 'exceptional sacrifice if sinners are to be saved.' With equal force Mr. White maintains the Biblical doctrine of regeneration as the beginning of the eternal life effected by the Holy Spirit, not in sacramental methods, but by the 'word of God.' He believes that this regeneration has taken place in pre-Messianic times among heathens and ignorant people of small advantages. Of course he does not accept the idea of the dormant spirit (*pneuma*) in unregenerate man, but in the conferring, by the indwelling Spirit, of a 'new man' in Christ Jesus. Still he resists, somewhat inconsistently, the idea of a physical change in regeneration, making moral conformity with God the nexus of union with God and the condition of immortality. The important chapter on HADES cannot be fitly represented in a few sentences. It is carefully and reverently discussed, and the conclusion is that intuition, if not science and the Scriptures, both Old and New, proclaim 'the survival of the soul;' that 'the curse of death 'is executed in such a manner as to allow of its reversal by the resurrection 'of the same man to life;' that Paradise and Gehenna are provinces of this immense domain. 'Some souls may sleep, some may be wholly unconscious; some may be thinking, learning, improving; some may be in sorrow, some may be even in torment; some may be wandering on earth 'as *daimonia*, some may be shut up in the abyss; some may have been 'evangelised in Hades by the Spirit of Christ, and some translated 'heaven since Christ ascended there.' The souls in Christ do undoubtedly survive in and with Him. The subjects referred to in the italicised words form the subject of a distinct chapter, where a large hope is entertained for many who, as infants or heathen, had no chance of receiving or understanding the eternal life on earth.

Then follows the discussion of the resurrection. Dr. Bush's theory of the resurrection, that it consists merely of the survival of the soul, is discussed and dismissed, mainly on the ground that then there is no meaning in our Lord's resurrection taking place on *the third day*. This argument seems to us singularly weak, and it is followed by the exposition of a premillennial advent, and the rapid drawing on of 'the first resurrection.' It is obvious that we cannot here discuss this great theme. The author then proceeds to the New Testament doctrine of the 'second death,' and though in the early chapters of the work Mr. White has stigmatised, by choice quotation, the terrible views of Jonathan Edwards and others, we think that his conception of the final doom of the impenitent after the almost boundless looking for of judgment, is almost more crushing and bewildering to conscience. He even reverts, with terrible earnestness, to the doctrine of physical burning—the newly-constituted body being made capable of prolonged agony unto ultimate extinction in these electric flames. However, having reached this point, he enters very largely into

the proof of the terminable nature of these burnings, and the ultimate annihilation of sin and death in this judgment of Almighty God.

This discussion is very powerful, but it would very largely apply to the annihilation of sinners in *Hades* and at death. Some of the great texts, like Matthew xxv. 46, are debated at much length, and very plausibly explained in harmony with the general theory. The author tries to show that the whole doctrine of endless suffering arose in the third century, when Christianity was inoculated by Alexandrine metaphysics; and the priesthood, in lawless and persecuting times, found it of immense service in overawing the impenitent and rebellious.

Our author then girds himself to a powerful assault on the doctrine of Universalism; declares it utterly faulty in both ethics and theology; and, notwithstanding certain great and encouraging promises of larger hope, quite incompatible with the terrific catena of assurance that God will crush, exterminate, and *destroy* those who have not laid hold on eternal life. Apart from 'the vain and heathenish philosophy' of an 'immortal soul,' Universalism would not, could not, stand for a moment. It is merely on the basis of that 'delusion,' a reaction of generous and amiable sentiment against the hideous and unscriptural hypothesis of eternal torment. Having demolished the latter, Mr. White gives the *coup de grace* to Universalism. The one great point on which he insists from the first page to the last, is that 'immortality' is the supernatural gift of Christ; and since the Lord does not give it to those on whom He turns in wrath and flaming fire, *they* perish everlastingly, they disappear and cease for ever.

We are disposed to ask whether this *is* a relief from the popular and current doctrine? One idea forced upon us by all this discussion is, that notwithstanding careful exegesis and philosophic speculation, we *know* exceedingly little about these deep mysteries. God alone knows and fills the future, and neither in the New Testament nor the Old is there much *definite* revelation on the subject. The doom of the impenitent, the nature of future life, the judgment of Christ, are referred to as matters mutually understood, rather than as there and then formally expounded. We may put these hints together and construct theories and guess at the nature of death and judgment and eternity, but we *know* nothing. Moreover we are compelled continually to succumb to the logic of facts. Prophets prophesy, but events which fulfil their prophecies are so profoundly different from what even prophetic and inspired souls anticipated, that modern teachers ought to be modest in asserting what *must* be. How blind even the Apostles of Christ were with reference to the nature of His *first* coming and the mode or time of His *second* coming. Ought modern eschatologists to be certain that they have accurately made out the programme of the future? What new readings may be found in the great unwritten book which eternity will bring to light!

There is more relief in the deep persuasions of the universal conscience, in the hints of Scripture, in the possibilities of eternity. Mr. White would not allow any man to cherish the belief that he has an immortal soul by the creation of God, but rather a perishing and doomed soul, a soul hurrying

on to a second death. But some halt should be called here. Even Mr. White insists on the *survival* of the conscious soul and on the widely-spread belief in this survival and retribution. He accounts for the belief by the fact, and for the fact by the Incarnation of God and Redemption that is in Christ. But he is at the same time severe on the influence it has had upon Christian theology. In our minds it is one of those fundamental *placita* of conscience, like belief in God, or a consciousness of the moral imperative, which is deeper than revelation, and without which revelation itself would have been incredible. To *us* it is most perilous to crush this *instinctive sense of the infinite in life and in moral distinctions*. Christ, undoubtedly, came to give life, but life in the sense of blessedness, not existence.

Mr. White thinks that he has cut away the idea of an eternal hell; but what an imputation he has brought on the gospel that he has expounded so lovingly! For what has his theory done for the vast procession of mortal men who have been crossing the sands of time in ignorance and sin? If they had been left to perish, how infinitely preferable to what he conjectures. If admitted to eternity, with its possible teachings and revelations, and its probations, there is at least a dim hope concerning them. They are the offspring of Eternal God, for whom Christ died. But on the hypothesis of Mr. White, it seems to us that the only effect of the Incarnation on them has been to prolong their existence during millenniums of agony in awaiting the final blow. The doctrine of 'immortality,' not in the dogmatic sense of endless existence, but in that of existence after death, of a life of the destruction of which we have no experience, and on which Christ confers all the blessedness of His own life, frees the gospel from the tremendous imputation. There is a verse in John of unspeakable signification,—'In my Father's house are many mansions.' It is worth folios of disquisition.

We cannot but thank Mr. White for his volume, and believe that he will compel many competent scholars to investigate afresh the conditions of immortality and the meaning of the term.

A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. Being a Continuation of the 'Dictionary of the Bible.' Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.; and SAMUEL CHEETHAM, M.A. Vol. I. John Murray.

This volume embraces the period from the close of the canon of Scripture to the age of Charlemagne—*i. e.*, the close of the eighth century. Its importance as a Cyclopædia of ecclesiastical usage and theological doctrine during these great formative ages of Christendom can hardly be overestimated. For the first time students and scholars have a book of reference on these subjects both comprehensive and minute. We can scarcely imagine one item of information that, under one head or another, these volumes will not supply. Both as a source of information gathered and sifted by the most competent scholars, and tested by the latest results of antiquarian research, and as a compendious book of reference, it is

simply invaluable. We have had books of Christian antiquities, theological dictionaries, &c., from Leland and Bingham to Dr. Eadie and Mr. Blunt, which have done most admirable service—some of these, works to which all subsequent investigators must be indebted: but we have here no less than seventy-seven scholars—presumably the highest authorities in their respective subjects—contributing to one Cyclopædia. It would be a very difficult thing to criticise their work in detail, although it would be easy enough to nibble at it. For instance, Mr. Gregory Smith tell us that ‘in *Europe* there are several monasteries, [of Caloyers] among which that of St. Sabas, in the wilderness near Bethlehem, is famous;’ but such criticisms in speaking of a work like this are almost an impertinence; and, as Dryden says, ‘they mistake the function of criticism who think that it is ‘to find fault.’ The first instinct of a true critic is appreciation. He who has not a large capacity for honest admiration is thereby disqualified. No candid examiner of this volume can fail to be struck with the minuteness, carefulness, and recondite character of its researches. Apparently each writer has felt put upon his mettle, and has ransacked every source of information. Some of the articles are important treatises—monographs extending over from twelve to twenty pages. Among these we may instance, as coming first in alphabetical order, ‘Adultery,’ by the Rev. William Jackson, the Bampton Lecturer for 1875; ‘Altar,’ by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt; ‘Antiphon,’ by the Rev. H. J. Hotham; ‘Apostolic ‘Canons and Constitutions,’ by Mr. Benjamin Shaw; ‘Baptism,’ by the late Rev. Wharton B. Marriott; ‘Bishop,’ an article of thirty pages, by the late Rev. Arthur West Haddan; ‘Catacombs,’ by the Rev. Edmund Venables; ‘Christmas,’ by the Rev. Robert Sinker; ‘Church,’ by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt; several important articles by Prebendary Plumptre, &c.

We must also testify to the severe historical fidelity with which, as a whole, the work is done. Theological or ecclesiastical bias is scarcely perceptible. In the article ‘Bishop,’ for instance, while we might not find quite so much in the New Testament of the germ of after-developments as the writer does, yet he quotes as authorities such a man as Professor Lightfoot, in his important excursus on the Christian ministry, and, on the whole, shapes his statements with scrupulous fairness.

We have only one demur to make to the work, and we hope we shall not be suspected of snobbishness in making it. True scholarship is of no sect—it works in a pure white light. But when we remember that the editor was until recently tutor of a Nonconformist College, that he has been all his life associated with Nonconformist scholars, we can hardly forbear asking, Is it possible that among his old tutorial colleagues, among his co-revisors of the English Bible, among the men who have edited and contributed to works analogous to this, Dr. William Smith, could find no more than one solitary English Nonconformist and two Scotch professors whose names are worthy of a place among the seventy-seven contributors to this volume? Has Nonconformist scholarship, which in days gone by has contributed to theological and Biblical science so largely, sunk so low in our own day that, in the judgment of an editor so long

associated with Nonconformists as Dr. William Smith, none were competent to redeem by their contributions the very sectarian aspect of this list of names? We repeat, the work is admirably done, probably, no other names could have improved either its scholarship or its impartiality. We accept and rejoice in it, simply as work, without qualification; and if we thought that it would have suffered by a more catholic admixture of scholars, we would not have adventured this remonstrance. The editor would, we think, be the first to admit the equal competence of many of his quondam Nonconformist associates. We cannot therefore but think that he has done an injustice both to them and to the work—an injustice which, from an editor of other ecclesiastical antecedents, might have been accounted for (although in justice we must say that works edited by Episcopalians generally show a solicitous feeling of a far higher kind), but which from him is difficult to explain, and which gives the work an aspect of sectarian exclusiveness which it does not deserve.

St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By CHRISTOPH ERNST LUTHARDT, Professor of Theology at Leipzig. Revised, Translated, and the Literature much Enlarged by CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, Leipzig. T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Luthardt's Commentary on John's Gospel has for twenty years occupied a very high place in the estimate of Biblical scholars, although we are not aware that it has ever been translated into English. The author has, in the present volume, expanded his original 'introduction' to the Gospel into a full discussion of the great and grave question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, with special reference to the modern assaults upon its historical character. The merit of the work is, not that the author has any fresh evidence to adduce, or any very novel way of marshalling the well-known testimonies, or of replying to opponents, but that he has thoroughly mastered the voluminous literature on the subject, patiently weighed the adverse and often perverse criticism to which the sacred document has been submitted, met the objectors on their own ground, and, without any hypothetical reconstruction of the Book itself, has shown, we think to demonstration, that the often-cited difficulties are purely subjective, and that there is no sufficient reason for doubting that John, the son of Zebedee, is the author both of the Gospel and the Apocalypse: further, that John's Gospel presents his conception of the same great Personage, unfolding a revelation identical with that which furnished the theme of the Synoptists; that the difference of standpoint is quite sufficient to account for the difference of outline and colour; that the supposed irreconcilable contrasts vanish on closer inspection, and that the artistic, theological, and ecclesiastical motives which are presumed by some critics to have ruled the composition are built upon exaggerated statements of matters of fact. The treatment of the several points is brief, but telling; and the literary notes or references are reserved to the close of the chapters; a plan, by the way, which does not facilitate easy reading or the habit of accurate research. The special difficulties raised by Keim

receive a large amount of attention, and while full credit is given to the ingenuity of Holtzmann and Volkmar, Weiszacker and Hilgenfeld, the help offered by Godet and Schürer, and many others, is amply recognised. The author does not enter into the 'external testimony' with the elaborate first-class scholarship evinced in Dr. Lightfoot's recent papers in the 'Contemporary Review'; but the whole ground is traversed, and the quotations, hints, suggestions, and indications of a knowledge of the Fourth Gospel on the part of the Gnostic sects, the Apostolic Fathers, and the Christian Apologists, are exhibited in an exhaustive and convincing manner. A most instructive discussion of the traditional residence of John at Ephesus is introduced, and the tradition is set free from the sceptical difficulties urged by Keim, Scholten, and Ziegler. Once more, without any attempt to reconcile the date of the Paschal Supper, as stated by the Synoptists, with the various references in John to the death of our Lord as taking place on the fourteenth of Nisan, Dr. Luthardt shows that the Quarto-deciman controversy did not turn on the date of our Lord's death, but on the wisdom, or otherwise, of commemorating the institution of the Lord's Supper, as the Passover of Salvation, on the fourteenth day of Nisan, at the same time with the Jews, or on the day of our Lord's resurrection. The Asia Minor Christians are said to have done the former, and to have appealed to the example of John to confirm their practice. Dr. Luthardt shows that this tradition is not in the least inconsistent with the *supposed* statements of the Fourth Gospel that Christ suffered on the fourteenth of Nisan, and endorses a view of Ebrard's, to the effect that the language of Apollinarius, in denouncing the conduct of the Quarto-decimans, distinctly reveals the existence of the Fourth Gospel. 'While the representatives of tradition in Asia Minor appealed to the Synoptists to prove that the Lord likewise had held the Passover on the fourteenth, Apollinarius appeals to John's Gospel to prove the contrary. Therefore, as early as about A.D. 170, the exegesis of this Gospel was drawn into the strife, and so this book passed then as 'an authentic monument of the Johannine tradition.'

With considerable force our author contrasts the whole tone of John's Gospel with the literature and growths of the second century. He shows how impossible it was to suppose it produced between the time of Justin and Irenæus. Moreover, it has nothing in common with the phantasies of the Gnostics or the meagre unproductiveness of the Apostolic Fathers. The standing objections on the score of the differences from the Synoptic Christ, the unprogressive character of the Christ of the Fourth Gospel, the variations in form, phraseology, eschatology, and Christology, are all briefly handled, but with a master's hand. A powerful argument is derived from the Christology of the Apocalypse as against those who, with the Baurian school, admit the Johannine authorship of this Book, but doubt whether a disciple of Jesus could have spoken of a Master whom he had handled and seen as 'the Word made flesh,' or the Judge of the living and the dead, or as being one with the Father. Dr. Luthardt shows that an equally lofty series of representations of the rank of the Christ in the universe unquestionably pervade the Apocalypse. Notwithstanding the

prolonged, varied, and vigorous assault upon the genuineness and value of this priceless treasure, we believe that the victory is won for it. The objections are all capable of refutation. The external evidence is simply irresistible, and we are brought anew into the inner circle of the Lord's own friendship, and are admitted into the secret, and method, and life of the Saviour of the world.

The translator of this volume has appended a laborious and valuable *catalogue raisonnée* of the literature on this subject. Though it includes more than five hundred distinct discussions of some aspects of the theme, the list is not complete: *e.g.*, neither Canon Liddon's nor Canon Westcott's important chapters on the subject are referred to.

Expositions of the Book of Revelation. By WILLIAM ROBINSON, of Cambridge. Hodder and Stoughton.

This is a posthumous publication of Lectures delivered to Mr. Robinson's congregation on Sunday evenings. Mr. Robinson was a man of singularly acute mind, but also of very reverent heart. We can scarcely conceive of stronger temptations to a fanciful ingenuity than the Apocalypse would present to a man of his temperament. It says much for his spirit of reverence that these have been effectually resisted. We differ from some of his interpretations, but, with one exception, we have not met in the volume with any that could be called fanciful: throughout it is intelligent, spiritual, and religiously practical. Mr. Robinson accepts the testimony of Justin Martyr that John the Apostle was the author of the Book. He accepts also the testimony of Irenæus, that he heard from Polycarp, the disciple of John, that it was written towards the end of the reign of Domitian, 81 to 96 A.D.; that is, he accepts with Alford and others, the later date of its composition, which is nearly contemporaneous with the date of the Gospel. This involves him in the crucial question of discrepancy of style. Mr. Robinson fairly cuts the knot, and this is the instance of fancifulness to which we just now referred—by supposing that John actually wrote down what he saw while his trance or ecstasy continued; and that the uncouth Galilean style of his early life came back upon him.

Mr. Robinson adopts the historical principle of interpretation, and thinks that the prophecy extends from the days of John to the final consummation of all things. We feel the great difficulties of this principle; and while not excluding historic fulfilments—not one only, but many, reiterated—we incline to give greater emphasis to the symbolism of principles simply as such. The volume is popular and interesting, and is an acceptable addition to the literature of the Apocalypse.

The New Testament. Translated from the Critical Text of Von Tischendorf; with an Introduction on the Criticism, Translation, and Interpretation of the Book. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., of Halle, and LL.D. Henry S. King and Co.

The present translation possesses numerous claims to respectful attention and grateful acknowledgment. It is founded on 'King James's NO. CXXV.

'Version, the deviations being caused by another Greek text and the 'desire of greater accuracy.' Several recent translations have been made from a text existing in the authors' own consciousness, or from one which has no other sanction than the translators' own judgment. As numerous changes in the text demand no alteration in the English Version of the Original, a translation which professes to represent a new but unwritten text cannot reveal all the principles, however sound, on which that text has been framed. There are great advantages in having a literal representation of a new and famous text, which, notwithstanding criticism, promises to become the *textus receptus ab omnibus*. The intimate relations between Von Tischendorf and Dr. Davidson, and the circumstance that this translation was undertaken with the approval and high satisfaction of the former, give an affecting interest to the work before us. 'It is some satisfaction to the writer that he has tried to fulfil the purpose of his departed friend, and he indulges the hope that *Von Tischendorf* may be pleased even now with the thought that the Greek text, over which he spent many toilsome years, circulates in the English tongue, bearing the sacred words current in the Church of the third century into the dwellings of the humble, putting the plain reader on the same platform with the scholar, and inspiring him with confidence in records whence he draws the sustenance of the soul. May many be strengthened by the words and Spirit of Jesus in their aspirations after the blessed life!'

Dr. Davidson is, without question, one of our greatest biblical scholars, and his life-long preparation for this work confers upon all his deviations from the Authorized Version great significance. The fastidiousness of his taste, and the severity of the criticism passed by him on those who have preceded him in similar tasks; the keenness, not to say pleasure, with which he pounces on the 'blunder' or the carelessness of a previous translator, lead us reasonably to expect extreme excellence in his own handiwork, and much valuable and trustworthy emendation of the time-hallowed words.

He appears to us, while admitting the services of Dean Alford, yet in his comments on a work of such magnitude as that which the versatile and large-hearted Dean effected, to have been rather on the look-out for faults. Some valuable criticism and a fair estimate of the American Bible Union's Testament and of Dr. Noye's version are introduced into the preface, and a few remarks are made with reference to the most conspicuous and assured results of biblical criticism, such, *e.g.*, as the exclusion from the text of 1 John v. 7; of John vii. 53, viii. 11; of Acts viii. 37, and the alteration in 1 Tim. iii. 16, and Acts xx. 28. It is curious, but highly satisfactory to Dr. Davidson, that Tischendorf should have in this latter case, as in John i. 18, have allowed subjective considerations to override the testimony of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS.

Dr. Davidson calls attention in his preface to the principle he has adopted with reference to the use of the article and the tenses. We cannot but wish he had given himself greater latitude than he has done. Often, in most unidiomatic English, he presents the exact counterpart of the Greek tense, to the great disturbance of association and without any compensatory advantage. See, *e.g.*, the dialogue in the fourth chapter

of St. John's Gospel. We are told in the preface that the main purpose of a translation of the Bible is, not 'that it may be read with pleasure, but 'rather that it may clearly express the true sense.' This principle has been at work in the removal of some of the grand old phrases that have come down to us from Tyndale's Version, like 'the Captain of Salvation.' The substitution of 'robbers' for 'thieves,' in the parable of the Good Samaritan, creates an unnecessary modification. The literal translation of ποιεῖν, by 'do,' in the multifarious usage of it in the New Testament, occasionally gives a colourless tone to well-known passages, as in John viii. 34, 'Every one that does sin is a servant of the sin.' Extra conscientiousness surely spoils the Song of Simeon, when we read, 'Master, 'now thou releasest thy servant in peace.'

We have tried the value of the new translation by detailed examination of texts, by reading whole books at a time, and by approaching it in various moods and for different purposes; and we are greatly impressed with its scholarship, its independence, and its literal accuracy, but not by any means with unexpected lights thrown upon difficult passages. Dr. Davidson has eschewed epexegetical or paraphrastic clauses, and often represents in English the precise *order* of the Greek words, rather, as it seems to us, to the clouding of the sense. As, for instance, Acts xiii. 38, 'Through this man is announced unto you remission of sins; 'from all things from which you could not be justified in the law 'of Moses, every one that believes in him is justified.' Dr. Davidson surprises us at times with a kind of conservatism. Thus, Acts xvii. 21, 'Men of Athens, I behold that in all things ye are rather superstitious.' He is not always determined on retaining the same expression for the same Greek one. Thus 'a Syrophenician by nation' is preserved in Mark vii. 26, and 'born at Alexandria' is the rendering of a precisely similar use of τῇ γένει, in Acts xviii. 24. We greatly admire the translation of the Epistle to the Romans, and are glad to have Dr. Davidson's authority for many most important renderings, such as 'Whom God set forth as a 'propitiatory offering through faith in his blood.' Great light is thrown on Romans v. 20, where the necessary omission of the 'not' is made to throw fresh interest round the whole clause, 'He considered his own body 'become dead,' &c.; 'and with respect to the promise of God, he doubted 'not in unbelief.'

It would be impossible, in a short notice, to comment upon the details of this most valuable work. It will contribute to the more accurate knowledge of the New Testament and familiarise English readers with the text which will, in all probability, before long supersede that in general use. We congratulate the editor on the completion of such a difficult task, one effected with taste, conscientiousness, and consistency.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Psalms. With a New Translation. By J. G. MURPHY, LL.D. T.C.D. T. and T. Clark.

Dr. Murphy has, in the book before us, followed the same plan and purpose as in his Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus; and

the same devout and earnest spirit animates the whole of his works. The present volume is characterised by the same excellences as the previous ones, and, in our opinion, marred by the same defects. The author aims throughout at giving results rather than processes, and hopes to meet at once the wants of the hurried reader, who has only time enough to dip into a commentary, and of the public teacher, who is satisfied with catching the bare meaning, to be developed and applied in his own way. Although this is the avowed object of the work, it abounds in theological reflections which, though forcibly and tersely expressed, will not be of much service to those for whom they are intended. The public teacher who cannot dispense with such reflections must, after all, be a mere 'machine.'

The general introduction deals with the same topics and contains much the same information as one finds in kindred works, but the portion treating of the instrumental accompaniment to sacred song, which the writer divides into three classes, viz., stringed, percussive, and wind instruments, is most lucidly arranged, contains much sound information, and is worthy of a careful perusal.

Dr. Murphy's treatment of the authorship of the Psalms is, in our opinion, much less satisfactory. Here he places implicit confidence in the veracity of the titles; and this confidence is extended even to the additional titles conferred by the Septuagint, which proves unmistakably the increasing character of the traditional element. A superficial attention to the contents of some of the titled Psalms is enough to dispel the delusion from an unbiassed mind. Passing by the endless repetitions in the Psalms ascribed to David—which are inconsistent with the supposed unity of authorship—and the allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, as in Psalms li. lxix. ciii., let us take Psalms lxxiv. and lxxxi., which, as clearly as language can express it, complain of the desecration of the Temple and the desolation of the Holy City; and yet, according to the superscription, they are the productions of Asaph, a contemporary of David. If the titles are so manifestly wrong in these instances, they are unworthy of implicit reliance in others. It is absurd to refer the above description to the outrage committed by Absalom and his party. In obedience to the same authority, Dr. Murphy accepts the 90th Psalm as the composition of Moses, while much of the contents of the Psalm militates against this hypothesis, and its position in the collection is fatal to the value of the superscription; for if it had, from the earliest times, been ascribed to the great prophet of Israel, its proper place would have been at the head of the collection. It would not be difficult to show how it came to be labelled as such at a later period. In the same manner the 72nd and 127th Psalms are regarded as Solomonic, notwithstanding the remarkable words at the close of the 72nd Psalm,—‘the prayers of David, ‘the son of Jesse, are ended;’ by which is meant, according to Dr. Murphy, that the objects for which David prayed had been secured, the prayers had gained their end. To such an unnatural, nay impossible, interpretation is the writer forced by the fact that all the Psalms in the preceding collection do not belong to David, while several in the later books of the Psalter are ascribed to him as their author.

As might be expected from the above, the author finds the Psalms pervaded by the Messianic element. Not only do the deepest sufferings and serenest joys culminate in the Messiah, referring in all cases to Him as the archetype, but there are also in abundance literal, direct, as well as typical, Messianic prophecies. As an instance of direct Messianic prophecy, he adduces Psalm xvi. 15,—

‘For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol,
Nor suffer thy Pious One to see corruption,’

which, if correctly translated, would not admit of such an hypothesis. (See Perowne, *ad loc.*) We are always sorry to find the advocates of a good cause making use of bad arguments.

The imprecatory Psalms are regarded as the utterance of a king in his public capacity, as God’s vicegerent, and as believing in the law of retribution, which is justified by the times in which the authors lived and the circumstances in which they were placed. Dr. Murphy brings the 109th Psalm under the same category, and he neither suggests nor feels the necessity of another solution of the difficulty. We have dwelt at length on the author’s principle and standpoint, because they decide, in a great measure, the character of the interpretation itself. The Commentary contains a revision of the Authorized Version, which is intended to abbreviate the comment and to exhibit the inner connection of the text. The version and comment are preceded by a brief reference to the occasion, subject, and arrangement of the Psalms, and are followed by critical notes, which are very few, and generally unimportant.

The translation is often unsatisfactory, and the comments are little more than such reflections as one not unfrequently hears in pulpit expositions. We must content ourselves with a few specimens, selected at random. Psalm ii. 12 :—

‘Kiss ye purely, lest he be angry, and ye lose the way;
For his anger kindleth in a little.
Happy all who trust in him.’

We agree with his rendering of *bar*; but why not translate ‘pay,’ ‘pure,’ ‘homage’ as Symmachus, Jerome, and others? *e. g.*, προσκυνήσατε καθαρῶς, *Adorate pure*. Why translate *tobedu derec* by the curious expression, ‘lose the way,’ especially since he translates the same word ‘perish’ in Psalm i. 6? It is both obscure and incorrect. When we came to the reading, ‘in a little,’ we were at a loss to know why he should have so rendered the Hebrew word, and what the exact meaning of it could be. Upon turning to the commentary we find that it means the space of time extending from the poet’s time to the day of final judgment, or, perhaps, the space of human life. We give the note in full :—‘The longest life is ‘but a span, a tale, a breath, and after that the judgment. Then the obdurate foe of God and godliness awaits the doom, Depart from me, ye ‘cursed. See also Psalm vii. 4 :—

‘If I have requited my friend with evil,
And failed to deliver my foe,’

where he explains that to 'deliver with emptiness' is to fail to deliver. Add to the above Psalms viii. 5, xvi. 1-3, &c. We cannot conclude, however, without referring to the excellences of the work, which are very numerous and important. While we cannot recommend it to the critical student, we can honestly do so to the general reader, who wishes to find within a reasonable compass all that is necessary for an intelligent and useful study of the Psalms. He will scarcely ever be disappointed in his search into the meaning of a passage, and will always be gratified with the reverential spirit in which the author deals with Divine truth. It is infinitely superior to the majority of works having a similar aim and character.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German. The Translation Revised and Edited by FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D., St. Andrew's. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German by the Rev. JOHN C. MOORE, B.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Messrs. Clark steadily, although necessarily at irregular intervals, continue their translations of Meyer's great work, which is simply of inestimable value to students of the Original Text unable to make use of Meyer's German. The Gospel of John is now completed; the translations up to chapter xi. are by Mr. Urwick and Dr. W. D. Simon, the subsequent chapters by the Rev. Edwin Johnson, the whole being carefully revised by Professor Crombie, whose references to Dr. Moulton's translation of Winer's 'Grammar of New Testament Greek,' and to Professor Thayer's translation of 'Buttman's Grammar,' add a very important element of value.

Dr. Meyer had just completed a careful revision of the second of the above volumes when he died. The first half of the manuscript had been sent to the printer's, the second half was found labelled 'ready for the press.' These emendations are contained in the fourth edition, from which this translation is made, although a translation of the third edition, by the late Mr. G. H. VENABLES, had been completed. To each of these volumes a very valuable bibliographical list of exegetical works is prefixed, including, of course, English expositors. For obvious reasons, criticism of Professor Meyer's work would be preposterous here: we necessarily restrict ourselves to an intimation of the progress of these translations, and to a general commendation of the great and scholarly care with which they are made.

Chips from a German Workshop. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A.,
Foreign Member of the French Institute, &c. Vol. IV.
Essays chiefly on the Science of Language. Long-
mans and Co.

If any find this fourth volume of Professor Müller's 'Chips from a German Workshop' less varied or less interesting than its predecessors, the explanation is not far to seek. The writer is no longer a stranger among us; he has delivered his specific message in many forms and ways, and it has become familiar to his numerous students and readers. The writer, like the preacher, may bring forth out of his treasure-house things new and old; but the time must come when he will have exhausted what is individual and distinctive; and though there may be variations in manner in what he afterwards produces, there will be substantial identity of matter. This has been the case with all our great writers—with none more so than Mr. Carlyle, who has given us no new theory or doctrine since he wrote 'Sartor Resartus'—and we need not be surprised if it is the same with Mr. Müller. He has done a great work in England by the light he has thrown upon the leading principles of the Science of Language. He has indicated rich treasures as lying still concealed in Comparative Philology and Comparative Theology, and has thereby opened a new field of investigation, in which there is ample room for many inquirers. He has not given us a new philosophy, but he has shown in what direction we must work if we are to attain one that will prove satisfactory and adequate. Holding fast the great truth of man's spirituality, and therefore his essential difference from the merely animal creation, Mr. Müller has interposed strong barriers in the way of the materialism of the modern theorists of development. If, in this fourth volume, he does not go beyond what he has given us in previous works, he yet illustrates his positions in ever new and graceful fashions, and presents us with essays written in pure English, which it is a pleasure to read.

In this fourth volume we have the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Müller in 1868, on the value of Comparative Philology as a branch of academic study. As we write, we regret to observe that he has intimated his resignation of the Chair he then inaugurated, and it will not be easy to supply his place; for there are few scholars who unite with scholarly acquirements the comprehensive philosophical spirit and culture distinctive of Mr. Müller. The Rede Lecture, on the Stratification of Language, the essay on the Migration of Fables, the Lecture on the Results of Comparative Philology, delivered with so much patriotic exultation at Strasburg, and the address on the importance of Oriental Studies, are all on the lines with which readers of the author's former works are familiar. Of another order is the lecture on Missions, delivered two years ago in Westminster Abbey, which excited much controversy at the time of its delivery. In this volume it is illustrated by important additional notes, and along with it are printed a postscript 'On the Vitality of Brahmanism,' and Dean Stanley's Introductory Sermon on Christian Missions.

We do not share all Mr. Müller's opinions regarding the scope and objects of Christian missions; but where he errs, it is, as seems to us, chiefly by defect. We can accept nearly all that is positive in his teaching, though we think it requires to be further supplemented. But Professor Müller is doing such good work by the stand he has made in the interest of truth—of the interpretation of the undeniable facts of human life—against Materialism in its evolutionary phase, that we have little relish for hostile criticism of anything he does. We cordially welcome him as an ally in the great fight against a blank Atheism and a degrading Materialism, which threaten to come in upon us like a flood, eliminating all intellectual nobility from man and darkening and debasing the human conscience. In the 'Reply to Mr. Darwin,' and in the concluding paper of the volume, entitled 'In Self-Defence,' the Evolutionists are attacked both from the ground of philosophy and science in a manner that leaves little to be desired. The calmness and earnestness of the searcher after truth rarely desert Mr. Müller, even when he is replying to assailants skilled in the use of poisoned weapons. His philosophical breadth of view is combined with a ripe scholarship of the most varied order; and he is able to add the attractiveness of a skilled literary artist in his expositions and arguments. We very heartily commend the fourth volume of these 'Chips' to the thoughtful reader, who will find in them an antidote to much that is misleading in the scientific spirit of the times.

The Dialogues of Plato, Translated into English, with Analysis and Introductions. By B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected throughout. Clarendon Press.

In a former review of this work we took occasion to notice in detail some instances of laxity, not to say of inaccuracy, in the rendering of the Greek, and the general tendency to paraphrase rather than to translate; and we noticed that these faults seemed to prevail in some of the Dialogues more than in others. In the preface to the second edition the author, perhaps intending a reply to the objections of critics, has explained somewhat fully his ideas as to what a good English translation of Plato should really be. He holds that 'it should read as an original work, and should also be the most faithful transcript which can be made of the language from which the translation is taken, consistently with the first requirement of all, that it be English.' He then discusses at some length, and very soundly and sensibly, the reasons why a very literal translation from a Greek author can never satisfy these conditions. Some of the fundamental differences in Greek and English, he says, are intractable, and he proceeds to enumerate these. Now, in our opinion, the *first* requirement of all is accuracy, by which we do not mean a servile closeness of rendering, but a full and perfect representation of the precise meaning of the original. A good and fluent English style is not really incompatible with this. Plato is better than Plato-and-water, so to say,

and, for our own part, we should never be perfectly satisfied without a judicious combination of the two indispensable conditions,—accuracy of rendering and elegance of style.

The position of the Platonic philosophy in reference to modern thought is briefly but well brought out in the new preface. At the same time reasons are given why thinkers and students of philosophy at the present day can hardly do without a complete edition of Plato in a handy and somewhat popular form. Plato was the father of 'idealism,' that is, he first went beyond the limits of mere sensation, and showed that certain fixed principles of thought, conception, and inductive reasoning were the only safe guides to truth. He is 'a great philosophical genius struggling with the unequal conditions of light and knowledge under which he is 'living.' The interest which he has for our own times does not depend on any continuity of modern from ancient thought. Modern thought had its own beginning, Mr. Jowett says (p. xix.), stimulated however into life by the influence of the older philosophies. Yet, he remarks, in thought, as in other things, there is a kind of cycle, and old ideas are constantly being reproduced, often with little or no consciousness on our parts that the same ideas were held and the same doctrines inculcated two thousand years ago. Especially is this true of the revised Materialism and Pantheism, in some modern speculations, which go back so closely to the views of Democritus and Epicurus.

Both Mr. Grote and Professor Jowett have rendered immense service to the literature of our times, not merely as translators of Plato, but as exponents and critics of the Platonic doctrines. These two scholars are somewhat at variance. Mr. Grote labours to show that Plato was often wrong, both in his views and in his reasonings from them. Mr. Jowett takes Plato as we have him, not as a teacher of any perfect system, but as an early thinker groping his way from darkness into light. There can be no doubt that Plato carried idealism too far. He deals with metaphysical subjects, such as the immortality of the soul, as if they could be proved and established by logical reasoning alone. Aristotle's practical, but too subtle, mind revolted against the *idæa*, or doctrine of abstractions; and yet his analysis of mind and soul are equally wanting in a basis of physical observation. Zeller, to whom Mr. Jowett justly pays a tribute of high praise at the conclusion of his preface, draws an excellent sketch of the relative position of these two great philosophers, master and pupil. Idealism, he observes, after being set forth by Plato with extraordinary brilliancy, had been brought into harmony with the most careful results of experience by Aristotle. Both had their weak points, due either to want of experience of the world and the laws of man's actions, or to the 'enthroning of idealism as the knowledge of conceptions.' To the former cause he attributes mistakes in natural science, or arising from a limited view of history; to the latter, the too strongly-marked contrasts between abstract and concrete, particular and general, form and matter, the seen and the unseen, knowledge and ignorance. In a word, both attached too much importance to mental criticism and logical deduction, and too little to the observation of facts and their reasons,

The utter fallaciousness, and even the positively falsifying effect, of mere sensuous perception, τὰ φαινόμενα, was Plato's favourite doctrine, and most of his reasonings are based upon it. Aristotle, Zeller contends, met idealism by observation, but did not go far enough; his views of innate ideas and development from within did not sufficiently take into account that which has become a canon in modern science—the influence of external circumstances.

We before expressed our opinion that the most really valuable part of Professor Jowett's work was the admirable and lucid series of introductions prefixed to each Dialogue. In his new edition he tells us, 'These prefaces have been enlarged, and essays on subjects of modern philosophy, having an affinity to the Platonic Dialogues, have been introduced into several of them. The analyses have been corrected, and "innumerable" alterations have been made in the text.'

It will not be expected, in so brief a notice, that we should comment on the improvements thus avowedly made. We have, however, conscientiously examined many (upwards of twenty) chapters in various Dialogues in close comparison with Professor Jowett's version. Our conclusion is, that context and meaning have been well considered, but grammatical niceties almost wholly disregarded, which we do not mention in disparagement, but as describing the generally free principle on which the translation has been constructed. One used to accuracy is sometimes a little surprised at an unnecessary degree of laxity, e.g., in Alcibiad. i. p. 121. B, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ τοῦ τε γένους ὄγκῳ ἐλαττώμεθα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ 'You should consider how inferior we are to them both in the derivation of our birth and in other particulars.' It was surely as easy to translate accurately, 'But mind that we are not worse off than these men, not only in our boasted birth but in our general bringing up.' So too in Sympos. p. 208, C, ἔπει καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰ ἐθίλεις εἰς τὴν φιλοτιμίαν βλέψαι, θανμάζεις ἂν τῆς ἀλογίας περὶ, ἃ ἰγὼ εἶρηκα εἰ μὴ ἰννοεῖς, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὡς δεινῶς διακινεῖται ἔρωτι τοῦ ὀνομαστοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ κλέος εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι, we find the feeble and curtailed rendering, 'Think only of the ambition of men, and you will wonder at the senselessness of their ways, unless you consider how they are stirred by the love of an immortality of fame.' The last clause should have run thus: 'Considering how strongly they are affected by the desire of becoming famous, and of storing up for themselves an undying reputation for all future time.' We do not wish to cavil, or recommend verbosity; still we do expect from the hands of a master that the beautiful and highly-polished language of Plato should receive rather more study and attention. It may be doubted, too, if a sensitive fear of tautology will justify the continual omission of clauses and sentences. With some imperfections, that future editions will tend to diminish, the work is, considering its difficulty and the vast extent of ground travelled over, well executed as a whole; and it has the great merit of being adapted to ordinary English readers by the avoiding pedantry and mere scholastic technicalities, as far as these can be dispensed with. But it is rather as an exposition of Platonism than as a translation of Plato that it will claim a place in the library of the scholar.

The Emotions and the Will. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D.
Third Edition. Longmans and Co.

Mr. Bain and Mr. Spencer may now be regarded as the chief English apostles of the associationalist theory of Psychological Ethics. All ideas or acts of the soul are generated by association rather than produced by pure faculty. Thus even necessary and intuitive truths are supposed to have this origin. They are the product of the active ego, and not of the mere conscious ego: *e.g.*, Mr. Bain supposes the sense of the supernatural, or, rather, the conception of spirit, to originate in dreams (page 529). Mr. Bain has very great skill in psychological analysis and in connecting psychological phenomena with the domain of physiology. He does not tell us what he deems to be the principle of psychical life. He admits the peculiarity of our capability of forming ideas, but he maintains that all psychical exercises and experiences are owing to associations alone. The will, he says, cannot, in the nature of things, be free, inasmuch as it is the result of all possible impulses to activity. The moral sentiment, conscience, is the result of education.

This edition of his great work is thoroughly revised. The chapters on the leading emotions have been almost wholly re-written. A separate chapter discusses the bearing of the Evolution hypothesis on the emotions. Mr. Sidgwick's argument for Free Will, deduced from consciousness, is again examined, and the chapter on Belief has been re-written, in which it is contended that religious belief springs wholly out of the feelings; although it is admitted that Aquinas, Calvin, and Butler had some intellectual convictions concerning things which form the subject-matter of religious belief. Mr. Bain's views are substantially the same as in the first edition of his work, published seventeen years ago; but, as a careful thinker and a true scholar, he has subjected his positions to another careful re-examination and re-statement. He has not, however, convinced us that his philosophy is founded upon true principles.

A Comparative History of Religions. By JAMES C. MOFFAT,
D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary in Princeton.
Two Vols. New York: Dodd and Mead, Broadway.

To write a comparative history of religions is a task peculiarly fitted for the present time. It could not have been done before, because it is only of late that the materials have been made available through the labours of learned Orientalists. Even if the materials had been forthcoming, the principle of classification was wanting. That has now been found in the comparative method, which bids fair to yield greater results in the future than any yet attained by means of it. The application of that method to the various religions of the world, in order to discover the elements in them that are identical, and thus to afford a clue to what was the primitive religion of the world, promises to prove of the highest value. In this province, as in so many others, American writers are, if not taking the lead, yet proving themselves to be worthy coadjutors of inquirers in the Old World. In the volumes before us, Dr. Moffat, of the historical

school of Princeton, has made a not unsuccessful essay to classify the elements in this department that have been furnished by previous writers. He does not profess to have found his own material; for that he is indebted to the various and protracted labours of others. The breadth of the subject, he says truly, is so great that it would be utterly impossible for one man to handle it by digging his materials for himself out of all the mines. Accordingly, he only claims to have performed the more modest part of classifying and comparing facts already ascertained. The result is a readable and highly-interesting work, which, if it be not distinguished by philosophical width and profundity, or by great wealth of erudition, presents in a simple and intelligible form the leading outlines of the ground plan of the science of religion. As the college from which he dates would lead us to expect, Dr. Moffat, while handling his materials with freedom, never ceases to manifest a spirit of reverence in presence of the series of revelations of the Divine given to us in history and which culminated in Christianity. While the unity of doctrines in the most ancient religious systems points back to the simplicity of the early faith of mankind, of which we are told in the Book of Genesis, there is a process of corruption to be observed continually going on as we descend the stream of time, and that is met only by the new revelations of Himself by which God introduced, as it were, new beginnings to be the fertile seeds of a new creation in the history of mankind. All the scattered lines and lights at last converge in the revelation of Him who has brought life and immortality to light through the gospel; a gospel which is a message of life and love, and not of insensibility and annihilation, like the message of Buddhism—the greatest of the world's religions next to Christianity. We have not space to go further into detail; but we cordially commend Dr. Moffat's volumes as a plain and simple handbook suitable for students making their first essays in the study of the science of religion.

The Sabbath of the Fields, being a Sequel to 'Bible Teachings in Nature.' By the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D., &c. Macmillan and Co.

Our Lord's Three Raisings from the Dead. By the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

We are somewhat at a loss to designate the former of these two volumes; our first impression was that they were sermons — 'The Sabbath of the Fields' being a religious discourse on the Hebrew institution of the Year of Rest; 'Feeding among the Lilies,' a very charming sermon on the presence and uses of the beautiful in life. 'The Power of Association,' 'The Temple of the Body,' 'The Harvest Miracle,' 'The True Design of Work,' and 'Lessons from the Lilies,' are also sermons. All the chapters have sermon texts prefixed to them, but then we come upon an essay on the Transfiguration, with the title 'Heimweh-Fluh,' and a chapter entitled, 'Cuckoo,' with the text, 'The voice said, Cry,' &c., surely too fantastic to be sermons. Other chapters are dissertations on ferns, pine-cones, &c. Our conclusion is that sermons and

papers on natural phenomena are mingled together, the sermons imbued with the pursuits of the naturalist, and the essays not without the religious improvements of the preacher. However this may be, the volume, like all Dr. Macmillan's productions, is very delightful reading, and of a special kind. Imagination, natural science, and religious instruction are blended together in a very charming way. The other volume consists of what are avowedly sermons,—a series of Sunday afternoon discourses, on the three greatest of our Lord's miracles. They eschew deeper questions of science and exegesis, and simply point religious and parabolic teachings.

Classic Baptism: an Inquiry into the meaning of the word βαπτίζω, as determined by the Usage of Classical Greek Writers. By JAMES W. DALE, D.D., Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Delaware. Fourth Edition. Philadelphia: Rutter and Co.

This is one of a series of controversial treatises on the mode and significance of baptism. With enormous resource and most laborious method, our author, in the volume before us, investigates the classic meanings of the two words *bapto* and *baptizo*. He then discusses their Latin equivalents 'tingo,' 'mergo,' and the like; and pursues the 'Baptist postulates' into all classic and current usage of the English words, 'dip,' 'dye,' 'immerse,' and comes gradually, but with ever-gathering enthusiasm, to his great conclusion. In answer to the main question, What is CLASSIC BAPTISM? instead of the Baptist answers, 'Baptising is dipping and dipping is baptising'—'To dip, and nothing but dip, through all Greek literature,' he finally produces this answer:—'Whatever is capable of thoroughly changing the character, state, or condition of any object, is capable of baptising that object; and by such change of character, state, or condition does, in fact, baptise it.' To meet the master of thirty legions in brief notice, is not to be expected. If any of our readers wish an exhaustive treatment of the meaning of a word, apart, that is, entirely from ecclesiastical, theological, or exegetical associations, let him read the 854 and the xxii. pages of Dr. Dale.

The other treatises are entitled 'Judaic Baptism,' 'Christic Baptism,' 'Patristic Baptism.' They have received the imprimatur and high approval of the most distinguished Biblical scholars in America, and clearly occupy far more interesting fields of investigation than that of the volume before us.

The Primitive and Catholic Faith in Relation to the Church of England. By the Rev. BOURCHIER WREY SAVILE, M.A., Rector of Shillingford, Exeter. Longmans.

In the present excited controversy within the pale of the 'Church established by law' in England it is refreshing to come across a work in which every great point mooted between the combatants is discussed

with patience, courtesy, learning, and conscientiousness. Mr. Savile holds that the Reformed Church of England, by her symbolic books, by her articles and liturgy, by her greatest and most representative theologians, is pledged to the primitive Catholic faith, in distinct and avowed opposition to the dogma and discipline of the Roman Communion. In sixteen or seventeen chapters, with more or less success, he endeavours to indicate the leading features of Scriptural doctrine, apostolic precedent, and ante-Nicene deliverances on the momentous questions at issue; then to show in what respects and to what extent the leading Anglo-Catholic writers have deviated from the primitive faith, and how imperceptible is the line of demarcation between them and the advocates of the Tridentine decrees. The volume is very instructive, and in many portions singularly rich in illustration. The arguments are cogently put, and the conclusions are inevitable that, within the bosom of the Anglican Church there is a powerful Ultramontane section passionately bent on conformity in sentiment and discipline with the Roman Catholic Communion; that there is no discoverable difference in 'the real objective presence' taught by Dr. Pusey, and the doctrine of transubstantiation; that in the eucharistic sacrifice, priestly absolution, prayers for the dead, &c., the modern Catholic party have departed as far as Rome has done from the primitive faith. Mr. Savile reviews patiently the theories by which 'vestments,' 'incense,' 'lights,' and 'the eastward position' have been steadily reintroduced into the Church of England in contradiction of her Parliamentary constitution, and in defiance of the interpretation given to the law by the highest legal authority. He has made frequent reference to the newspaper controversy between Dr. Liddon and Monsignor Capel, in which the latter gained a triumphant victory over the former, and demonstrated that 'the Ritualistic clergy are unintentionally, but none the less assuredly, disseminating our doctrines.' He has accumulated proofs that the gist of the whole Tractarian movement has been to show that the differences between the two Churches are 'infinitesimal—the priesthood the same, 'the liturgy virtually the same, and the doctrine the same.' He insists on the vast gulf that there is between the Evangelical and Ritualistic systems, as evident in their respective view of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, whom Dr. Littledale regards as 'unredeemed villains,' and whom the Evangelicals place among 'the noble army of the martyrs 'of Jesus;' as evident in their respective doctrines of grace, in their different handling of the mystery of the Godhead, in the relative estimate they put upon the salvability and Christian character of dissentient men and communities, and in the method in which they respectively deal with the constituted authorities in Church and State. It is an unspeakable consolation to some of us that we are not personally or ecclesiastically compromised by the utterly hateful spirit of many of the Ritualistic agitators, nor forced by political or economical fetters into a hypocritical union with them. Such a volume as this is one of the certain signs of the approaching disruption and disintegration of the cluster of sects which, by Act of Parliament, still arrogates the title, dignity, and influence of the Church of the nation.

The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, forming a Concise Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A. Compendious Edition. Rivingtons.

Mr. Blunt's great work, of which this is a cheap edition, is full of the results of great liturgical scholarship, and historical and antiquarian research. Mr. Blunt is a High Anglican, and the historical conscience in him is not so judicial as to be imperial in its sway. He sees very largely what he wishes to see, and the historian of the Book of Common Prayer can easily see anything he likes in its fluctuating history and irreconcilable compromises. Sacramentarian principles, both of dogma and worship, are sacred in Mr. Blunt's estimation. When, therefore, in the Prayer Book these find expression they are, of course, magnified and exalted to supremacy, and when Low Church principles, these are extenuated and subordinated. That the Apostolic Church used a liturgy is, of course, assumed as almost unquestionable. The two expressions, Acts ii. 42, "In the breaking of the bread," and, "in prayers," 'clearly indicate 'settled and definite ceremonial usages.' This is only a specimen of the kind of assumption which characterises the work from beginning to end. Mr. Blunt discreetly omits all reference to the Thirty-nine Articles. The value of the book is its great accumulation of liturgical information and reference.

History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews. By EDWARD E. ATWATER. Dickinson and Higham.

The Tabernacle, Priesthood, and Offerings of Israel. By the Rev. FREDERICK WHITFIELD, M.A. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

The Gospel of the Tabernacle. By ROBERT EDWARD SEARS. Elliot Stock and Co.

The interest excited in religious people by the typical provisions of the Jewish Tabernacle is unfailing. There is indeed a richness of suggestion in its multifarious appointments that gratifies a certain order of minds as parables do, far more than the affirmative dogmatic teachings of Christ and His apostles; and the reflex testimony to Christianity which Levitical institutions bear is simply irrefragable. These three volumes, all expounding the uses and teachings of the Tabernacle, are of different value. The first of them is by far the most complete and important. The writer tells us that it had been his specialty during thirty years of ministerial life, and that he retired from the ministry some years ago to 'give himself 'wholly to a subject which a pastor can study only at intervals.' It is an elaborate exposition of the structure and the history of the Tabernacle and of its symbolical significance, filling a volume of five hundred pages, and illustrated by some fifty carefully-executed engravings. Mr. Atwater has diligently studied authorities ancient and modern, Lund, Bähr, New-

man, and others. He is confident that his 'studies have added to the 'knowledge of Hebrew symbolism;' and it is only just to say that his views are formed with great care and moderation, guarding himself against 'the wild lawless typologists of the coercion school.' He yet insists upon the legitimate typology of the remarkable symbolism of the Tabernacle. His book will probably be accepted as the best authority on the subject.

Mr. Whitfield's book follows in the same track, but with much less of scholastic research and firmness. Its chapters partake more of the character of sermons, and run largely into religious uses, and that with but little of critical discrimination. Men are slow to learn that an interpretation cannot be justified by its religious usefulness.

Mr. Sears follows Mr. Whitfield's example, and falls more helplessly into his mistakes. His chapters are preachings of a purely practical kind—useful religiously, but worthless critically and historically.

The Atonement. The Congregational Lecture for 1875. By R. W. DALE, M.A. Third Edition. Hodder and Stoughton.

The sale within some six or seven months of two large editions of Mr. Dale's able and eloquent lecture is equally gratifying as a testimony to the lecturer's ability and to popular interest in his high theme. In compliance with a generally expressed desire this cheap edition is published. In our next number we purpose, somewhat at length, to examine Mr. Dale's treatment of his theme.

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. Vol. II. Hodder and Stoughton.

The second volume of the 'Expositor' contains a valuable exegesis of the First Epistle to Timothy, read in the light of modern speculation, by Dr. Reynolds; discussions on the Prologue to John's Gospel, by F. Godet; a new translation, with comments, of the Book of Ruth, by the Editor; dissertations on the Epistles to the Seven Churches, by Professor Plumptre; together with miscellaneous papers, all thoroughly scholarly and valuable. The 'Expositor' is defining for itself an important niche, and is filling it admirably.

THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL 1, 1876.

ART. I.—*Jonathan Swift.*

The Life of Jonathan Swift. By JOHN FORSTER. Vol. I.
London: John Murray.

MR. FORSTER'S long looked for life of Swift has at last appeared, and the completeness of this, its first volume, is enough to console us for the delay. The life of Swift was at first written incompetently by Delany and Dean Swift, afterwards hurriedly by Johnson; and a whole mass of misconceptions, repeated from hand to hand, had to be cleared away before his character could be reconstructed as it required to be. Popular opinion readily accepted the rough and ready estimate of Swift as one utterly dark and repulsive in life and genius; and where it took the trouble to verify this second-hand estimate, it found the estimate confirmed by the untested and rash assertions of one after another of his biographers. Mr. Forster has not brought help before it was greatly needed, and the niche of English literary biography which his book will fill is not less palpably vacant than those which he has already so ably occupied. The volume before us is perhaps chiefly valuable for the mass of new information which has been brought together either for the testing or the illustration of the facts asserted of Swift. We perhaps miss in the narrative something of succinctness and of thorough digesting of the matter; and it would be no very high compliment to the author of the *Life of Gold-*

smith and of the monograph on Defoe to say that he has here surpassed or even equalled himself. But our knowledge of that part of Swift's life which is here chiefly dealt with is at the best fragmentary, and in itself perhaps incapable of any very clear or succinct narration. It is enough that this book gives us for the first time much that is of incalculable value for a knowledge of the life of Swift, and that to the judgment of this new material Mr. Forster brings his own sound experience and fine literary tact.

Whatever the objections that an editor or a biographer of Swift may have to meet in our day, there is one from which he is probably exempt. He is not likely to be told that the works of Swift want interest, that his genius has been eclipsed, and that the study of his writings may well be laid aside, as not 'entering necessarily into the institution of a liberal education.' And yet something like this is the verdict pronounced by Jeffrey in his critique on Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift's works in 1816. He tells us how he remembers the time when every boy was set to read Pope, Swift, and Addison, as regularly as Virgil, Cicero, and Horace; when all who had any tincture of letters were familiar with their writings and their history; and when they and their contemporaries were placed without challenge at the head of our literature. He congratulates himself that this is no longer the case, and that these writers have been deposed from their pedestal; that their genius has been surpassed, and that they have no chance of recovering the supremacy from which they have been deposed. The language in which he goes on to speak of them is somewhat astonishing. They were remarkable, he says, for the fewness of their faults rather than for the greatness of their beauties. Their laurels were won by good conduct and discipline, not by enterprising boldness and native force. They had no pathos, no enthusiasm, no comprehensiveness, depth, or originality; but were for the most part cold, timid, and superficial. Their inspiration is little more than a sprightly sort of good sense. They may pass well enough for sensible and polite writers, but scarcely for men of genius.

As we read the estimate of the Edinburgh reviewer, we feel that not only does that estimate differ from our own, but that

the standpoint from which it is made is one with which we are essentially out of sympathy. The generation for which Jeffrey wrote had no small share of self-complacency, and it was a self-complacency fortified by circumstances. It was a generation of very considerable force and earnestness, and that force and earnestness had a very strong bias in one particular direction. Such biassed force has its advantages, but a wide-stretching sympathy, or a quick sensibility to the genius of another age, is not one of these. What is good in itself it prizes, but it does so to the exclusion of that which an age possessing perhaps less stringent characteristics of its own may be ready to appreciate. For us, rivalry has not made appreciation impossible. Our own generation has sought other objects, and achieved a bias in a different direction; but while the force of literary genius may be thereby dulled, the absence and hopelessness of literary emulation may make our criticism none the less disinterested. Our laurels are not chiefly won in the fields where we may find Swift and Addison and their contemporaries for rivals, and we may content ourselves with our power of judging the more calmly of the merits of different competitors. We can no longer flatter ourselves with the complacent optimism upon which the Edinburgh reviewer bases his judgment of literary progress; we can no longer assent with him to the proposition that in literary taste every generation is better than its predecessors. Instead of believing with him that such taste 'is of all faculties the one most sure 'to advance with time and experience,' we are more likely to be impressed with the extreme delicacy of its growth; with the dangers to which it is exposed of being blinded or formalized by every twist and turn of popular fanaticism or prevailing pedantry; with the likelihood that development in other directions may only disarrange the equable balance, the 'sweet reasonableness,' as the chief critic of our generation has it, of literary judgment. What the Edinburgh reviewer feels to be 'little capricious fluctuations,' we may often be disposed to think serious aberrations, and we may see in them the loss of that quick appreciativeness which only the stirring of a new birth in literature could restore. But if we lose the gratification of believing in this comfortable natural law of progression in literary taste, we escape the risk of being

blind to the beauties of a state of less complete and perfect evolution. We relinquish the claim of rivalry, but we can solace ourselves with the recovery of the power of unbiassed judgment.

The generation for which Jeffrey wrote had undoubtedly much reason for self-congratulation. Not only were its literary creations great, but its literary criticism, too, was keen, energetic, and incisive. It fairly claimed a great inheritance of reawakened life, and we need not be surprised if the strength that shook off slumber had little delicacy of touch for the beauties which belonged to the state of repose. But the qualities which gave brilliancy to its creations and energy to its criticisms were not those to inspire a subtle sympathy. It was a generation which left little room for doubts and waverings, for efforts at penetrating meaning, for tender and careful searching after hidden beauties. It could spare no time to learn excuses for faults that were apparent on the surface; it had a rough and ready justice, which was much more fit to draw clear lines of demarcation between what it believed good and bad, than to temper its condemnation of that with which it happened to disagree. Above all, one vice tainted every part of its criticism. Not only was distinction of political party made the gauge of literary merit, but all literary criticism was steeped in the strong wine of a political creed. The Edinburgh reviewer turned from a discussion on reform to apply, of set purpose, all the tools of his trade to literature. He proceeded upon the same maxims and he set to work in the same way. 'Whiggism is the one god, and the "Edinburgh Review" is its prophet,' was the foundation of his system, and that system was untroubled by any qualms or doubts. It afforded a ready recipe for dealing with any question. If a judgment on any subject could not, like that of the German philosopher on the white elephant, be evolved by the Edinburgh reviewer from the depths of his own inner consciousness, it was yet easy to procure it from the repertory of that storehouse of dogma whose key was held by his own clique. Whatever the brilliancy of its creation, whatever the energy of its criticism, the generation was penetrated to the very core with the political spirit, and had no very great patience with any other. The

very masterpieces which gave lustre to the age were gauged by the same criteria, and misjudged with the same rashness, until certain coincidences between these and the prevailing spirit led to their recognition on the ground of such accidental harmony rather than of their intrinsic worth.

But if the spirit of Jeffrey's generation, or at least of his section of it, was above all political, the spirit that moved Swift and Addison was essentially literary. The one man amongst all English writers who was most deeply affected by the literary spirit, was Pope, and Swift and Addison were only one step behind him. The constant reference to political questions, the prevalence of political subjects, the bitterness of political controversy, in their writings, afford only superficial evidence to the contrary. Accident determines what a man shall write about, but it does not determine how he shall write. To the protégé of Sir William Temple a fantastic and fruitless controversy might divide with politics the claims on his attention, and give the accidental bias to his career; to the young aspirant after Whig patronage the victories of Marlborough gave a fitting opportunity to attract attention by his 'Campaign;' to Pope, the connections of his own intimates with political parties gave an incidental interest in the Whig and Tory strife; but none of them had a soul framed for political discussion, nor found a sphere that suited them in the political arena. To Swift, party spirit is the great plague-spot in English life, for which no bitterness of vituperation can be too strong, and no image of ridicule too mean or degrading. It is but the dispute between high heels and low heels, or big-endians and little-endians, over again. Just as little in sympathy with the accidental distinctions of party spirit was the calm judgment of Addison. They can only remind his worthy knight of his schoolboy adventure, when he was called a popish cur by one for asking his way to St. Anne's Lane, and a pried ear cur by the next passenger for asking to be guided to plain Anne's Lane. 'There cannot a greater judgment,' goes on the *Spectator*, 'befal a country than such a dreadful spirit of division 'as rends a government into two distinct peoples.'—'The 'influence is fatal both to men's morals and their understandings; it sinks the virtue of a nation, and not only so, but 'destroys even common sense.' There is something deeper

than ordinary sadness in the words with which he speaks of a period of exaggerated party spirit. 'It is very unhappy for a man to be born in such a stormy and tempestuous season.' So it is with Pope : his verdict on political disputes is summed up in the often-quoted words :—

' For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best.'

Each felt, as they could not avoid feeling, the angry onset of the contending factions. We cannot rest in contemplation or follow the bent of our own fancy amid the tumults of the arena, however we may despise the object of the dispute and the spirit of the combatants. All three were drawn into the contest : it laid its fetters on their genius and forced that genius to do its work : it twisted and perverted it, but could not take away its distinctive character. Swift, Addison, and Pope were, for their own day, the types and examples of the purely literary spirit ; and what they were for their own day, they are still more distinctively for ours. The verdict of the Edinburgh reviewer on their eclipse and supercession is the one-sided judgment of a man judging those with whom he has no sympathy, and finding in the blindness of a self-assumed superiority ground for an easy and systematized optimism. Without shutting our eyes to his merits, we can yet see the limitations of these merits, and find room for others. Many may be disposed to think that 'into the institution of a liberal education' the study of our literature at all does not 'necessarily enter,' and that other subjects, calling for more technical ingenuity and holding out incentives of more practical expediency, may with advantage take its place ; but those of us who do believe in the all-embracing scope and training implied in a study of that literature, and who would not readily see it eclipsed by the most perfect technical education, or the most complete discipline of the observing faculties, will not be willing to study it in less than its entirety, to look upon it as reaching its fruition only 'in each successive generation,' to seek in it *only* the qualities of energy and 'serious emotion,' or *only* those of balanced judgment, clear and luminous exposition, and unrivalled wit. The palm in the former qualities we may grant to the genera-

tion in which the Edinburgh reviewer wrote, and for which he claims them, but they do not bound the range of our English literature. 'Serious emotion,' more perhaps than any other characteristic of a literature, is apt to have its vagaries, often fluctuating and accidental only. The same review that contains Jeffrey's critique of Swift, in which he expresses his firm trust in the progressing literary taste of his age, contains a review of Coleridge's 'Christabel,' in which the writer speaks with a 'serious emotion,' hardly disguised under an affectedly flippant style. But what is the judgment of this writer for an age of 'serious emotion' and advanced literary taste? That 'the publication of "Christabel" is one of the most notable pieces of 'impertinence of which the press has lately been guilty'—'one of the boldest experiments that has yet been made on the patience or understanding of the public!'—'The thing before us ("Christabel") is utterly destitute of value!' and so on. If the sure advance of literary taste, upon which Jeffrey congratulates himself and his generation, could lead to such a judgment on contemporary genius, can we wonder that it should be slow to recognise the distinctive merit—so entirely different from its own—of the age of Addison and Swift and Pope? A limit in one direction too often implies a limit in another; and the judgment which can find in Swift's genius only that of 'a sensible and polite writer,' which can estimate him as for the most part 'cold, timid, and superficial,' is so oddly constituted, that we can hardly wonder if its Whiggish 'serious emotion' fails to appreciate an emotion which, though possibly not without seriousness, is, like that of Coleridge, hardly so exclusively Whiggish as its own.

Those who come to Swift then—and in our day it is they who must be his chief readers—as one of the standard examples of the literary spirit, are not likely to find much ground for dispute as to the completeness with which he realises that spirit. The part he took, by the 'Battle of the Books,' in the controversy between the Ancients and the Moderns, was no doubt partly forced upon him by the attitude of his patron, Sir William Temple. Temple had committed himself very fatally indeed on the subject of the Pseudo-Phalaris. In the courtly and learned leisure of Moor Park, Temple had ornamented his commonplaces with the fashionable dilettante

scholarship of the day. He had imbibed a sort of aristocratic respect for the literature of the dead languages as that which was closed to the vulgar, and open only to those whose life had always been surrounded with intellectual as well as physical appliances. But the depth and extent of the scholarship which flattered the exclusiveness of the master of Moor Park may be gauged by his citing, as specially distinctive of the spirit of antiquity, the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, and written by some sophist very likely a thousand years after his day. The mistake was speedily and not very tenderly put right by Bentley, and it behoved Temple and Temple's adherents to muster all their forces for the fight, to turn off the attack by an inroad into the enemy's domain. Thus came the 'Battle of the Books,' by which Swift stepped into the arena, with weapons of a finer temper and with a longer reach of arm than any of his fellows in the fray. The criticism was no longer verbal; the assertions were no longer those of courtly commonplace. Instead of that, the whole contest was placed in such a light, that not to the eyes of critics and scholars merely, but to all the risible faculties of human nature, Bentley and his adherents became ridiculous. The vast, but pedantic and arid, scholarship of Bentley is hit off to perfection in the picture of him as he marches in armour, patched of a thousand fragments, that clangs loud and dry with every step, like the fall of a sheet of lead. The dispute has passed out of the arena of Christ Church and Moor Park: there is no longer room in it for the schoolboy conceits of Boyle, for the rasping scholarship of Bentley, for the courtly dilettanteism of Temple. The defence of the Ancients is no longer a defence of aristocratic learning against popular and vernacular literature: it has taken its foundation on the broad basis of humour. Temple's need, no doubt, suggested to his dependant the assumption of his defence; but it did not limit his sympathies, or assign his position in the fight. He is bound to identify himself with Temple's mistake to some extent, and so he describes (doubtless forming his own opinion on the case all the while) the discomfiture of a scholar such as Bentley by a *petit maître* such as Boyle; yet he is unable to repress the covert sneer implied in Temple's being caught with his back turned, and being 'lightly grazed' with Wotton's

shaft. But Swift had a larger share in the dispute than that of a dependant, however valuable to his master he might, as a dependant, be. To us it seems quite evident that, however his advocacy is marred by its personalities and distorted by the necessities of his position, his place was naturally on the side of the Ancients in the dispute. Stript of its accessories, that side represented the protest against the anarchical element in literature. It maintained the standard of classic taste, as opposed to the erratic flights of over-strained originality. To Temple this might be a defence of aristocratic intellectual exclusiveness: to Swift it was the defence of that on which he felt the very existence of literature, as a great force, to depend. That, with all its varieties, a certain adherence to some classical standard, be it ancient or modern, is necessary, was the first principle of his creed, as it is of that of every man impressed with the literary spirit. If we fix upon the finest passages in the book, which are those where there is least of personal reference, we shall find that this is precisely the point upon which Swift insists. The Moderns are ambitious, but they have a 'tendency towards their own centre.' Their short-lived triumph is marked 'by a strange confusion of place among all the books in the library.' The episode of the dispute between the spider—with his web carefully constructed in that corner of the ceiling which he imagines to be the centre of the universe, its material drawn out of his own bowels—and the bee who chances by ill-luck to trespass, to his own detriment, amid the filthy mass, contains the gist of the dispute. Labour as you may, says the bee, after all, yours is merely the 'task which, by a lazy contemplation of four inches round, by an overweening pride feeding and engendering on itself, turns all into excrement and venom, producing nothing at all but flybane and a cobweb.' What you want is the 'universal range which, with long search, much study, true judgment, and distinction of things, brings home honey and wax.' These words extend the range of the dispute far beyond the merits or defects of this or that Ancient or Modern. They apply not merely to the fray between Temple and Wotton, or Bentley and Boyle; they express the very marrow of the truth which literature must always maintain, that excel-

lence depends not on accidental coincidence with the taste of a day or a clique, but upon permanence of duration, upon harmony with the calmest judgment, and, at the same time, the most 'serious emotion' which even the Edinburgh reviewer could achieve.

It is this predominance of the literary spirit which gives to the writings of Swift the most characteristic part of the interest they possess for us. It is this which rescues them as a whole from the danger that besets some amongst them, in the fact that the interest attaching to their subjects is only a passing one. Swift does not interest us as the adherent of Temple in a flimsy controversy, but because he showed how literary merit rested upon no maxims reposing in *gremio magistratûs*, but upon the broad lines that separate what is sound from what is ridiculous in all spheres and for all times. We are not attracted by the political discussion in the tracts with which he pierced the only too chinky armour of the Whigs, or strove to bolster up a decaying government, and preserve them from the ills of quarrels within and discontent without; but because he was the first to show how political disputes could be conducted after a literary fashion, and yet not lose any practical force, or be affected by any of that pedantic spirit which, up to his time, had been held to be the characteristic of the literary politician. We do not need to accept his allegorical picture of the religious attitude of the Roman Catholic, the Dissenter, and the Church of England man, as just, in order to appreciate the marvellous genius of the 'Tale of a Tub': what holds us and commands our admiration is the ease with which the allegory succeeds for the time in achieving its object, be that what it may, and in making all but its own standpoint seem utterly ridiculous.

But although we do not apprehend that there is much dispute as to the position which Swift holds in our literature, and the peculiar qualities that entitle him to it, yet his is a name about which abundance of disputation is likely to gather hereafter, as it has done in the past. Granted, it may be said, that Swift was a brilliant exponent of the literary spirit, did he employ that spirit well? Was it not made the tool of faction, so as to degrade it? Was it not made the vehicle of coarseness so intense as almost to disgust people into a reaction

against that from which ordinary and uneducated, but in this case better judging, taste recoiled? Did it not cover a spirit of hypocrisy, and give a permanence by literary excellence to that which does not really have existence in the human breast? Was he not false to his own heart, false to his political ties, false to the religion he professed? And of writings whose subject-matter is so composed, can any literary excellence allow us to condone the evil and the untruth?

Part of the assumption upon which this accusation is made we may admit to be true, but we must do even this with some reservations. It is true that the highest literary excellence is not consistent with the expression of that which is deliberately and altogether hypocritical and unreal. The most consummate art cannot master or mould to its purposes any but a frenzied partisan or a blind disciple if it refuses to appeal to something naturally and truly, however deplorably, existing in the human heart. It is this want that has broken the force of Bolingbroke's writings, and which, but for the genius which refused, in spite of itself, to be tethered to insincerity by the platitudes of Bolingbroke, might have broken the force of the 'Essay on Man.' But we must go no further than this. In the first place literary excellence does not accept the limitations that may fitly be placed upon us in our social responsibilities. If what it expresses be true, it has fulfilled all we can demand of it. We may regret that it expresses feelings that would be better veiled, or we may regret that human nature is subject to such feelings at all. We may stand aghast at the darkness of the prospect that it opens to us; we may long for some lighter influence to make the shade less deep; but we cannot question its truth because we question its expediency. Besides this, we must beware of the standpoint from which we judge of insincerity. Before we accuse a man of insincere acquiescence in conventionality or custom, we must know exactly the weight which that convention and his acquiescence bear to him. With his estimate of the results of that acquiescence we may disagree; we may believe him to argue wrongly, and we may pronounce his conduct to be socially wrong, and productive of enormous evil. But we are not therefore justified in denying him the merit of sincerity, or at least in laying upon him the accusation of a thorough

insincerity permeating his whole life and distorting his vision. But it is only the insincerity that permeates a man's whole spirit that can affect him in the sphere of literature. As a member of society a man may have no right to put his own interpretation upon conventionalities: his acquiescence, if insincere, may be a political crime. But as an author, all we have to ask is whether his acquiescence has so clouded his vision as to leave him without the power of discerning whether what he speaks comes from his own heart or no. We have nothing to do with the relative degree of moral guilt belonging to social and literary insincerity. We only assert that they are not identical. Voltaire showed little respect for any conventionality which did not command his acquiescence; yet it may be doubted whether an undercurrent of affectation does not more or less mar the effect of everything he has written. Dryden veered round with every change of the political compass, and yet he never lost an honest grasp on what, in his own erratic fashion, he believed for the moment to be true.

But besides this broad distinction which must be drawn between social and literary insincerity, there is another consideration to be met before we can pronounce against the truth and sincerity of any writer. We must not only know the estimate formed by him of the conventionalities in which he acquiesced, and the degree to which that acquiescence affected his judgment of truth generally, but we must also carefully weigh the general tenour of his life. We must seek for any connecting links that may give consistency to that which would otherwise appear ground for a charge of apostasy. We must examine the evidence for such scandals as exist; we must not be blind to palliations; we must sift such facts as may alter the complexion of apparently well-established charges. Our task then is a double one: we have to examine evidence, and we have to put an interpretation, as just as we may, upon the facts which that evidence shall establish.

The views of Swift's life are various, but may be summed up in not many words. Let us see how, when classified, they contrast with one another. Let us begin with the most repulsive picture. Swift, it is said, was born in poverty, and educated by an uncle, to whom his only return was ingratitude and abuse. He went to college only to waste his time in idleness

and foul abuse of those in authority. From Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree with difficulty, he was compelled to fly, owing to rustication. Thence he went to England, where he found an almost menial employment in the household of Sir William Temple, in whose service he ate, in rage and silence, the bread of 'a beggar or a lackey.' Quarrelling with his patron, he left Moor Park for Ireland, to take orders; but finding Temple's assistance necessary, he wrote a servile and fawning letter of repentance, which procured him the service he wished for. Discontented with the drudgery or the tedium of a remote Irish parish, he returned to Moor Park, and remained there till Temple's death. The patronage he had received from him he returned in words of flattery, as insincere as were the offices of literary hack which he had before performed for him; and the stifled hate and scorn he nourished were allowed to appear only in secret, and as it were by stealth. Disappointed in schemes of ambition in England, he left for Ireland, where he settled in a new and somewhat more lucrative charge. To amuse his leisure he invited to reside in Ireland a young woman who had been, like himself, a dependant on Sir William Temple's bounty, and whose heart he had stolen, while he had the opportunity, at Moor Park, but stolen only that he might keep it in a galling and exasperating bondage till she sank to the grave. He returned only to become a political renegade and the tool of those whose patronage, or promises of patronage, had attracted his ambition, or whose friendship flattered his toadying propensities. While their triumph lasted, he bullied and browbeat and toadied: when it came to an abrupt conclusion he retired to Ireland, 'nursing his wrath to keep it warm,' a pitiable object of baffled greed and ambition, requiting mankind for their neglect of his claims by hounding on rebellion and by outraging decency—an apostate to religion, to morality, to his country, to his friends. Before his life came to an end the darkness closed in on an intellect which had been a prey to unsated anger, passion, and disappointment, and his death was a fitting moral for such a tale.

Vulgar deception and hypocrisy, commonplace scepticism, political apostasy of the kind which the weakest and most slavish of the tools of Harley or of Walpole might have

practised, are thus charged upon Swift. This, in some places word for word, is the glib verdict of the Edinburgh reviewer. It is confirmed by some phrases of careless rhetoric in which Macaulay indulges in his essay on Temple. At the very outset we may say that some of these charges had no assignable basis whatever, while the falsity of most of the remainder has now been abundantly proved by Mr. Forster. Misfortune, doubtless, was prepared for Swift before his birth; his father had died seven months before. The widow was left with two children; but in spite of wealthy and influential connections on both sides, Jonathan and Abigail Swift had not been able to make provision during their brief married life for the future. The churlish charity of his uncle Godwin, which grudged what, no doubt, he found it impossible with decency to withhold from his brother's widow, was certainly resented by Swift; but what was given him kindly from the lesser resources of another uncle, he repaid by abundant gratitude. The story of his college career is nonsense; that of his service with Temple, and its terms, exaggeration run mad. On Temple's death he expresses himself in the conventional terms of a decent sorrow; he performs dutifully the thankless task of editing the works of his patron, which no one would read, or, at least, whose readers would not buy them. But in the freedom of private correspondence he does not conceal the fact that Temple was not a little prosy and pompous, and that at times he had had hard work to bear with his humours. He had known and taught Esther Johnson when an infant; she had learned to admire, and had grown up to love him; and what their relation implied, she, open-eyed, accepted. For his political career we shall put forward an entirely different explanation, and one for which it is not necessary to impute to him any ignoble or selfish motive. His misanthropy, modified and tested in the light of well-established facts, will be found to wear an entirely different complexion. But the Edinburgh reviewer not only rests his estimate upon what is false and exaggerated; he never seems to have paused to ask himself if what he assumed was even likely or probable in itself—never to have allowed his imagination to draw a picture of Swift as he was, or even as he might have been.

The picture Johnson gives us, although it is drawn with little sympathy, is yet far different from this. He sees nothing very blamable in his conduct, either as a political partisan or as a clergyman. It is only in the slighter points that he seems to bear heavily on him. His criticism shows not the rancour of one determined to see nothing good, but the impatience of one who sees flaws with which he has, or fancies he has, no sympathy. Swift's parsimony in money matters, his uncouthness or brusqueness of manner, his whims and fancies, his rather ostentatious display of that arrogance to the great which may easily cover a not very dignified self-gratulation on their intercourse—these are the foibles rather than the vices for which Johnson has least patience. Perhaps it was that he felt in himself something akin to them, and in the very nervousness of his determination to avoid them, viewed them with the greater dislike.* The very resemblance which, as Scott remarks, Johnson bore to Swift in 'morbid temperament, political opinions, and habits of domination in society,' might help to stimulate his impatience with foibles so akin to his own. But Johnson does not stoop to the vulgarity of making the tales of slander appear the history of a life, or forget the awe due to misfortune by gibing at the tortures of genius.

Another view is that which we find within bounds in Thackeray, and exaggerated in M. Taine's *History of English Literature*. With the former it occurs in an estimate of Swift as a man; and perhaps in a sketch professing only to catch the salient points of character, for presentation to the audience at a lecture, it is as true as any other. With M. Taine it becomes the basis of a literary criticism, the soundness of which it irretrievably perverts. In the picturesque but lurid glare that he throws round Swift, M. Taine reads all his

* Johnson bears heavily on Swift in little things. The story of a college career, in many respects so like his own, he exaggerates. He sees the evident motive of Swift in lodging in the commonest inns, that of 'surveying human life through all its varieties;' but he cannot deny himself the pleasure of hazarding the guess that it may have been from 'a passion deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling.' He omits to record the common story of Swift's education to parsimony. He records the charge of plagiarism brought against the 'Battle of the Books,' as borrowed from a volume of Coutray's, whose title he quotes quite inaccurately, and of whose contents Mr. Forster's knowledge of the original enables him to show that he (Johnson) was entirely ignorant.

works, which wear to him the aspect, not of specimens of consummate literary art, as we have been wont to regard them, but of the careless and disjointed utterances of a sort of devil-inspired misanthropy. It is strange that the quick tact of a Frenchman did not save M. Taine from the ludicrous disproportion of the opening words of his sketch to the superstructure he raises upon them. He describes the common, but—as Mr. Forster shows—mistaken view of the circumstances under which Swift took his degree. The degree was taken *speciali gratiâ*; and this Swift himself interprets, perhaps partly as a joke, partly with the common affectation of youthful idleness, to mean that which in Oxford phrase would be, ‘He only just got through.’ But at its worst, granting that Swift hardly felt a deep sympathy with the studies in vogue at Trinity College, and did not bear in his college career the character of a very exemplary student, it seems a circumstance hardly capable of preparing us for a crash of stage thunder like this:—

‘This was his first humiliation and his first rebellion. His whole life was like this moment, overwhelmed and made wretched by sorrows and hatred. To what excess they rose, his portrait and his history can show. He had an exaggerated and terrible pride, and made the haughtiness of the most powerful ministers and most mighty lords bend beneath his arrogance.’

All this may be true, we are tempted to reply; but before assenting to it we should like to hear something worse than the story of a boy of eighteen finding himself troubled by a little irksome labour in taking his degree, even if the story itself had any good foundation. Whatever the *specialis gratia* involved, it did not prevent Temple at a later day from recommending Swift as a Fellow of the College, which was granted. Indeed, both the story and the use that has been made of it illustrate admirably the fashion after which most of those who have written about Swift have chosen to deal with him. Assertions have seldom been tested, and little judgment has been shown in the inferences which have been drawn from them. These writers have pictured to themselves a man whose whole nature was a compound of gloom and rage and distempered passion; at war with human nature, trampling on all that others revere, and making a boast of

doing so ; and what they have found inconsistent with the picture they have readily slurred over. Let us take one or two instances of this. We might imagine that few could read the *Journal to Stella* without feeling that here at least the misanthrope can smile, the gloom break, and the universal rage be for a time at least lulled to rest. But hear M. Taine. 'Swift in his gaiety is always tragical ; nothing unbends him ; even when he serves, he pains you. In his *Journal to Stella* there is a sort of imperious austerity ; his compliments 'are those of a master to a child.' M. Taine, we fancy, is the first who has felt them so. Again, in the '*Modest Proposal* for preventing the children of the poor in Ireland from becoming a burden on their parents and their country, and for 'making them beneficial to the public,' in which Swift with mock solemnity advocates the eating of them, we should have thought that only the lighter side of his humour was shown. The paper is not perhaps quite in the present taste ; its illustrations are free, and its language is not always that of the drawing-room of to-day. We might imagine some very weak and very prosaic mother finding the recipe very, very wicked, and thinking the dean a sad, sarcastic, dangerous writer, and one who should certainly never be made a bishop. But that a critic of M. Taine's acuteness should gravely argue that it gives evidence of a deep-rooted melancholy ; should call it 'the last effort of his despair and his genius ;' should find in it 'a cry of anguish' deeper than any in literature, appears hardly credible. The self-conscious strut of a mock solemnity is never for a moment absent. The outside gravity of tone is only preserved enough to keep the humour ; it is never for a moment allowed to become real. In others of Swift's treatises we see the ever-recurring gleam of a real and not merely an assumed hate and anger ; we have glimpses of a gloom and melancholy so far-reaching that they strike home ; but this one, chosen by M. Taine to illustrate his theory of Swift as a despairing misanthrope, appears to us of all the most free from these darker traits. The language, which studiously reproduces the pained but comic earnestness of a butcher or ham-curer recommending his wares, is the very essence of humour. The joke may be ill chosen, and the miseries of the Irish were no very fitting subject for their idol's laughter ; but a joke it cer-

tainly was, and we can most easily account for it as a laugh for once at the expense of the Irish, whose lavish worship Swift never accepted with more than half-jocular scorn.

That there are vast depths of melancholy in Swift's character and in his literary genius, we do not for a moment deny. That the picture of human nature which he himself sees, and to which he opens our eyes, is often one of awful gloom; that there are parts of his history which can only be explained through some terrible mystery, and that that mystery affected his genius, we readily agree. But there are few days so black that they show no rifts in the clouds, and the blue beyond is softer than the clouds, and yet more enduring and more real than they. In Swift's horizon the clouds were thick and dense, but they were often opened to a very clear and very tender light. The picture given us by M. Taine is a very powerful one. He draws in vigorous touches a whole chamber of the human mind which Swift, perhaps more than any one else, explored. But when he bids us believe that Swift dwelt for ever in that chamber himself, we must refuse him our belief. The human brain is not strong enough, the human heart is not tough enough to breathe that atmosphere without rest and without change. To ask us to believe that Swift's character was summed up in those few lurid strokes, is to bid us accept a figment of imagination for a reality, an abstract of one side of human nature for a real man; it is to call upon us to acquiesce in an account to which neither the facts of Swift's life nor the characteristics of his writings give credibility.

In his first volume Mr. Forster does not give, as indeed it was not fitting that he should, a general estimate of Swift's character. But he lets us see quite enough of his method of testing facts, and of his manner of drawing inferences from them, to indicate in what direction his estimate will lie. 'The 'graver time' in Swift's life, as Mr. Forster well calls it, hardly falls at all within the period dealt with in this volume. The volume ends with the beginning of 1711, when Swift was still rising in the political world, when he was the chosen confidant of the ministry, and all but a cabinet minister without office. It leaves to be still dealt with, the fall of the ministry to which he had linked his fortunes, and the disappointment of his own hopes. There is still the long exile—for such he held it—in

Ireland, and the dark story of his love and its ending. We have still to see him the idol of the nation that was his only by accident of birth, and whose defence he assumed by little more than the accident of opportunity. The pay for that defence was an unquestioning worship which hardly any other nation could have rendered, and which grew no colder by the insulting scorn with which it was received. Mr. Forster has not yet had to review the work of greatest range that perhaps Swift ever wrote, in which his satire was no longer against a certain literary clique, or against certain religious vagaries, but against human nature itself. The *Travels of Gulliver* were not published till fifteen years after the date at which Mr. Forster leaves us. The most distinctive parts of Swift's life, therefore, in each direction—the cloud that deepens round the story of Stella near her death, the period of his most concentrated and sustained political effort, and the publication of the book in which he has penetrated most deeply into the dark places of the human mind—are left untouched. But the groundwork for that graver time is here laid. The circumstances of Swift's early life are investigated, and the exaggerations and mistakes that have prevailed regarding it are dispelled. We see him, not as he might have been had he fulfilled the lurid imagination of some of his biographers, but as he actually was. And though Mr. Forster has here given us no comprehensive summary of his judgment on Swift, yet we have enough to enable us to conjecture more. That Swift had neither an unkindly nature, nor an unkindly introduction to the wider spheres of life, he is at some pains to show. He is the first to give prominence to the character of Swift's mother, and to show that in her there was no exception to the common rule, that the mothers of great men are often women of marked ability and force. He describes Swift's life with Sir William Temple, and shows that neither his continuance there argued so much servility, nor his abandonment of the post so much angry discontent and repining, as has often been supposed. He shows how he refrained from entering the Church till certain scruples were removed, and upholds his sincerity to her cause after he had entered her service. He shows how his first step into the arena of political controversy did not commit him to such personal attachment to and admiration

of the Whig leaders as might make his subsequent desertion of them involve the deep political apostasy which has sometimes been attributed to him. He shows how his change of sides was preceded by a grave doubt of the wisdom of prolonging the war, as the Whigs were doing; and that when the change was made, the less purely national interests that guided him were those that belonged to the cause of the Church he served rather than such as were selfishly his own. He shows that the friendship for Harley and St. John which he cultivated was neither prompted entirely by the gratification given to his pride and vanity, nor wanting altogether in an object worthy his pursuit from motives of higher sympathy. He shows how slowly, and as it were rather by the exigency of party than from any wish of the men themselves, the friendship between Swift and Addison was drawn asunder. He touches, too, upon the early phase of Swift's connection with Esther Johnson. He has shown us already how Swift was not unlike other young men in that boyish attachment that means nothing but shows no unkindly heart. His mother's fears of an unwise marriage were apparently aroused, but Swift's sound sense put an end to all such apprehensions. A more serious attachment was made the occasion of much impassioned language; but it, too, died out, whether by neglect on the part of the lady, or by 'the expulsive power of a new affection,' because by this time that attachment for Esther Johnson, whom he had first known and taught as a child of seven or eight in Sir William Temple's house, was formed. It was an attachment which lasted till his death. From about his thirtieth year Stella was Swift's type of all women. Of the darker clouds that passed over the story at a later day, Mr. Forster has now nothing to say. But he does give us so far his view of that connection, and in doing so, to a certain degree, is forced to anticipate. To the belief that there never was, according to the much-disputed story, any marriage, Mr. Forster distinctly states that he adheres; but as his narrative has not reached the year to which tradition fixes the marriage, if it took place, he is not called upon as yet to give us all the evidence for such a belief. But with regard to the whole relation between Swift and Stella Mr. Forster is very clear.

'The limits as to their intercourse expressed by him, if not before known to her, she had now (when her residence in Ireland began) been made aware of, and it is not open to us to question that she accepted it with its plainly implied conditions of Affection, not Desire. The words, 'in all other eyes but mine,' have a touching significance. In all other eyes but his time would take from her lustre; her charms would fade; but to him, through womanhood as in girlhood, she would continue the same. For what she was surrendering, then, she knew the equivalent; and this, almost wholly overlooked in other biographies, will be found in the present to fill a large place. Her story has indeed been always told with too much indignation and pity. Not with what depresses or degrades, but rather with what consoles and exalts, we may associate such a life. This young friendless girl, of mean birth and small fortune, chose to play no common part in the world; and it was not a sorrowful destiny, either for her life or her memory, to be the Star to such a man as Swift, the Stella to even such an Astrophel.'

Upon such a theory as this, little remains of that charge of being 'the destroyer of the women that loved him,' which has been so often and so lightly brought against Swift.

Thus, although Mr. Forster has not yet had to deal with those parts of Swift's life which have been the chief stumbling-blocks to his biographers, it is easy to see what the character of his verdict on these will be. They may well be stripped of much exaggeration, and from what remains inferences by no means fatal to Swift's honour and honesty may be drawn. For an estimate of the whole of Swift's life, Mr. Forster's guidance in the early stages may at least serve to set us on the right road.

The first question that arises about Swift is one to which much importance has been attached, viz., how far he adhered to the religious opinions professed by him as a clergyman of the Church of England. On the one hand it has been asserted that his whole life was one unbroken hypocrisy; that he was, as Thackeray puts it, strangled in his bands and poisoned by his cassock, which was to him a sort of Nessus-shirt. On the other hand much has been said to show that Swift reverently held the dogmas which he professed, and having entered the Church, after carefully overlooking his position, devoted himself to the maintenance of her creed. It requires no deep search into Swift's writings to discover both themes and treatment likely to shock the religious feelings of most of mankind. But, on the other hand, he has in more than one treatise brought the whole weight of his sarcasm to bear upon the pro-

fession of scepticism and atheism ; and for those who ventured to dissent from the discipline or doctrine of his own Church he professed a genuine hatred, and forcibly attacked the weak points in their position. He wrote a scheme for the advancement of religion, of which it was said that the author was a man acquainted with the world, who would go to heaven with a very good grace. But in truth it would perhaps be more reasonable to ask whether Swift deserves or would have regarded either the praise of common orthodoxy or the blame of vulgar scepticism. 'Swift's,' says Thackeray, 'was a reverent, 'was a pious spirit, because Swift could love and pray,' and, we might add, could think. Thus far we may know of his relation to religion in its simplest form. But who shall decide what was the binding force on Swift's conscience of the doctrines of the English Church, held, as he saw them held, by the bulk of the clergy of his day. The Church was to him, as to his contemporaries, far more of a political corporation than of a religious body. Such had been the effect of a century of political attitudinizing, such the outcome of the alliance struck first between James I. and the High Church party. We are not concerned to defend or to discuss the policy of such an establishment : it is enough to point out the character it bore, and the way in which that character loosened its hold on the consciences of thinking men. Swift attacked the Dissenters, but rather because of what he saw in them that outraged decorum or common sense, than because he was speculatively opposed to their tenets. In the 'Tale of a Tub' he is not concerned to consider the grounds of Jack's action : he errs, as Peter errs, in not holding to the golden mean that Martin chooses, a mean so consonant with common sense, so politically convenient. 'The want of a belief is a defect which 'ought to be concealed,' he plainly says, 'when it cannot be 'overcome.' He defends the Christian religion, but it is from a contempt for the vulgar and blatant forms of popular infidelity, in all its utter vanity and misconception, rather than from a sincere feeling for the doctrine he defends. It was the wretched weakness, the inflated conceit, the inherent cowardice that this infidelity covered, which stung his sarcasm. It is only a varied form of conventional religious hypocrisy, and for both Swift feels a consuming hatred. In the True and Faithful

Narrative,* the lady who in her consternation sends for the prophet Whiston, although she had before 'been addicted to 'all the speculative doubts of the most able philosophers,' is described in the lines just preceding those where we have the lady who, having made up her mind to the institution of prayers in her household, puts it off till the next day, 'reasoning that it 'would be time enough to take off the servants from their 'business (which this practice must infallibly occasion for an 'hour or two every day) when the comet made its appearance.' Swift's religion, in truth, stood above and outside of the doctrines which contained the not very sincere creed common in his day. The degree of blame which attaches to acquiescence in these forms, it must be for each to determine; to us it does not, in all the circumstances, seem very great. Religious hypocrisy he saw through and scorned, and the trammels of religious narrowness never greatly galled him. But the main force of his attack is directed against what he found common in his day, political intrigue which took the form of religious dissent—and shallow vanity which took the form of free-thinking. Yet though a mind like Swift's might stand above doctrinal forms of religion, there are times when the darkness gathers round, and perforce even minds like his seek refuge in the kindly ways that bring consolation to their fellow-men. Swift never neglected religious exercise, but as far as possible he resorted to it by stealth. Partly perhaps he dreaded the growth of conventional hypocrisy; partly he felt that his religion was only outwardly that of the bulk of his fellow-worshippers. And yet he craved for sympathy. In his later years, foreseeing the approach of madness, he used to pray to be taken from the evil which he saw must come. Who shall presume to gauge what religious feeling underlay the unutterable sadness of that despairing, lonely prayer?

From Swift's religion we pass to the question of his political career. Here too he has been accused of inconsistency that amounted to absolute breach of faith. After adhering to the Whig party he basely deserted them, and, a political turncoat, sought the patronage of the Tories, which he was prepared to

* 'A true and faithful narrative of what passed in London during the general consternation of all ranks and degrees of mankind, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday last,' &c.

pay for with writings whose bitterness evinced the genuine rancour of a renegade. Now it would be rash to assert that Swift's political career is in any way very creditable. Were the conduct of public men regulated on the principles which he followed, the result would be of the kind for abundant illustration of which we would not have to go beyond his own age. But before we pass a sweeping denunciation, we must look at all the circumstances. What were the ties of party, to which he was expected to show such allegiance, to a man like Swift? How far did they comprise his views of politics? No more than the doctrines upheld by the bench of bishops comprised his religious views. From beginning to end of his political career nothing is so often repeated as his hatred of the curse of party. Grave expostulation, indignant invective, contemptuous sarcasm, are all poured out against it. He feels that it has disjointed the age, that it breaks the ties of friendship, and makes men blind to justice or to common sense. But a man cannot always choose the tools with which he has to work, and few are high-minded or scrupulous enough to abstain from the fray because its instruments are not those he would himself most reverence or admire. Swift had to serve as a partisan or stand aloof altogether. He chose the former, and in this, as in all else, he followed no half measures. It was not in his nature not to throw that intensity which Mr. Forster justly considers one of the chief characteristics of his satire, into all that he did. In a hand-to-hand struggle we don't measure the weight of our blows, we don't distinguish greatly upon whom they fall. The struggle may bring out the worst part of our nature, but for that it is not our nature that is most to blame. In judging of Swift's political career, therefore, we are not careful to estimate the degree to which he sincerely felt the wrong done to Ireland when he wrote the 'Drapier's Letters;' we are not anxious to assign his change from Somers and Halifax to Harley and St. John to purely patriotic motives. It is enough if we can prove that he found, or imagined he found, some basis for the bitterness of his invective; that he never pursued a personal attack merely for itself rather than for the question that hinged upon it; and that if his motives for change were not altogether those of the most exalted patriotism, they were yet far removed from the ignoble selfishness of the servile renegade.

Let us look to a few of his political utterances. The first was that on the Dissensions at Athens and Rome, which was undoubtedly written, and was just as undoubtedly accepted, as a manifesto in favour of the chief leaders of the Whig party, attacked by the rancour of the Tory faction. So much we may admit. But it is further asserted that in it Swift lavished upon these Whig leaders the most flattering comparisons, and wrote of them under the thin disguise of the most respectable names of antiquity. This present flattery, as well as his subsequent attacks, were prompted merely by a selfish ambition, and the sudden transposition is held effectually to dispose of his claims to political integrity. We are concerned now only with the first part of the accusation, that which relates to the tract itself. Did it involve the direct flattery that is implied, or was Swift's object in that flattery one of personal aggrandizement?

For ourselves, we can find in the tract little beyond a calm but indignant protest against the excess of party spirit. The warning that is drawn from the political life of Athens and Rome is one which has its lesson for Whig as well as for Tory. It has no special Whiggishness of tone. That which the writer appears to dislike most is what he calls the *dominatio plebis*. Undoubtedly the lesson bore most heavily at that moment upon the tactics of the Tory majority; but there is no special attack upon their principles, only upon their present factious prosecutions. Next, with regard to the personal identification of the names drawn from antiquity with the prominent leaders, whose purpose it served, Mr. Forster says most conclusively:—

'The charges which have been based upon it, of having afterwards turned against the men whom it had compared and identified with such faultless heroes as Aristides, Themistocles, Pericles, and Phocion, are simply not true. It has no such strained comparisons, for its applications are in no respect personal. With perfect truth Swift says in it: "I am not conscious that I have forced an example or put it in any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it."'

To this we may add that the number of names is not even identical with that of the Whig leaders, and Swift's accusers have been sorely put to it to distribute six names over four persons. Nor is the description itself entirely flattering.

Themistocles, who is taken to represent the Earl of Orford, had 'somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour.' Pericles, the representative of Halifax, was accused of 'misap-
'plying the public revenues to his own private use.' 'His
'accounts were confused, and merely to divert
'that difficulty and the consequences of it, he was forced to
'engage his country in the Peloponnesian war.' The exact identification must have been embarrassing both to the flattered and to the flatterer. Add to this that any set comparison is only introduced apparently as an afterthought in the close of the chapter on Athens; that in what is said of Rome there is not one word of personal reference at all; and the meaning which it has been attempted to fix upon this tract appears to have amazingly little foundation except in the imagination of Swift's accusers.

Let us take another tract, perhaps even more characteristic, and written when Swift's position was entirely changed. It was not published till after its occasion had gone by, but it can still serve to show how far there was an identity of political feeling between the earlier and the later times, however much the outward relations of Swift had changed. In judging of this we must not lose sight of a point which is distinctive of the bulk of Swift's political tracts, and of this among them, that they were really not so much oburgations of political opponents as admonitions to political friends. If we keep this in mind in judging of them, the bitterness, nay, the injustice of the invective appears as nothing but the dress which was to make unpleasant advice more palatable by abuse of others.

The sum of the piece is this. Party spirit is no doubt an unmitigated evil. We have never concealed our opinion that it is false and vain: it fosters the worst passions and it prevents the free action of talents which might serve the nation usefully. But because party spirit is bad, we have not on that account the power to disregard it. Having chosen a line of policy we must keep to it, only let that policy be in the first place clear and decided. Let there be no doubt as to its intention, no darkening of counsel to adherents who have a right to know it. Do not believe that you will gain more by stratagem than you will lose by having a reputation for

chicane. Nay, more than this, your action must be firm. You must not encourage opponents, nor attempt their conciliation. You will gain only their ingratitude and contempt. 'Let all schisms, sects, and heresies be discountenanced, and kept under due subjection, *as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution*. Let the open enemies of the Church (among whom I include at least Dissenters of all denominations) not be trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power.* Let the army too be regulated and made amenable to the dictates of your policy, and so mended as to be fit for the trust reposed in it. But while you are clear and decided in policy and firm in action, while you shape your tools to your purposes and give no encouragement to your opponents, you must at the same time be moderate. The exaggerations of high Tories are only less dangerous than the schisms of intriguing Whigs; but the former may be dealt with, the latter cannot without injuring our own self-respect. Above all, let us have no tampering with the Protestant succession, let us be steady in our support of the Hanoverian family. Let us offend no scruples by loudly proclaiming that succession to be necessary and desirable on any abstract principle, and in order to destroy any notions that are dear to many who might help us; but let us maintain it only on the ground that it is necessary for the maintenance of the Protestant faith. 'Let us,' and these are the most pregnant words in the whole treatise, 'put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can.'

These doctrines may be not only inexpedient but absolutely dangerous. They may involve, as Jeffrey thought the proposal about the army did involve, an appeal to civil war. But in the first place they are no more extreme than those to which many of the opposite party were ready to resort. The remodelling of the army was not one hundredth part as dangerous a use of faction as the proposal of the Whigs to give the command of it to the Duke of Marlborough for life. But however that may be, we fail to see how they could not honestly be held by the same man who wrote the 'Dissensions in Athens and Rome.' They are the words and the opinions of one who had accepted the galling bonds of party when these

* Works, by Scott, vol. v. p. 246.

bonds were worst. His judgment may be thereby perverted, his genius may be given to the support of that which his calmer reason would have condemned; but, save in the proof of such partisanship, we see in them nothing of moral turpitude, nothing of renegading rancour.

And now let us consider the circumstances of the actual change, on account of which the charge of political apostasy has been laid upon Swift. 'We do not believe,' says Jeffrey,* 'that there is anywhere on record a more barefaced avowal of political apostasy, undisguised and unpalliated by the slightest colour or pretence of public or conscientious motives. . . . His only apology, in short, for this sudden dereliction of the principles which he had maintained for near forty years is a pretence of ill-usage from the party with whom he had held them—a pretence which, to say nothing of its inherent baseness, appears to be utterly without foundation.' Now, in the first place there is, we believe, a considerable distinction between a dereliction of principles and a desertion of party, which the Edinburgh reviewer chooses here to confound. Unless the former be based on an honest change of opinion, it stamps a man with shame. But desertion of party is a very different thing. Party may find in itself an embodiment of principle which others fail to see in it. Unrequited service may not be the highest, but it may be a very reasonable, motive for deserting the party responsible for it. A man may find himself able to adhere with tolerable consistency to his opinions outside the sphere of the party whose ingratitude he has felt, and whose entire representation of his own principles he may have cause to doubt. Were Marlborough and Godolphin, or even Somers and Halifax, the be-all and end-all of politics to Swift? But what proof have we that a consideration of ill-usage entered strongly into Swift's motive for a change of position? Except what arises from his own common habit of exaggerating what might tell against himself, and from the rancour of the hirelings of the other party, absolutely none at all. It is strange to find a man's dishonour based upon words of his own, spoken half in playfulness half in sulkiness. But this is what is done by Jeffrey. It is strange that he should not see

* 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. xxvii. p. 12.

the effect of the words which he himself quotes, and which show us just what Swift thought of this charge of ratting. 'The Whigs think I came to England to leave them? And 'who the devil cares what they think?' Are these the words of a conscious renegade, or of one who thought party a sham in which, to his misfortune, he had acquiesced, and whose ties shall as little fetter his action as its tenets comprised his own principles? Had Swift read the attack of the Edinburgh reviewer, who can say what his answer might have been?

But granting that Swift did, to some extent, change his views as to Whig principle, and not merely shift his position in the confused and ill-regulated fray, had he no other ground for doing so than selfishness or caprice? What were his views towards the Whigs and their views of him before this? They had ill-used him 'because I refused to go certain lengths 'they would have me.' Their violence had disgusted him. They had pursued certain measures which he had distinctly discountenanced. The removal of the Test in Ireland may have been expedient, but Swift had not thought so, and he had openly stated his disapproval. The appointment of Lord Wharton as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Swift had looked upon as an insult to that country, and an outrage upon all decency; and Repeal of the Test for the sake of soothing tender consciences had not been more palatable to him from the advocacy of one stained by every vice beyond all others in a most profligate age. The expediency of continuing the war Swift had early begun to doubt. 'We must have peace, let it 'be a good or bad one,' he says, some time after, in his journal. But the Whigs stood committed to war. Lastly, what were his views of the crisis? Did he leave honesty and the Whigs for dishonour and reward among the Tories? 'The nearer I 'look upon things,' he says,* 'the less I like them. . . . 'The ministry (of Harley and St. John) is upon a very narrow 'bottom, and stands like an isthmus, between the Whigs on 'one side and the violent Tories on the other. They are 'able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship is too 'rotten, and the crew all against them.' Is this the language that a man would hold in his own closet who had deserted

* Works, by Scott, vol. ii. p. 196.

the party to which his principles bound him, and had linked himself with that which offered him patronage and reward instead of sympathy and honour?

We believe that, however mistaken and disastrous Swift's political career may have been, the charge of profound political apostasy is absolutely baseless. But even were we to set aside all the difficulties he had found in adhering to the Whigs in these last years of their supremacy, and look only to motives of a less purely political kind for the change, yet were these motives selfish? Distinctly not. The main ground upon which Swift's discontent with his own treatment by the Whigs rested was not a personal one. That he could not have got preferment for himself, had he studiously sought it, is incredible. But he chose to throw all his political influence into a demand for the remission of the First Fruits to the Irish Church. In answer to that demand he was met by evasions, and delays, and delusive hopes, doomed from the first to disappointment. On his joining himself to Harley and St. John, this was his first demand. Obtrusive offers of personal reward he steadily and with even overdrawn brusqueness refused. Into the claim for the First Fruits he merged, for a time at least, all his efforts. No doubt a certain amount of personal pride was concerned in the result, and not quite unnaturally. But he cared little to obtrude his own part in the success of the application, and the ingratitude with which it was rewarded he meets philosophically in his letter to Stella. 'So goes the world,' he says, 'and so let it go.' The vast influence which soon fell to Swift's share no doubt gave him gratification: he would not have been human had it not. But what surprises us throughout the whole of this, the most brilliant epoch in his career, is not the greed or ambition that he shows, but the little he asked, and the still less he got. Jeffrey speaks of his preferment in the Church as what far exceeded his first expectations or his deserts: it is surprising that he did not add his abilities. The ablest service that any political party ever received was rewarded with a post worth about £600 or £700 a-year; the greatest genius that the Church of England ever counted amongst her clergy was banished to an Irish deanery, while Tenison was archbishop of Canterbury. Truly it is not surprising that the Edinburgh reviewer should

'really recollect no individual less entitled to be either discontented or misanthropical than Swift.'

Passing from these more or less personal questions, we come to one which affects more directly our estimate of Swift's writings. These, it is said, express a misanthropy so black and gloomy as to argue a heart at war with all humanity. By recording such feelings he has given them a permanence which they did not deserve, and which makes his writings a curse rather than a blessing. We do not mean to rebut this by asserting, as has been asserted, that in these writings, in the black picture of human nature which he draws, Swift meant to work any great reform and to purge mankind. Genius seldom cares to write directly with a purpose, and of all men Swift has least of the reformer about him. But to appreciate the misanthropy that runs through his writings, and an exaggerated view of which has produced the estimate of M. Taine to which we have referred, we must understand the peculiar qualities of Swift's humour.

The words in which Mr. Forster speaks of the 'Battle of the Books' describe, not unfitly, one side of all Swift's humour.

'There is not in short a line in this extraordinary piece of concentrated humour, however seemingly filled with absurdity, that does not run over with sense and meaning. If a single word were to be employed in describing it, applicable alike to its wit and its extravagance, intensity should be chosen. Especially characteristic of these earlier satires is what generally will be found most aptly descriptive of all Swift's writings, namely, that whether the subject be great or small, everything in it, from the first word to the last, is essentially part of it; not an episode or allusion being introduced merely for itself, but every minuteest point not only harmonizing or consisting with the whole, but expressly supporting and strengthening it' (p. 95).

This intensity and concentration which are such characteristic excellences of Swift's humour, are at the same time the parts of it most dangerous to him who wielded them. Swift's was not the genial easy humour that accompanies the quiet laugh, or the grave half-pathetic smile of Addison or Steele. He had none of the gaiety that makes Goldsmith's humour a source of pleasure to himself and others. He knew nothing of those 'sentiments which,' as the Edinburgh reviewer tells us, 'it is usually thought necessary to disguise under a thousand pre-

'tences'—or of the truths 'which are usually introduced with 'a thousand apologies.' Intellectually, Swift could not be blind to reality and truth however hidden; by temperament, to hide what he saw was utterly impossible to him. Human nature stood before him stript of all its seemly trappings, hideous, contemptible, in utter nakedness. To his consummate clearness of vision there was no deception that could prove a veil. It was pierced through with the ease of the lancet laying bare the nerves, and the stupid uselessness of the subterfuge only added to the mockery of the show. And he had the gift besides of unrivalled clearness of language, which served to lay before his reader the whole truth of the vision that he saw, unexaggerated by any false rhetoric, unsoftened by any drapery of words. His style is calm, cold, unimpassioned as a piece of sculpture; with no tawdry ornament, no mannerism, no slovenly ambiguity. Human nature was not flattered by the sight presented; but, in truth, her shocked recoil was the best tribute to the genius that laid her vices bare.

No, there is nothing of the moral teacher in the hand that wields that pitiless scalpel. The reformer draws the hope that nerves him to his work from a sanguine blindness that was denied to Swift. The view of human nature, savage amid civilisation, with all her possibilities of unmeasured ill softened, but not uprooted, by centuries of philanthropy and toil, is not what animates those who struggle for only a little good. To feel the littleness of the good and the vastness of the evil ever before him, would shake the nerves of the most steadfast martyr, and make the tongue of the most fervid preacher dumb. But upon this sight Swift could never close his mind's eye; and, sleepless himself, he could not suffer others' sleep.

The power that could create real humour, which the world would know for such, out of this grim material, was even more marvellous than the clearness of vision itself. And yet it is unquestionably there. *Gulliver's Travels* contain the intensest tragedy the world has ever listened to, and yet perforce the world must laugh at its own pitiful discomfiture. For a century and a half it has amused our children and given food for laughter to our men. The movement of the whole is so easy and so light, that we hardly notice that, with

the writer, we are actually scorning ourselves, casting down our cherished idols and trampling them under foot. He never loses our sympathy for one moment. He leads us step by step, till we actually admire his majesty of Brobdingnag when he passes this verdict on us : ' I cannot but conclude the bulk ' of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious ' vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the ' earth.' When we have seen ourselves in the Yahoos (who still want the crowning malady of reason), how ready we are to recognise the good sense of the Houyhnhnm's reflection, ' How ' vile, as well as miserable, such a creature, with a small proportion of reason might be.' How proud we feel when the superior Houyhnhnm honours our race in Gulliver by gently raising his hoof for him to kiss ! Human nature does not learn to amend itself, but it cannot avoid knowing itself through humour like this. Take again the True and Faithful Narrative to which we have before referred. Here is human nature in expectation of the immediate summons to the Judgment Seat—not so much as it might be, but as Swift persuades us he actually saw it. What does this laughter tell us ? Miserable wretches, what is your religion ? A rag, for which the most drivelling imposture, the most insane superstition serves you just as well. What is your virtue ? The coward fear of ill, that bade the miser, in prospect of the comet's advent, refund half-a-crown apiece to those he had cheated, and appear for the nonce a true penitent in all but charity to his neighbour. What is your boasted reason ? Nothing but the obstinacy of Zachery Bowen the Quaker, who refuses to believe the common dissolution, only because none of the brethren have had a manifestation of it. Like slaves, you are only cowed by fear. Once that is gone, ' the world went on in the old channel : they ' drank, they whored, they swore, they lied, they cheated, they ' quarrelled, they murdered.'

The humour is there, but it is not the kind that brings its possessor happiness. That clear pitiless insight seared the eyeballs that gazed as much as it shamed that they gazed upon. Swift was a misanthrope, but after his own sort. He did not hate men so much as mankind. It was not envy so much as the shadeless perspicuity of his vision that was the basis of his misanthropy. It is not the misanthropy of a

Caliban or a Mephistopheles. It is that which finds a response in the heart of every man who thinks or feels at all. Thackeray was himself accused of cynicism, but he was a cynic only as genius is cynical in its sympathy. Swift's misanthropy was cynicism grim even to despair, but his hatred of mankind was bitter only because he felt what love for his kind might be.

He has not told the world how he felt this last. Genius rarely turns to us all its facets; it vouchsafes a heedless glimpse of one aspect, the rest it carelessly withdraws. But have we no means of knowing that other side? Was the boon companion of St. John always a cloudy misanthrope? Could the friend of Pope in the weakness and fretfulness of ill-health, know nothing of tenderness or gentle care? The man whom Addison calls the 'most agreeable companion, the 'truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age,' was he always a hater of his kind? Steele knew him otherwise when he describes that 'turn of conversation' that made his company 'very advantageous.' Pope knew his gentler mood when he saw that 'uncommon archness' in his eyes, 'quite azure as 'the heavens'—those eyes in which poor Hester Vanhomrigh saw a look 'so awful that it struck the gazer dumb.' Stella must have known that gentlest mood of all when he shaped his mouth, as he tells her, to chat with her in the little language that she prattled to him as a child of six, and that he never forgot when he had the fate of an empire almost in his hands. And we too may see him as he was when the fits of misanthropy were gone, when he was no longer the merciless satirist, the imperious dictator of his party, but the lover, genuine and simple as lover that has left us his story never was before. Intrigues of court, attendance on this or that great man—what are they all to him? He wearies for the little garden at Laracor, for a sight of Stella, for the simple occupations of his own garden, his canal, and his willow walks. He is tired to death of the hurry and the bustle, the wretched ambition, that only disappoints the hopes that it creates. When he returns home at night, wearied and fagged, the excitement of the strife left behind, then it is that the clouds part and the light of a pure sky shines in on Swift. 'Come and appear, little letter,' says he, as he slips it from under the pillow. 'Here I am,' says he, 'and what say

'you to Stella this morning, fresh and fasting?' Whig and Tory, Harley and St. John, Churchmen and Dissenters, fall into the background: the hand that was strong for the scalpel could be very tender now.

But this was a glimpse which we have, as it were, only on sufferance. Swift did not care that the world should know him as Stella did. The bias of his intellect and his temperament lay towards that so-called misanthropic humour which forms the staple of his work. But such work as this had its natural effect of reacting on its author. However great the gain to us, his genius was to himself a curse rather than a gift. This clear vision and its forced employment were no kindly task. 'He feels angry and surprised at men's indifference to what appears so clear to him, and yet he craves for sympathy. He would fain cease from working, but 'a person of great honour (who was pleased to stoop so low as my mind) used to tell me that my mind was like a conjured spirit, that would do mischief if I could not give it employment.' He curses what, in the fashion of the day, he calls his muse—what we might call the bent of his genius. To her he owes his restlessness.

'To thee, what oft I vainly strove to hide,
That scorn of fools, by fools mistook for pride;
From thee whatever virtue takes its rise
Grows a misfortune, or becomes a vice.'

'Do not,' he said to Delany, 'the corruptions and villanies of men eat your flesh and exhaust your spirit?''* The gloom and the anger increased together as years went on. 'I find myself disposed every year, or rather every month,' he writes to Bolingbroke in 1728, 'to be more angry and revengeful.' The Edinburgh reviewer is surprised that 'born a beggar,' and endowed with a comfortable income, the like of which he had no right ever to expect, he should have had the audacity to be misanthropical or gloomy. But, alas! there is a sort of gloom that even the comforts of respectable maintenance cannot lighten, and we doubt Harley might have made Swift His Grace of Canterbury without clearing away the despair that

* Delany denied it, with a text of Scripture for his authority; but we are not told what Swift's answer was.

settled heavier and heavier upon him, and into the depths of which, perhaps, even the Edinburgh reviewer could not penetrate.

The exercise of humour so grim as Swift's was of itself no cheering task, but it met a temperament which was only too ready to accept its colouring of gloom. Underneath all that misanthropy, underneath the guise of bitter sarcasm, there lay some hidden cause which is, and must remain, in great part a mystery. Throughout his life something presaged to Swift that time of hopeless madness, with its alternate rage and fatuity. For years before his death he was under a keeper, and at times it required six men to keep him from tearing his eyeballs from his head. Even here the pitiless rancour of accusation pursues him; the chief feature of his madness was, it is said, hatred of the sight of his fellow-men, proving, as is assumed, the truth of the allegations as to his misanthropy. The awe that is due in sight of reason dethroned may well spare apology, even though it does avert slander. These later years belong neither to the accuser nor to the apologist; but that which at last resulted in utter madness, we believe to have affected the whole course of Swift's life. Those lighter maladies, which Swift mentions with such evident fear, must have covered something more fitted to excite that fear than anything his words convey. To this mysterious bane of his life we attribute the dark and sad mystery of Swift and Stella; much, at least, of the restless discontent which pursued him throughout life; and, above all, that utterly loathsome coarseness that stains his works. His coarseness is not that of his own or of any other age. It contains no suggestive allurements, no images of pleasure. It is the coarseness of the man himself; the suggestion of his incipient madness, or its cause, and of that alone.

We have endeavoured to estimate Swift's character and writings, neither hiding the darker traits, nor forcing facts into conformity with a preconceived, although picturesque, idea of unrelieved and lurid gloom. To Mr. Forster's later volumes we must look for the completion of the work he has begun in that now before us, the clearing away all that dust-heap of scandal that has gathered round the name of Swift, and the placing on the pedestal which justly belongs to him

one who, in his own peculiar line, was the greatest genius which England ever produced. When fully known, we may expect that the greatness of that genius may command our reverence; its sadness, not our sneers and wasted diatribes, but rather our pity and our awe.

ART. II.—*Ignatius—His Testimony to Primitive Conceptions of the Christian Religion.*

THE paucity of writings which may with any degree of certainty be ascribed to Christians living contemporaneously with, or immediately after the latest of the Apostles of Christ, naturally invests the Epistles of Ignatius, written so early as A.D. 107—or ten years later, as Pearson supposes—with an interest and authority that cannot well be overrated. It is not the design of the present remarks to discuss the genuineness of the seven Greek Epistles of the shorter recension, as compared with the larger Vulgate or the still shorter and less numerous Epistles of late discovered in Syriac. Interesting and important as this question is, our present concern is with the now commonly accepted Greek Epistles. The object we are mainly concerned with is to examine the testimony of Ignatius on questions of Christian doctrine. It cannot but be a matter of the utmost interest to observe in what form the Christian faith, as handed on by the Apostles, not only in their written remains, but also in their oral communications, presented itself to the minds of their immediate followers. If the result of such observation is to show that no important element of belief, beyond the particulars of the Christian faith which are to be found in the New Testament, was held by these, this result tends largely to confirm our persuasion that the New Testament contains a complete and sufficient record of Apostolic teaching. If we find the New Testament writings continually cited as authorities, and that *memoriter*, and with the familiarity of acquaintance with them which a belief in their authoritative character would naturally produce, we have in this an important historical proof of the claims which they have on our acceptance, and their right to the place they occupy in the sacred canon. Dr. Newman indeed in his Essay,

to be noticed presently more particularly, says that in the shorter genuine Epistles there are only six quotations from the New Testament, and these consisting only of a few words each. This entirely depends on what is meant by a quotation. Formal citations by name, and reference 'to chapter and verse,' as Dr. Newman says, we cannot find, as it was notoriously not the custom of the early Christian writers to make citations in this way. But the Epistles of Ignatius are full of allusions to Apostolic sayings, full of phrases and thoughts borrowed from the New Testament, not by direct copying, but by the writer having his mind full of the sacred writings. One cannot long read Ignatius without being struck by many evidences of this pervading atmosphere of New Testament thought. And if at the same time matters of ecclesiastical organization appear to have received a permanent settlement, which, from whatever causes, had remained in a certain unsettled state during the period of the founding of the Church in different places, and while the newly-planted communities enjoyed the spiritual superintendence of the Apostles themselves or their immediate assistants, such a settlement must justly claim our most profound respect. For we may feel assured that arrangements would be adopted which, if not in accordance with positive provisions, were in the spirit of Apostolic guidance, and as nearly as might be after the example of such arrangements as the Apostles themselves may have adopted. And this is the more probable in proportion as we find a general uniformity in the organization which was soon adopted throughout the Church at large.

Considering how important the testimony of a writer like Ignatius must therefore necessarily be, such an inquiry as we propose to make would under any circumstances be worth the care that might be devoted to it. It is of the greater moment in so far as attempts may have been made by the advocates of different opinions to find countenance for their views in these documents. In particular those who allege primitive tradition as an authority for opinions that are far enough from the views of Christian doctrine presented by Ignatius, and the few authentic writings of others belonging to that early period, are naturally disposed to enlist their testimony on their side, if by any means it may be possible. They are tempted to catch at

slight hints and fancied rudiments of subsequently developed doctrines ; to put a meaning on words which only a wilful perversion, or the tendency to see in the words of another whose authority cannot be denied the meaning that only exists in one's own mind, could ever make them seem to bear ; and then by paraphrastic representations and an ingenious summing up of such fancied and overstrained testimonies to produce an impression on the minds of those who have not the documents themselves in their hands. A writer in the 'Dublin Review' for October, 1873, gives a very interesting and valuable sketch of the evidence in favour of the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles. To that he has prefixed a summary of the testimonies they are alleged to bear to modern Roman doctrine. The remarks we shall have to make on these allegations will, we feel convinced, suffice to prove that we have not unjustly characterized this attempt to make Ignatius speak the language of modern Rome.

Dr. Newman, in his Essay on Ignatius, does not go so far, though we presume to think he finds in these Epistles much more than Ignatius ever thought himself. It is not just to hold a writer responsible for developments of his sayings, even when they are logically deducible from his words. For it might have been that the consequences, if foreseen, would have made him speak differently from what he may have said without perceiving the conclusions that might be drawn from his words. Dr. Newman's Essay was written in 1838, and is now republished in his collected 'Essays, Critical and Historical,' 1871. Whether what he meant by the 'Catholic system,' when he wrote this Essay as an Anglican clergyman, is what he now understands by the same words, it is not for us to say. But the Essay, with one or two incidental remarks excepted, may very well stand as a moderate attempt to find in Ignatius, not only the theology of Nicene times, but rudiments of many Roman Catholic notions. He sets out with saying that those who maintain the Apostolic origin of what he calls Catholicism 'are obliged to grant that it is not 'directly and explicitly inculcated in the Apostolic writings 'themselves.' The works of the next generation, the so-called Apostolic Fathers, he says, are brief, and their statements sententious, and therefore he thinks likely to be understood

differently according to the views of the reader, who will see in them very much what he brings to them himself. That this is eminently the case with Dr. Newman, will be seen by any one who peruses his Essay, and in fact the remark seems intended not so much for the condemnation of other interpreters, as for his own justification. What Dr. Newman brings to the study of Ignatius is not the prepossession of modern Protestantism, but the Catholicism which he says is not in the New Testament, which is not even in the Apostolical Fathers, except as read according to his view of the way in which they should be read, and which he finds in the theology of the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, we should say that even that theology derives a good deal of its significance in some particulars from subsequent developments applied on a like principle of interpretation. This principle of interpreting the earlier writer by the language and the views of much later writers, is an utterly false one, and would neutralize the value of any document as an historical evidence of the sentiments of the writer or his times. Dr. Newman instances a number of phrases in Ignatius which were afterwards of great significance in the controversies that arose from time to time. Some of these expressions sprung up naturally in the course of time, as words always do; some were the simple outcome of the study of the New Testament writings, or the teaching of the Apostles corresponding to those writings; and some arose from controversies that had begun even in the New Testament times, or immediately after. And it would much more conduce to the respect in which the doctrines of Ignatius are to be held, and to our belief in the genuineness of his writings, to treat them as expressing the theology natural to the time, than as an anticipation of subsequent controversies.

Though the argument *ab silentio* is not always to be depended on, it cannot but be justly considered highly significant that in writings of such considerable extent, and touching so exclusively on matters connected with Christian faith and the Christian life, so many subjects of primary importance in later theology should be so entirely passed over unnoticed. We find in Ignatius no trace of a belief in a purgatorial state after death, nor even of simple prayer for the departed; no notice of any penitential discipline; nothing to

give any countenance to the adoration of the Blessed Virgin or other departed saints ; no seeking of their intercession. In regard to all these subjects there is an absolute silence, a scriptural simplicity in the highest degree consistent with a date so nearly following the death of the last of the Apostles. Dr. Newman, indeed (p. 221), sees an apparent recognition of the so-called *Limbus Patrum* in Magn. ix., and of departed saints remembering, or at least benefiting us, in Trall. xiii. As regards the former, whatever may have been the state of the departed before the time of Christ, Ignatius says nothing of it in the place referred to. He does say that the prophets waited for Christ, and as they waited in righteousness, by His coming He has raised them from the dead ;* i.e., plainly given them the hope of resurrection. For of course the resurrection has not yet been attained. As to the latter, he says to the Trallians, 'Purify your spirit, which is mine ; not only now, 'but when I attain to God ; for I am yet in peril.'† Various emendations of this passage have been suggested, and explanations offered. But the meaning seems plain enough, though the way of speaking is remarkable. Ruchat, *apud* Jacobson, translates rightly, 'Purifiez votre esprit qui est aussi le mien.' Such is his sense of the communion of saints, such his love for them, that he counts their spirit his also. I doubt if the sequel exactly represents what Ignatius meant : 'Et non 'seulement il est à présent, mais aussi quand j'aurai obtenu 'Dieu.' This if correct only affirms the communion of saints to extend beyond the present life ; but the more natural explanation is that their care to purify their spirit should continue after he has departed. Even he is still in peril while he lives, and so would they be also until they too have attained to God.

The Epistles are likewise free from all apocryphal tales and old wives' fables, all pretension to miraculous powers, all speculation about the unseen world and the angelic hierarchy. Indeed, as regards this last subject, he disclaims any knowledge. He excuses himself to the Trallians

* Παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν. Perhaps the verb here, being in the imperfect tense, might be translated, 'was raising ;' that is, providing the means of their resurrection. Hefele only sees a reference to Matt. xxvii. 52.

† Ἀγνίζετε ὑμῶν τὸ ἰμὸν πνεῦμα. Hefele, after Cotelierius, reads passively ἀγνίζηται, but the sense is the same.

(chap. v.) for not treating of matters which he calls celestial, and that in a way that leads one to think they had sought information from him about such things. 'Is it that I am 'not able to write of celestial matters to you? Nay, but I 'am afraid lest I might injure you, as being babes.' This is said in such a way as to make it seem that they had complained of his not giving them the information he speaks of. What might have been the nature of that which he could give he does not enable us to say. But we may gather that it would have been very different from their expectation, by what he tells them he could not give. They seem to have thought that, by reason of his approaching martyrdom, he should, like Stephen, have seen heaven opened and beheld the array of the celestial hosts. For he goes on to say: 'It is not because I 'am in bonds that I am able to understand celestial matters, 'and the allocations of angels, and the hosts arrayed in principalities, things seen and unseen. In more than these things 'I am still a learner.' Dr. Newman sees in this an apparent recognition of what has since been called the *disciplina arcani*. But the so-called *disciplina arcani* was only a reserve practised towards unbelievers and catechumens, as regards the higher solemnities of religion, while Ignatius is plainly speaking to members of the Church. In a note, p. 200, he remarks on the phrase κατ' εἰκονομας, used by Ignatius in speaking of our Lord as borne 'by the Blessed Virgin, according to the dispensation 'of God,' that, 'Here is an additional word, which afterwards is 'known to have a technical meaning.' Even if the expression was used by Ignatius in reference to the secrecy of the Divine purpose until the fulness of the time was come, surely that would lend no countenance to the phenacism or economy afterwards practised by some of the early Christians, and recommended by men of Dr. Newman's school, when this Essay was first published. But Ignatius does not appear to have used the word at all with reference to secrecy. Ignatius is also free from all such silly allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament as abound in the Epistle that goes under the name of Barnabas, and has none of the babbling that is characteristic of the spurious writings of early Christian times. With the one exception of the overwrought enthusiasm with which he courted his approaching martyrdom, there is a prevailing cha-

racter of good sense which gives weight to his authority, and makes his testimony, both positive and negative, the more important. This testimony we now proceed to examine in regard to some of the more important matters which have been the subjects of discussion and the occasion of divisions in the Christian Church.

The points in regard to which we propose to examine the doctrinal testimonies of Ignatius may be reduced to the following heads :—

- I. The Trinity and Divinity of Christ.
- II. The Atonement and kindred subjects of Justification and Grace.
- III. The Eucharist.
- IV. The Organization of the Church and Roman Primacy.

I. The testimonies of Ignatius to the doctrine of the Trinity and to the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ, are too well known to call for much additional observation. The important point to be noticed is that, while in respect to accuracy Ignatius stands distinguished from some of the other ante-Nicene orthodox writers, such as Justin, in Ignatius there is not such an exactness and precision of language as might be thought to betray an acquaintance with the phraseology and definitions introduced in the progress of later controversies. It is for instance with some reserve that we should venture to say with the Dublin reviewer (p. 187), that in asserting the truth of Christ's humanity he settled beforehand the controversies that were to arise in the fifth century 'on the union of the two natures, and excludes Nestorianism by anticipation.' As our blessed Lord is frequently called God, God Jesus Christ, and our God, in these Epistles, so also His blood is spoken of as 'the blood of God,' as for instance in Eph. i.,* a phrase which would have its Scriptural justification in the received reading of Acts xx. 28, and lends countenance to that reading as being possibly derived from it, 'The church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' But when the reviewer quoted these words of Ignatius, with a reference to them in a note, he should also have given a reference for the words which he adds, marked

* *Ἐν αἱματι Θεοῦ.*

also as a quotation, 'It is "God who was conceived by Mary"' (p. 357). We know of no such words existing thus *simpliciter* in these Epistles. He probably had in view Eph. xviii. 'For our God Jesus the Christ was borne in the womb by Mary, according to the dispensation of God.'* The reader will at once perceive that there is a great difference between thus saying that Jesus Christ our God was so borne, and saying simply that God was conceived by Mary, without any mention of the human nature. So distinct an anticipation of the *θεοτόκος* would have tended to the disparagement of the genuineness of a writing which purported to be of the early date of these Epistles, rather than to the support of the doctrine which this word was adopted to express. It is true that, as Dr. Newman (p. 206) remarks, 'heresies beset the Church of the first century, which did but re-appear, substantially the same, but in more subtle forms, in the fourth and fifth.' Cerinthianism was the form of error against which the phrases just now quoted were, no doubt, specially directed, for Cerinthus taught that the Logos only occupied or dwelt in the man Jesus for a time, taking up His abode in Him at His baptism, and forsaking Him before His death. This doctrine will sufficiently explain the emphasis with which Ignatius asserts the *πάθος τοῦ θεοῦ* and the fact that 'our God, Jesus Christ, was borne in the womb of Mary.' In Nestorianism the union was permanent and from the commencement of the human existence of our Lord. But the twofold personality which that doctrine taught did not allow of such a phrase as *θεοτόκος*, while the words of Ignatius are suited to the proper form of Cerinthian heresy, and this particular saying of Ignatius would possibly have been accepted by a Nestorian.

While the commonly received reading of Acts xx. 28 is in accordance with the manner of speaking just noticed, another much disputed reading, that of 1 Tim. iii. 16, 'God was manifest in the flesh,' also receives support from one or two references to it by Ignatius. Thus, in a passage to be noticed again presently (Eph. vii.), he speaks of 'God having been made in flesh,'† and in Eph. xix., 'God humanly mani-

* 'Ο γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκποφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ.

† Ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός.

fested.* And this latter expression is more likely to have, been derived from the disputed reading in 1 Tim., inasmuch as it is used in the mention of certain mysteries. 'The virginity of Mary, and her childbearing, and likewise the Lord's death, were unknown to the prince of this world, three mysteries wrought in the silence of God, but to be proclaimed aloud.' He then asks how these were manifested to the world? In reply, he refers to the Star of Bethlehem, attended by the choir of the sun and moon and other stars, and awakening by its strange appearance curiosity and surprise, putting an end to all magic, ignorance, and every bond of iniquity, whereby the ancient kingdom was destroyed, 'God being manifested as man.' The connection between this latter clause and the enumeration of the mysteries, with the explanation which it gives of the Blessed Virgin's childbearing, reckoned as one of them, makes it one of the mysteries by implication, and thus affords strong support to the reading of 'the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh.'

The other passage, in Eph. vii., just now referred to, which is quoted by the Reviewer, p. 357, calls for further remark. 'There is one physician, in the flesh and spiritual, made and not made [begotten and unbegotten],† God become partaker of flesh, in death true life, both from Mary and from God, first subject to suffering, and then without suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord.' The Florentine Codex and the Old Latin read 'begotten and unbegotten,' while some copies of Athanasius, in citing the passage, have the other reading, 'made and not made.' Usage, indeed, exists in favour of this latter, as a possible translation of the former, on the strength of which the reviewer adopts it, though he candidly admits that the former was what Ignatius wrote. The great point to observe is that whatever translation may be admissible, so ambiguous and inexact a manner of speaking was not likely to have been adopted by one familiar with the formula, 'begotten before all worlds,' and it is therefore a note of antiquity in favour of the genuineness of the Epistles. But while the reviewer admits that this is the true reading,

* Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου.

† Γενητός καὶ ἀγέννητος, ὁ, γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος.

though he adopts the more orthodox translation, 'made and 'not made,' for the subsequent clause, 'first subject to suffering, and then free from suffering,'* he gives, without any notice of the change, 'first impassible, then passible.' This of course implies the pre-existence in the Divine nature, and the subsequent existence in human nature. On the other hand, the words of Ignatius say nothing of the preceding impassibility, but speak only of the suffering state here, and the subsequent freedom from suffering; that is, *post resurrectionem*, as Hefele explains in a note. The reviewer, in his note on this passage, says that Rom. iii. makes it certain that Ignatius was not a Patripassian, and that Magn. viii. is still more decisive on this point. This is quite true, while the manner of speaking in both is evidently not adopted with such a special reference to the Patripassian heresy as might betray a later origin of these Epistles.

Both these passages are attended with some difficulty. In Rom. iii. Ignatius begs of the Romans to pray for him, that he may not only be called a Christian, but found to be one. 'For if I be found one, then I may also be called one, and 'then be faithful when I am not visible to the world. For 'nothing that is visible is perpetual.† For the things that are 'seen are temporal, but the things not seen, eternal.' 'Ο γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν πατρὶ ὧν μᾶλλον φαίνεται. We think the meaning of this most agreeable to the context is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, now that He is with the Father, is more widely known than when He was visible on earth. Why so? Because, as he explains in the next sentence, 'The work is not merely carried on in silence, but Christianity 'is a work of magnitude.' The article before 'our God' is against making it the predicate. We might, however, translate in accordance with the order of the words, and with due regard to the article, 'Our God Jesus Christ is the more 'shown [to be such] now that He is with the Father.'

The other passage above referred to (Magn. viii.) says that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is His eternal Word, not proceeding from silence.‡ If Gnosticism had never been heard of, there would have been no difficulty in these words; the

* Πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής.

† Οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον.

‡ Οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών.

Divine Word did not, like vocal words, begin from a state of silence, but was eternally with the Father. But Sige and Logos being successive, though not immediately successive terms in the Gnostic genealogies of Æons, if Ignatius spoke in this way without reference to these heretical notions, the coincidence would, to say the least, be extremely curious, and the Dublin reviewer wisely admits that Ignatius had the Gnostic Silence in his mind. This has been made a ground of suspicion against the Epistles as indicating an acquaintance with doctrines that were not developed in the time of Ignatius. It is certain, however, that the full-blown Gnosticism that was of a later date than Ignatius, was in a forward state of development much earlier. The Gnostic Æons were for the most part generals and abstracts in the current philosophy, invested with personality according to the prevalent tendency of Oriental thought. The New Testament itself gives indications of Gnosticism being already in progress of development in the *pleroma* and 'philosophy and vain deceit' of Col. ii.; and in the 'pseudonymous *γνώσις*' and 'endless genealogies' of the First Epistle to Timothy, to say nothing of 'the sect of 'the Nicolaitans.' That Simon Magnus adopted a species of Gnosticism is also beyond reasonable doubt, and the Dublin reviewer (p 401) has referred to the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus for proof that Sige was one of the Simonian Æons. An interesting point which he has not noticed is that *φωνή* held the place in Simon's series of Æons that *λόγος* did in the later Valentinian, borrowed from Simon with certain alterations. According to the system of Simon the primitive root was called *δύναμις* and *συνή*, from whence spring six roots, in pairs of males and females successively (*Philosophumena*, vi. 18-20). Now if Ignatius had these Simonian Æons in view, we may suppose him to mean, like Hippolytus (Phil. x. 33), that the eternal Son was not Logos in the sense of *φωνή*, or vocal sound that proceeds from previous silence, as Simon taught, but was eternally with the Father, the *λόγος αἰδώς*.

We need not say that Ignatius in these Epistles thoroughly opposes himself to the earliest form of Gnostic error that troubled the Christian Church, one that directly affected the belief in the incarnation of the Son of God, namely the denial

by the Docetæ of the reality of our Lord's human body, which was supposed to be a mere phantom that deceived the senses of men. This arose from the belief of the inherent evil of matter as opposed to spirit, and it was to avoid the difficulty of supposing that our Lord had part in what was essentially evil, that His humanity was regarded as a mere *δόκησις*, or phantasmal appearance. That this error had appeared in the Church during the lifetime of St. John seems clear from the many well-known indications of opposition to it in his writings. The opposition of Ignatius to this form of Gnosticism in clear and distinct terms, with only the one supposed allusion to those forms of Gnosticism in which this was soon absorbed, is a great mark of antiquity and genuineness in these Epistles. It is remarkable that this early idealization of our Lord's humanity should, at least in respect to His miracles and His resurrection, have now again appeared as an extensive form of modern rationalism, though from a different cause.

Dr. Newman (p. 200) finds in the *τέλειος ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος* of Smyrn. iv. an anticipation of the manner of speaking adopted to oppose the Apollinarian doctrine of the fourth century, which taught that our Lord had not a human soul. Though this word was as he thinks well adapted to oppose the Docetic errors of the time of Ignatius, yet he says it was scarcely taken from Scripture, and was uncalled for by the context. The coincidence with the phrase used against Apollinarianism is quite accidental. Ignatius seems not to have had any heresy in his mind, but to have used the words in reference to suffering and death as the lot of humanity, and the complete fulfilment of its condition. He says that 'in order to suffer with him I endure all things, as He that became perfect man, enables me.' The reference seems to have been to our Lord's words, 'the third day I shall be perfected,' or to those of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where we are told that the Captain of our salvation should be made perfect through sufferings (ii. 10); and that 'although he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him' (v. 8, 9). The recurrence of this Scriptural idea through association of thought

gives a natural explanation of the use of a phrase which Dr. Newman says was uncalled for on the occasion.

We have only further to say on this subject of the Trinity, that in Magn. xiii. the three Persons are twice enumerated, not in the regular order of the baptismal formula or the doxologies, but as in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, the Son being first mentioned. This has been noticed as a great sign of antiquity, as mentioned by Hefele *in loc.*

II. We proceed now to the Atonement and kindred subjects of Justification and Grace. In regard to the first, while salvation is continually ascribed to Christ alone and His sufferings, there is nothing more definite than the statement in Eph. i., that Christ offered Himself to God as an oblation and sacrifice for us. He follows in this the simplicity of the Scriptural statements. There is nothing that lends itself to any particular theory as to the way in which Christ's oblation and sacrifice of Himself was effectual to our salvation in regard to God. As regards our justification thereby, Ignatius tells us in Philad. viii., that to him 'the old ways, the uncorrupted old ways, were Jesus Christ, His cross, His death and resurrection, and the faith which is through Him, by which means 'he desired through their prayers to be justified.' So far positively; negatively we find him in Rom. v., after describing the insults and persecutions he had to endure on his way to Rome, saying that from these wrongs 'he derived spiritual improvement, yet he has not thereby been justified.' * The preterite form of the verb in this last clause, nearly an exact quotation from 1 Cor. iv. 4, seems indeed to indicate that, as in the case of St. Paul, the spiritual improvement he acquired was disclaimed as having secured his final justification, rather than with reference to a state of justification generally. And this is the more probable, as he presently adds, 'Now I begin to be a disciple,' and he prays that nothing visible or invisible may envy him that he should attain to Christ by dying. 'Let fire and cross, the assaults of wild beasts, lacerations, and tearing asunder of limb from limb, all diabolical punishments befall him, only that he may win 'Christ.' But in all this there is no more efficacy attributed

* Μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.

to these sufferings as regards the attainment of salvation than in St. Paul's, 'If so be that we suffer with him, that we may 'be also glorified together.' Indeed it is plain from this whole passage that beyond obedience as a disciple of Christ learned by suffering, the only efficacy he attributed to these torments was their expediting his final blessedness. He wishes to enjoy the beasts that were prepared for him, prays that they may be ready, will flatter and encourage them to devour him quickly, and not to stand off in a cowardly manner like some. Haste to win Christ, by which he means the enjoyment of his Saviour after death, is the burden of the whole Epistle. He begs they will not interfere for his release. The altar is ready for him, let him be offered to Him who has brought him from the east to the west. It is good to set to the world, that he may rise to God. He fears only how he may be steadfast to the end, and can only be sure when he ceases to be seen on earth. He cares no more for earthly things. But in all this there is not a word that implies the notion of any satisfaction for his sins by the suffering he was to endure. Indeed, though there is much expression of humility, much sense of weakness, there is no mention at all of his sins, no expression of penitence whatever.

Let us now see how the Dublin reviewer treats this subject. He says, p. 358, that 'of the Protestant theory that the 'merits of Christ are imputed to Christians without infusion 'of grace or necessity for mortification,' no support can be found in the Ignatian Epistles. It is true enough that there is no trace in them of such a theory; but it is difficult to believe that the writer is not well aware that there is no Protestant community that has not taught the necessity of an infusion of grace, and the duty of mortifying the flesh with its affections, and that this is the teaching of Protestants, whether they abstain altogether from the use of such a phrase as the imputation of Christ's merits or righteousness, as not to be found in holy Scripture, use it in a lax and rhetorical way of speaking, or even adopt it in its most literal and objectionable acceptation. What Protestants have denied is that such mortification, and the habitual righteousness that proceeds from the infusion of grace, can avail by way of merit or deserving to entitle men to the blessings of salvation,

which are only due to the unmerited grace of God and the merit of the Saviour's work. Whether as the measure of men's future reward, the proof of the reality of faith, or constituting fitness for heaven, the value of the effects of grace infused, and of the mortification of our evil tendencies, has never been denied, except it may have been by a handful of fanatical sectaries. But as not due to man's unaided strength but to the grace infused, and as in their concrete manifestation imperfect, they are held to be insufficient to give a claim on divine justice by any inherent merit.

The reviewer having thus set up as a Protestant theory what Protestants do not teach or believe, proceeds to say that the Epistles 'breathe from first to last a spirit which is 'either fanatical or simply unmeaning to those who do not 'accept the Catholic doctrine, that grace is a principle of merit, 'that the Christian has to satisfy for his sins by penance, and 'conform his life to the passion of our Divine Redeemer.' To this last clause there is no exception to be taken; it sets forth what Protestants will recognise as a true and holy principle. But the writer does not venture to say that there is a word in Ignatius that affirms either of the preceding principles. Protestants who do not accept them have long enough read and admired Ignatius, without seeing in his writings anything either fanatical or unmeaning. They have indeed perceived in his eagerness to win the crown of martyrdom, and in his courting of suffering and death, so strongly expressed, chiefly in the Epistle to the Church in Rome, where he expected to finish his course, a highly wrought enthusiasm, the natural result of the persecutions he suffered. For persecution when it does not cause defection, tends to create enthusiasm both by its physical and its moral operation. This was aided by the circumstances of his journey, his reception by the Christians in his various resting-places, and the admiration of the deputations from different Churches that waited on him as he proceeded, which had, no doubt, a powerful influence in exciting a person of naturally ardent temperament. But even if we were obliged to regard this as all fanatical or simply unmeaning, unless we should attribute to him opinions of which he gives no indication, and which he could scarcely have failed to express if he held them, surely when so many

have been fanatical or even foolish in some one particular or on some special occasion, who were calm and sensible enough in other respects or on ordinary occasions, we have no right to affirm that this could not have been the case with Ignatius.

The reviewer evidently feels the weakness of his argument, for he tries to prop it by a reference to two passages of Clement, the meaning of which he mistakes, not to say misrepresents. In one of these he alleges that 'we are 'said to be "justified by works," i.e., by works done through 'grace; while the other denies that we are "justified by works," 'i.e., as the context shows, by natural good works.' Now, as justification by faith without works, in some sense, and justification by works and not by faith only, in some sense, are both affirmed in the New Testament, of course faith and works must each have a causal relation to justification, though not the same relation. But it is not with this that we are now concerned, but with what Clement is represented as saying. In the first-mentioned passage (Clem. 1 Cor. xxx.) the works spoken of are not specially regarded as works done by grace in opposition to natural good works, but as deeds in opposition to words; and the justification intended seems to be far enough from that about which divines have disputed. He says, 'Let us put on concord like a garment, being humble-minded, temperate, keeping ourselves aloof from all whispering and evil-speaking, justifying ourselves by works and not 'by words.' Evidently Clement speaks not of our being justified before God or by Him, but of being justified by ourselves, not by fine talk and self-laudation, but by deeds making good our Christian profession and character. As the previous things he mentions are things to be done by ourselves, so also is the justification he speaks of. The participle *δικαιούμενοι* is evidently in the middle voice, and accordingly Hefele translates it so: *Operibus, non autem verbis, nos justificantes*.

Now if we turn to the second passage of Clement referred to, c. xxxii., we shall find that there again the good works by which he denies that we are justified are not 'natural good 'works, as the context shows,' in opposition to works of grace: they are in the highest sense the works of grace. Having spoken of God's goodness to the Jewish people, he says 'all

‘were glorified and magnified, not by themselves, or their works, or the performance of righteousness which they wrought, but by His will. And we therefore having been called by His will in Jesus Christ, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by the faith by which the Almighty God justified all from the beginning of the world.’ Not only the description of the works themselves as done in holiness of heart, but their subsequence to our calling in Christ shows that they are works done by grace. Even by these the called in Christ are no more justified than, before the grace of the gospel, those who were called in Abraham were justified by their righteousness done under the grace of the Old Testament.

From Clement thus misunderstood, we are brought back to another passage of Ignatius which is misinterpreted in like manner. ‘Similarly in his Epistle to the Ephesians Ignatius describes the good Christian as one who receives the grace of Christ *ἐν φύσει δικαίᾳ* in a nature which is (really) just, and the work of salvation as “the connatural work,” because it is effected not by mere imputation of Christ’s merits, but in virtue of a principle which dwells in the soul, and unites itself to the nature of man.’ It would be hard to find in so small a space a greater number of mistakes. It is not true that Protestants think, as it is implied, that the work of salvation is effected by mere imputation of Christ’s merits, and not in virtue of a principle of grace which dwells in and unites itself to the soul. It is not the case that Ignatius speaks here at all of receiving the name of Christ, whatever that may mean. There is nothing, as the Greek reader knows, but the mere English reader might not perceive, to warrant the parenthetic introduction (really), which seems put in to make the latter suppose that Ignatius is distinguishing this nature as really just from a nature just only by imputation. And lastly, what he translates ‘the connatural work,’ even if rightly translated, is not the work of salvation at all. He tells the Ephesian Church how he had heard through God of ‘the much admired name it had acquired by its righteous disposition, according to faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour.’* The good

* Τὸ πολυγαπήτὸν σου ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαίᾳ.

name was evidently the character that Church had gained, not the name of Christ they had received, and they had acquired it by what he calls 'a righteous nature,' *indole probâ*, as Hefele translates, so described because it was in accordance with faith and love in Christ Jesus. And so far as it was in accordance with these it was a really just or righteous nature, whatever imperfections may have still existed in it. But Ignatius says nothing of its being really, as distinguished from nominally, such. He proceeds to tell them that 'being imitators of God, having been quickened 'to new life by His blood, they had fully accomplished the 'brotherly work.* For having heard that he was coming 'bound from Syria for the common name and hope, they had 'hastened to see him, who hoped by their prayer to obtain the 'privilege of fighting with beasts at Rome.' 'The brotherly 'work' is what the context suggests, a good and proper translation of the phrase used by Ignatius. 'The connatural work' would be a legitimate rendering if there was anything mentioned with which it was connatural; but there is not anything such. Archbishop Wake indeed, in accordance with a well-known use of the definite article, translates 'your connatural work:' congenial or kindred would be better English and more intelligible. But this is not what the reviewer intends, and it would be admissible if the context did not suggest the other rendering, *opus fraternitatis*, as Hefele translates, which seems to be clearly the meaning of Ignatius. It will now we think be seen that it would be difficult, as we said, to make a greater number of mistakes, if not of wilful misrepresentations, in so small a space, and all for nothing except to make it appear that Protestants hold a doctrine which they do not hold, and that Ignatius is opposed to them in regard to it.

There is only one more particular that we shall advert to in this part of our subject. It is the assertion in p: 359 that 'Ignatius extols virginity in words which must sound strange 'to Protestants, as a state chosen in honour of our Lord's 'flesh.' If the writer had presented what Ignatius really does say on this subject (Polyc. v.), it would not sound strange to the ears of any reasonable Protestant. First as to the

* Τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον.

meaning of the phrase which he translates 'in honour of our 'Lord's flesh.' * He says in a note that this translation is supported by the Syriac and Armenian versions, but that Hefele's translation, 'in honour of the Lord of the flesh,' may be adopted without prejudice to his argument. In an expression like this, in which the direct order of the words gives a good and consistent sense, nothing would justify a departure from it but something in the context that would clearly indicate that the inverted order was intended by the writer. There is nothing of this kind, and the direct is plainly the proper order in which the words are to be taken. The other savours of a devotion that pertains to much later times, and that has effloresced in the *cultus* of the Sacred Heart. As Christ is the Lord of the flesh as well as of the spirit, and our bodies are the members of Christ, He claims from His disciples that according to their ability they should honour Him with their bodies as well as with their spirits, which are His; and if they can serve Him better, and better do the work He has assigned to them in celibacy than in marriage, it is not strange to Protestants to be told that they should honour the Lord of their flesh by denying even its lawful inclinations for His sake. And that this is the meaning of Ignatius may be seen from the conclusion of this chapter, which relates entirely to the subject of marriage, with only this parenthetic reference to celibacy, after which he returns to marriage and closes by saying, 'Let all things be 'done to the honour of God,' as before 'to the honour of the 'Lord of the flesh.' Beyond this there is nothing in favour of virginity in what Ignatius says. He certainly does not extol it, but rather speaks of it in a very dubious and cautious way. Having mentioned the duties of husbands and wives, he then says, 'If any is able to continue in chastity in honour 'of the Lord of the flesh, let him continue without boasting. 'If he boasts he is lost; and if he thinks more of himself than 'of the bishop, he has perished.' Here we see that far from extolling the practice he does not say a word in recommendation of it, and it is made to depend upon an ability, the possession of which can only be known from trial and experience, a condition which is quite inconsistent with vows or

* Ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς σαρκός.

obligations entered into beforehand, and which implies the liberty of receding from the practice whenever experience shows the ability to be wanting. It further appears that Ignatius considered the practice, even when the ability exists, to be attended by special temptations to spiritual pride and setting one's self above or in opposition to his ecclesiastical superiors. Dr. Newman, p. 121, considers that Ignatius has signified 'his implied praise of virginity, and his implied 'countenance of formal resolves for that purpose, when he 'says, "If he boasts, he is perishing."' We have seen what his praise amounts to, and formal resolves are only implied in the words quoted in so far as that one would not be likely to boast in such a case, if there was not a resolution to maintain the observance of the practice. But 'formal' is an ambiguous word as thus used; it may refer only to a solemn resolution formed by the individual and openly acknowledged as a settled purpose, or it may mean a vow publicly made under the sanctions of religion, and entered into as a matter of irrevocable obligation. Of this latter formality at any rate there is no implied countenance in anything Ignatius says, but rather an implied discountenance. How little credit was attached to the profession of virginity as such may be seen from the salutations at the close of the Epistle to the Smyrneans. 'I salute the houses of my brethren with their wives 'and children, and the virgins that are called widows.' According to 1 Tim. v., widows were employed in the services of religion. Qualified widows however might not always be had. Married women would often be hindered by the cares of the household. If any such were employed in the Church of Smyrna, they are saluted amongst the wives previously mentioned. That there were unmarried women so employed is clear. But instead of their unmarried condition being considered one of special honour, it was covered by the assumed designation and character of widows: as such they appeared to the world, and such they were called in the Church. There is in Grabe's 'Spicilegium,' ii. 24, a fragment ascribed by Damascenus to Ignatius, which if genuine shows his mind in this matter: 'Lay the yoke of virginity on 'no one; for it is a dangerous matter and hard to be maintained, especially when made compulsory.'

III. We come now to the eucharistic views of Ignatius. Beyond the use of the word altar—and how little that signifies we shall soon see—there is not a semblance of any notion of eucharistic sacrifice in these Epistles. By this absence of any recognition of the sacrificial character of the rite the Dublin reviewer feels evidently embarrassed, and to supply the deficiency he has recourse to Clement, who speaks of the bishop ‘offering the gifts,’ and he refers to the Apostolical Constitutions as leaving no room to doubt what Clement was alluding to. We shall see presently what these references are worth. We are told that ‘the distinctness with which S. Ignatius declares his faith in the real presence of Christ ‘in the Eucharist, is of itself proof that our Lord is the ‘victim offered upon the altar.’ Of course this assumes that an altar necessarily implies a victim, as if no other kind of oblation might be offered on an altar. But a singular argument is used to support this conclusion as regards Ignatius. “‘Sacrifice,” “oblation,” and the like, are the ‘terms in which the Eucharist is constantly described by ‘S. Justin and S. Irenæus. Protestants have agreed that, ‘though these Fathers indisputably regarded the Eucharist ‘as a sacrifice, they meant by this sacrifice no more than ‘an oblation of bread and wine offered up to God in the ‘name of the faithful, who presented them to the bishop. ‘This argument, however, was based on the supposition ‘that in the ante-Nicene period no one believed that the ‘bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of ‘Christ. If S. Ignatius recognised (and he certainly did) the ‘Eucharist as the flesh of Christ, that, and nothing short of ‘it, can be the oblation which is made upon the altar.’ Let us state this argument more distinctly. Clement speaks of oblations, but does not tell us the nature of them. Ignatius says nothing of oblation, but uses the term altar. Justin and Irenæus some half century after the death of Ignatius speak of oblation and sacrifice; but they do this in a manner which, as far as these words go, it is admitted, does not necessitate the supposition that it consisted of anything but bread and wine. But then Ignatius believed that the Eucharist is the flesh of Christ, and therefore Justin and Irenæus must have meant more than the oblation of bread

and wine, and that our Lord Himself was offered as a victim by this oblation. And as these Fathers are thus proved to have held this, so must Ignatius also half a century earlier; and, as it is implied, Clement nearly as long before him.

This curious argument rests on a series of unwarrantable assumptions. First it is assumed that what Ignatius thought of the real presence, Justin and Irenæus must also have thought, though this is a subject which, before it was dogmatically formulated, was liable to be viewed in different lights, and to assume different phases in different minds, separated by distance of time and place. Then it is assumed that when Ignatius spoke of the Eucharist as the flesh of Christ, he meant that the elements were materially changed, which is by no means the case, as we shall see. It is further assumed that if Justin and Irenæus held this doctrine as to the consecrated elements, they understood the oblation of them in their consecrated and not their unconsecrated state, though their words do not express such a meaning. It is then assumed that what they thought on this subject, half a century after Ignatius, he must also have thought in his day, though it is notorious that the tendency of thought was towards development, and though the words of Ignatius give no warrant for the assumption, beyond what may be supposed to exist in the use of the term altar. The inconclusiveness of this argument is quite evident without any reference to what Irenæus and Justin actually say, which want of space obliges us to forego.

We may now return to Clement and the reference to the Apostolical Constitutions. Respecting the latter, it is to be observed that a writing falsely ascribed to Clement, and of a date which the great Roman divines, Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bona do not fix within an earlier limit than the time of the Nicene Council, is no authority for the meaning of Clement. The liturgy which it contains appears never to have been used in any Church, though it perhaps presents a tolerably fair ideal of the liturgies in use at the time of its composition. The passage referred to is where the proclamation having been made that all disqualified persons should depart, and that the faithful should be in readiness, the deacons are directed then to 'bring the gifts to the bishop to be laid on the altar.' These are evidently the requisites for the celebration about to com-

mence. No consecration has yet taken place; the celebrant has not even yet put on the proper vestment; and nothing else can be intended than the yet unconsecrated bread and wine, with perhaps, as we may gather from the third of the so-called Apostolical Canons, oil and incense, and at the proper season grapes and ears of corn. This presentation of the unconsecrated elements is still prescribed by the modern *Ordo Missæ*, and has its corresponding oblation, together with the alms, in the Anglican ritual. This reference, therefore, even if the document were authoritative, could throw no light on Clement's mention of 'the gifts' offered by the bishop, beyond what the words of Clement himself express. When he says it would be no small sin to depose from the office of bishop those who have blamelessly and piously offered the gifts, there is no reason to suppose that he meant more than the bread and wine presented by the faithful and offered to God for the purpose of the Eucharist. It is not unlikely indeed, from the word blamelessly, that the pecuniary gifts of the faithful presented simultaneously, as in the Anglican offertory, may have been also intended, and that Clement had in view the blameless and faithful devotion of those to God's service. However that may be, neither in Clement nor in Ignatius does *θυσία* appear in reference to the Eucharist. Whatever they had thought of it as a commemorative sacrifice, there is nothing in either to indicate the same beyond the use of the word altar by Ignatius. Let us now see how far this word, as so employed, goes to justify any inference as to the notion of a propitiatory sacrifice now prevalent.

We first notice two passages from Eph. vi. and Trall. vii. In the former he says that 'unless one be within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God,' and in the latter, that 'he that is within the altar is pure, but he that is without is not pure,' the second clause here being absent from the Greek MS., but supplied from the Old Latin. The foundation of this way of speaking is laid, we have no doubt, in a very ancient usage, according to which the word signifies the area, enclosed space, or *sacrarium*, in which the Eucharist was celebrated, and not merely the holy table. It is to be found in the 44th of the Laodicean Canons, which forbids women to go within the altar, and probably in the third of the Apos-

tolical Canons. Other ecclesiastical writings also afford instances of this usage,* which is not even yet extinct; at least in Ireland the Roman Catholics commonly call the entire sanctuary the altar, as well as the table itself. Mede and others have seen examples of this in Rev. xi. 1 and xiv. 18. However that may be, Ignatius in Eph. v. seems to have meant this area, understood literally. He says, 'If any one be not within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one and another has such power, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church. He therefore that comes not to the assembly is proud, and hath cut himself off;' that is, as it were excommunicated himself. But if the place itself in which the holy mysteries were celebrated was not intended, the word must plainly mean the fellowship of the Church maintained by the assembling therein for communion. And it is worthy of note that the participation of the bread of God (whether by this the eucharistic bread or the general blessings of the Christian religion be intended) is made to depend, at least in some measure, on the efficacy of the joint prayers of the whole Church. In the other passage, Trall. vii., being within the altar is plainly being in the fellowship of the Church, as maintained by acting in unison with the bishop, the presbytery, and the deacons. Clement of Alexandria extends this way of speaking, and calls the congregation itself assembled for prayer the earthly altar.† And a little after, the same writer tells us that 'the sacrifice of the Church is the word exhaled as incense from holy souls.' ‡ Now considering that the word *θυσία* was not applied, as far as we know, to the material oblation of the Eucharist till a much later period than the time of Ignatius,§ it would seem

* Thus in the ancient Greek liturgies the altar is the enclosed space. Within it is the *ἅγια τράπεζα*. It is so also in modern Greek usage.

† *Ἐστὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον, τὸ δέθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακινουμένων, μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην.* Strom. vii. p. 717. Ed. Sylburg.

‡ *Καὶ γὰρ ἴσθιν ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμώμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἅμα τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ Θεῷ.* In Polycarp, ad Phil. iv., widows are called the altar of God.

§ The word first appears in Justin, as applied to the material oblation. And it is to be noted that he speaks of the bread and cup in the Eucharist as sacrifices, using the word in the plural number; a manner of speaking in which the bread and the cup are regarded as separate oblations, which long continued

as if it was this spiritual sacrifice, 'the sacrifice of praise, the 'fruit of the lips' of Heb. xiii. 15, that was the reason why the place where the faithful assembled for the eucharistic celebration, or the congregation of the faithful itself, was called the altar. And the use of the word by Ignatius in this sense belongs to a period in which the eucharistic celebration was still identified with the love feast, as in 1 Cor. xi.; for in Smyrn. viii., having said that that should be esteemed a valid Eucharist which was celebrated by the bishop, or one to whom he had given authority, Ignatius presently adds, 'It is not 'lawful without the bishop either to baptize or to celebrate a 'love feast.' This identification of the Agape with the Eucharist seems to imply the assembling of the people within the *sacrarium*, or so-called altar.

There are two other places in which Ignatius uses the word altar. In Magn. vii. he says, 'Come therefore together all, 'as to one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus 'Christ.' * And in Philad. vi. : 'Be diligent therefore to resort 'to one Eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'and one cup for union with His blood; one altar, as one bishop, 'with the presbytery and deacons.' Considering the ideas which we have already shown were attached to this word by Ignatius and others, we think there is as good reason to suppose that he uses it in these passages in one or other of the same senses, which would be equally consistent with the context, as in the more special sense of the holy table.

The absence of the word *ιερεὺς*, as a title of Christian ministers, from these Epistles is admitted. As the use of the title would have savoured of later times, so its absence is a note of antiquity. There is a passage in Philad. ix. which uses the word in a dubious manner, but clearly not of the Christian ministry. 'And the priests were good, but a better thing the high-priest, 'who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies, who alone 'has been entrusted with the hidden things of God; he being 'the door of the Father, by which Abraham and Isaac and 'Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church

in use, and conveys an idea quite different from that of the propitiatory sacrifice in the Eucharist now taught. See 'Dial. cum Tryph.' pp. 260-344. Par. 1615.

* He says not to one temple and one altar, but *as to*, and we may perhaps understand our Lord Himself to be intended, just as in Rev. xxi. 22 the Lamb is the temple in the heavenly Jerusalem.

'enter in.' Either the priests here spoken of were the priests of the Old Testament mentioned in reference to some who are represented in the preceding chapter as appealing to the Old Testament; or, as would seem from the sequel, the whole body of the faithful both of the Old and the New Testament, 'a royal priesthood,' are intended. Justin also calls the faithful the priesthood which offers the eucharistic sacrifices (*Tryph.* p. 344).

So little does the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist appear in the Epistles of Ignatius, that the Dublin reviewer tries to make up for the deficiency by saying that 'the distinctness with which Ignatius declares his faith in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, is of itself a proof that our Lord is the victim offered on the altar' (pp. 363, 364). But however the Roman doctrine of the real presence is necessary to the Roman doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, the latter doctrine does not follow as a necessary consequence from it. But it is not needful to discuss this question at greater length. It will suffice to examine the testimony of Ignatius on the subject, taking the several passages that refer to it in detail.

We notice first certain passages which are admittedly figurative, indeed, in the highest degree metaphorical. In these allusion is evidently made to the expressions of our Lord in John vi., and the sacramental idea is in some degree present to the mind, and a sacramental way of speaking is adopted, while the writer overleaps the external rite, and goes directly to the internal and spiritual participation. Thus in *Philad. v.*, after expressing his fear of failure as not being yet perfected, he says he trusts through their prayer to attain the lot assigned him by God's mercy, 'fleeing to the gospel as the flesh of Jesus, and to the apostles as the presbytery of the Church.' Here the gospel is, as it were sacramentally, the flesh of Christ, and the Apostles who preached it, as it were the presbytery of the Church universal administering that sacrament, just as St. Paul speaks of himself in *Rom. xv. 16* as 'the liturgic minister of Jesus Christ, sacerdotally ministering the gospel of God.' According to this passage it is the gospel (and of course faith in it is implied) that is the means of partaking of the flesh of Christ. In the passage we now proceed to cite it is faith and love that are expressly mentioned

in this way. In Trall. viii. he bids his readers to 'build themselves up anew in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and 'in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ.' The manner of speaking is similar, only that faith and love here stand in place of the gospel.

We now come to a passage of the same kind in which the sacramental allusion is more distinct, while yet the thought in like manner overpasses the external rite, and bounds into the fruition of the life to come. It is in Rom. vii. He had been speaking of his wish to die, and says, 'My desire, *ἔπος*, 'has been crucified, and there is not in me a fire that craves 'material fuel; but there is in me a living and speaking water, 'that says to me from within, Away to the Father. I delight 'not in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I 'wish for the bread of God, heavenly bread, the bread of life, 'which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and I wish for the drink 'of God, His blood, which is love incorruptible and ever-'springing life.' Here the whole tone of the thought overpasses the eucharistic rite, the terms of which are in part borrowed; or rather we should say it is the words of our Lord in John vi. that are borrowed.* His longing goes beyond anything to be enjoyed on earth; the eucharistic participation was within his reach, whenever he desired it; he craves what he can have only when he quits this life; and to come down from his longing for death, to any blessing however great to be enjoyed here, would be a descent which the whole character of this touching and noble passage forbids. It can scarcely be thought that one who held the material reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, would use such statements as are made in these passages in regard to faith and love and the gospel, which in a sacramental way he calls the flesh and the blood of Christ. It is the fact that he did not so regard it that enabled him

* It is scarcely possible to doubt that the writer of this passage had in his mind our Lord's discourse in John vi. Allusions are always vague and inexact, but not the less distinctly show the source from whence they are derived. The Gospel of St. John was plainly sufficiently old to be familiar to the writer's mind when he made these allusions. The reader will perceive the significance of this remark as bearing on the date of the Fourth Gospel. The allusions also indicate that our Lord's discourse was regarded as going above and beyond the mere external eucharistic rite.

to make this application of the sacramental idea. The reviewer's explanation of these sayings, that faith and love are so called 'in the sense that they have His true humanity 'for their object, and attain their end by uniting us to it' (p. 363), suggests a very moderate interpretation even of the words of institution themselves; as if one should say the bread and the wine are called His body and blood because they have His true humanity as the object of their significance, and attain their end by uniting us to it. In confirmation of this explanation he quotes a passage in Smyrn. x., which, if he has rightly interpreted it, is in full accord with all that we have said. 'Nor will you be ashamed of your perfect faith, Jesus 'Christ.' To call Jesus Christ their perfect faith would be a like figure to calling their faith the flesh of Christ, only that it would not have the same sacramental allusion. We fail to see how it in any way helps the reviewer's argument. The sense, however, is most completely missed. He mentions indeed in a note that Hefele, instead of 'your perfect faith,' has *qui perfecte fidelis est*, but says that he has himself followed the rendering of Dressel. Ignatius, however, tells the Christians of Smyrna that they had not despised his chains, nor were they ashamed of them; and then he adds, 'Neither will 'Jesus Christ, the perfect faith, be ashamed of you.' Even if we give the definite article the pronominal force of *your*, still this would not mean their subjective faith, but their faith in an objective sense, what they believed and trusted in. Indeed so much seems admitted. 'He is spoken of as "perfect faith," 'inasmuch as He is the object and the author of that virtue.' But this destroys any semblance of parallelism to the manner of speaking the words are cited to illustrate, as in that it is 'the interior act of faith' which is called the flesh of Christ.

We may now pass on to a couple of passages of a more strictly eucharistic nature. In Eph. xx. he bids them all to assemble in one faith, 'breaking one bread, which is the medicine of 'immortality, the antidote whereby we may not die, but live 'for ever in Jesus Christ.' The words express no more than the high sense he had of the benefits of Holy Communion, and have no further doctrinal significance. The reviewer in translating them has introduced a word which has no counterpart

in the original, * — 'The antidote against death, *the pledge* of 'everlasting life.' It is curious that he should have adopted the phrase of the Anglican Church Catechism in its definition of a sacrament, 'a pledge to assure us' of the inward and spiritual grace given unto us. The other passage is in Philad. iv. 'Be diligent to resort to one Eucharist; for there is one 'flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one cup to unite us to His 'blood, one altar, as there is one bishop with the presbytery 'and deacons.' In addition to what we have already remarked on this passage, we shall only observe that the way in which the cup is mentioned, not as containing the blood of Christ, but as intended to unite us with it, is rather calculated to divert our thoughts from the contents to the intent, and certainly does not show that Ignatius regarded the former as Christ's blood in any material sense, while the unity of Christ's flesh as a reason for one Eucharist proves nothing respecting the identity of the flesh of Christ and the Eucharistic elements.

But in fact the Dublin reviewer makes an implied admission that the passages already cited are not sufficient by themselves to sustain the views attributed to Ignatius. Indeed he all but admits that Scripture itself is not decisive on this subject. The most he ventures to say is that 'it cannot be maintained, with much show of reason, that the words of our Lord 'necessitate a metaphorical interpretation; while the sixth 'chapter of St. John supplies strong confirmation of the view 'which Catholics take of our Lord's meaning' (p. 361).† In a like cautious and hesitating way he says of the statements of Ignatius already mentioned: 'No doubt, if these sentences 'stood by themselves, attempts would be made to explain them 'as the exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric' (p. 360). He adds, 'Fortunately there is one,' of which he proceeds to show that this cannot be said. But first, we remark by the way, that it is not as 'the exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric' we should explain such sayings, but as the language of high and ardent

* Unless he takes antidote to mean something given *instead*, which, if there is any usage to justify it, the connection with medicine here would seem to exclude.

† But in John vi. it is not the sacramental element that is said to be the flesh of Christ, but Christ Himself that is the bread of life, which came down from Heaven.

devotion, which ever overleaps the limits of a dry logical literalism, and abounds in the metonymy of things closely conjoined, interchanging the sign and the thing signified, sometimes rising from the bread, which is the sign, to the body of Christ, the thing signified and sacramentally conjoined with it, and so calling the bread Christ's body; and sometimes going back from the thing signified to the sign, for the sake of its significance, and so calling Christ's flesh the bread of God. It is the taking of this devotional way of speaking *ad literam*, and then making it the ground of dogmatic formulas which are intended to have logical exactness, and thereby shocking the common sense and doing violence to the consciences of many, that has caused much of the dissension that has harassed the Christian Church.

The passage relied on as a crucial test of the opinion of Ignatius respecting the eucharistic presence is to be found in Smyrn. vii., and it is thus presented by the Dublin reviewer: 'Not admitting that our Lord took upon Himself true flesh, 'those men,' namely the Docetæ, 'abstained from the Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (that flesh) 'which suffered for our sakes, and which the Father in His goodness raised to life' (p. 860). Ignatius might have been allowed to speak for himself. The words 'that flesh' seem to be put in to anticipate the supposition that might possibly be made, that the eucharistic flesh was different from the material flesh that suffered. We notice this only as an instance of a habit which frequently betrays itself in this writer of not allowing a quotation to speak for itself without precautionary words introduced. In this sentence, and in the *Hoc est enim corpus meum* itself, the flesh and the body are the real flesh and the real body of our Lord. The question is not of the meaning of the predicate, but of the *copula*; whether the verb substantive denotes numerical identity, or by a metonymy denotes a different relation. The verb substantive is naturally understood to denote a different relation when the assertion of identity might seem not likely to be intended. That in this case the idea of numerical identity shocks the common sense of mankind, we need not say. In the words of the Dublin reviewer it constitutes, 'to put it cautiously, an

‘astounding miracle.’ And any one of common intelligence on hearing such a manner of speech would, without consciously so much as making question could this sense be possibly intended, at once put some other meaning on the words.

The argument on this passage of Ignatius is founded on the fact that it was of the Docetæ he was speaking. ‘Had the Church in those days believed that the blessed Sacrament was no more than a symbol, there was nothing in the celebration of the holy mysteries which need have given any offence to the Docetæ. They granted that our Lord had an apparent body, and they could have no objection to the commemoration of His death under a symbolic form. They withdrew from the mysteries of the Church because they were a reality as well as a commemoration. They could not partake in a sacrament which professed to communicate the true body of Christ, because they denied that He had any body at all.’

To this argument we make a twofold answer. First, we think it is in the highest degree probable that in this place Ignatius is not speaking specially of the sacramental Eucharist at all, but of eucharistic worship, that is, the worship of praise and thanksgiving in general. Observe that the word for Eucharist* at the commencement wants the article, the use of which was to have been expected if the eucharistic rite was intended, and not the more general sense of thanksgiving. The combination of the two words *εὐχαριστία* and *προσευχή* in this general and indefinite way would naturally be rendered ‘thanksgiving and prayer.’ It seems like an echo of St. Paul’s ‘supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks,’ in 1 Tim. ii. 1, and other like combinations; while Ignatius himself recommends the Ephesians (c. xiii.) to assemble more frequently ‘to give thanks and glory to God.’† With the words of Scripture ringing in his ears, he blames the Docetæ for abstaining from thanksgiving and prayer. He had just enumerated several other duties which they neglected. ‘They have no care for charity, nor for widow, or orphan, or oppressed, or bound or loosed, or hungry or thirsty. They abstain from thanksgiving and prayer, because they do not

* *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπύχονται.*

† *Εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν.*

'confess that the thanksgiving (τὴν εὐχαριστίαν) is the flesh of 'Christ which suffered for our sins,' that is, the great cause of thanksgiving. Not acknowledging this great proof of God's goodness, they had no motive of charity to men or thanksgiving to God, no ground of confidence in prayer in this proof of His good-will to them. The article before the word thanksgiving, when it occurs the second time, is one of simple reference to the first, or it denotes pre-eminence—'the great thanksgiving.' We may compare this manner of speaking with the already mentioned places in which the gospel and faith and charity are called the flesh and the blood of Christ. That this was felt to be the sense of the passage as it stands in the Epistle, is evident from a variation of reading, as the passage is quoted by Theodoret, the variation being an alteration to bring the commencing words into agreement with the sequel, supposed to have a purely sacramental import, the variant for prayer in this citation being oblation,* while for 'abstain from,' is substituted 'do not receive.'

Our second reply to this argument is on the supposition that the passage refers solely to the Eucharist. And here it is to be observed that they were not obliged to attribute to the eucharistic body a greater reality than they attributed to the apparent body, in which they admitted our Saviour was manifested on earth. On the other hand, if the modern notion of transubstantiation, or anything approaching to it, had been dreamed of, while for the reason just mentioned the Docetæ might regard one body as unreal as the other, they would have seen in the Eucharist a true example of *δόκησις*, which could not have failed to recommend the rite to themselves, and to furnish them with a powerful *ad hominem* argument against their orthodox opponents. There would have been in the Eucharist an admitted instance of seeming qualities of one thing striking the senses, but having no substantial reality at all, while the actual thing which did not appear to the senses might be as real or unreal as they thought fit to suppose it. The force of this crucial test and argument founded on a reference to the conduct and views of the Docetæ being thus disposed of, there is nothing in the words of Ignatius, even if he intended the eucharistic celebration alone, that is

* *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφοράς οἷς ἀποδίδονται.* See Hefele's note.

not perfectly intelligible on the grounds already indicated in these remarks. Does the reviewer suppose that Protestants cannot or do not use language like this? I shall only refer him to the well-known hymn of the excellent Nonconformist Doddridge :—

‘ My God, and is Thy table spread ?
And doth Thy cup with love o’erflow ?
Thither be all Thy children led,
And let them all Thy sweetness know !

‘ Hail, sacred feast, which Jesus makes,
Rich banquet of *His flesh and blood* !
Thrice happy he who here partakes
That sacred stream, that heavenly food !’

IV. We have now arrived at the last subject of our inquiry—The Testimony of Ignatius on the Organization of the Church, and its relation to the Roman See. In Ignatius we find the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon clearly distinguished. The name of bishop is no longer, as in the New Testament and in Clement’s Epistle, synonymous with presbyter, or inclusive of it. The bishop is always single, the presbyters are sometimes spoken of severally, sometimes as a corporate body, the presbytery, the council, or Sanhedrin of the bishop. The analogy of order is between Christ, the apostles, and subordinate ministers employed by Him on the one hand, and the bishop, presbyters, and deacons on the other. Want of space obliges us to omit much we had noted for discussion on this subject, interesting on its own account, as also for its curious treatment by the Dublin reviewer. We shall notice only one instance of this.

Episcopalians might well feel satisfied with the views of Ignatius, coupled with the precedents of Timothy and Titus. The reviewer, however, tries to bridge over the interval between these by means of Clement’s Epistle to the Corinthians. To make this serve his purpose he tampers with the words of Clement in a most unwarrantable manner. We refer to the well-known passage in chapter xlv., in which Clement says that ‘our apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife about the office of the episcopate.*

* *Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς.* The strife was evidently not about the mere use of the title.

'Wherefore on that account, having taken perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid,* and afterwards gave an ordinance, that if they should fall asleep,† other approved men should succeed to their ministry.‡ Those therefore that were appointed by them,§ or afterwards by other men of repute, with the approval of the whole Church, and have blamelessly ministered to the flock, . . . these we judge to be unjustly deposed from their ministry.'|| Now, while this passage plainly intimates that there were other men of repute who had authority to ordain bishops and deacons, as Timothy and Titus had from St. Paul himself, Clement leaves it in doubt whether he spoke of the apostles as having ordained that if they themselves should fall asleep others were to succeed to the office of the apostles; or merely, that if the bishops and deacons should fall asleep, others should succeed them; or as having included themselves and the bishops and deacons in this ordinance. The absence of any reference in the context to others than presbyters, and the distinction of pronouns, seem to indicate that Clement had only in view the succession of presbyters and deacons. The reviewer, however, is not content to leave the passage in its well-known ambiguity. For 'if they should fall asleep,' he substitutes (p. 368) 'if they themselves should fall asleep,' without any indication that the word *themselves* is interpolated. And in the next clause he says 'that other approved men should succeed them [the apostles] in their ministry.' The original words are not given. In a note he says that he has 'substantially' followed Döllinger in his translation, though it differs from that of Hefele. But he does not point out what the difference consists of. He also tells us that Clement 'aduces the threefold organization of the Jewish hierarchy (high-priests, priests, and Levites) as a parallel to the orders of the Christian clergy.' This is greatly over stated. The comparison is made, as far as the analogy is expressed, only in regard to the orderly performance of divine offices at the appointed times and places, and by the appointed persons,

* That is, bishops and deacons.

† Ἐάν κοιμηθῶσιν. No subject is expressed.

‡ Τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.—Their liturgic office.

§ Ὅφ' ἑκείνων, the former; i. e., the Apostles.

|| Τῆς λειτουργίας.

our Lord Himself having ordained where and by what persons they should be performed, 'by His supreme will,' or perhaps 'by His last counsel,'* meaning His final charge to the apostles; just as the high-priest and the priests had each their appointed services (*λεειτουργίαι*), and the Levites their ministries (*διακονίαι*), and the laity their proper duties (ch. xl.). But there is no express parallel drawn between these and the orders of the Christian ministry in regard to number or relative correspondence. In the next chapter the example of the Mosaic priesthood, as confined to the proper performance of his own office by each, is further enforced, and in chapter xlii. the Christian ministry is described, rather with reference to the authority it was derived from, than to the threefold gradation of orders. The mission of Christ was from God, and the apostles were sent by Christ. These having preached in various places, appointed the first-fruits of their preaching to be bishops and deacons of the faithful. The apostles having all departed, there would be none, so far as this enumeration goes, to make up the threefold gradation. It is only in the incidental allusion to the 'other men of repute' already noticed, that we find any reference to a higher order as distinct from the apostles themselves. We are referred to chapter xxi., where we find mention of persons called *προηγούμενοι*, who are supposed to be prelates, as distinguished from presbyters, mentioned immediately after. But as these seem to be elders in regard to age, as distinguished from the young in the next clause, the sense of prelates in distinction from other ministers is not so clear. Why we have been careful to mark the indistinctness of Clement's testimony on this subject, which the reviewer endeavours to make much more explicit than it really is, will be seen presently. But apart from this, even a true cause, and the cause of truth itself, equally suffer from perverting or straining testimony, and it should never be allowed to go unchecked.

We have now only to consider the alleged testimony of Ignatius to the primacy of the Roman see. In the earlier part of his article (p. 354) the Dublin reviewer says that Ignatius 'gives the first explicit testimony to the primacy of the Roman 'see.' Moderate as the word primacy is, the assertion is not

* Τῇ ὑπερτάτῃ αἰνῶ βουλήσῃ.

warranted by the evidences adduced, which we shall show do not amount even to an implicit testimony to any sort of primacy beyond that of dignity and honour, if even so much. When the reviewer comes to establish his assertion, he begins by saying: 'Of course all Catholics hold 'that the primacy of the Holy See formed part of the deposit 'of the faith from the beginning. Events might bring the 'supremacy of the Roman Church into greater prominence; 'time might be needed to develop all that was involved in 'Christ's commission to S. Peter; still the rights of the Holy 'See come not from man but from God, and were acknowledged 'by Christians from the first' (p. 371). The testimony to be examined must not, however, be viewed in the light of this assumption. What we have to examine is how far 'the history 'of the Church witnesses to this truth,' or rather to the truth of this, that we should not assume the point in question. Before he allows Ignatius to speak he cites Clement as in the lifetime of St. John practically asserting the primacy of Rome 'by sending three deputies with a letter to settle disputes, and 'lay down the laws of ecclesiastical government at Corinth.' To this statement it is to be replied that it was not an unasked for interference, but was in consequence of advice being sought by the Corinthians, as we learn from the introduction to the Epistle. The person through whom the advice was sought was probably Fortunatus, supposed to be the same mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. xvi. 17, with whom Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito were sent by Clement as bearers of the Epistle. Such a mission unasked for would not necessarily have implied the assumption of authority. Still less can there be any such assumption inferred from a gracious answer to a request for advice under trying circumstances.

In the next place there appears to have been no one in Corinth at this time possessed of any recognized authority to settle disputes or maintain order in the Church. Throughout the Epistle there is not the slightest allusion to any single person corresponding to the bishop of the Ignatian Epistles. It is the deposition of presbyters only, under the name of bishops, that seems to be condemned in the famous passage already discussed; and the so-called *prohegumeni*, previously mentioned, being in the plural number, as well as not clearly

ecclesiastical superiors only, cannot be regarded as proving the existence of episcopal authority in that Church when the Epistle was written. The transition from the immediate superintendence of an Apostle like Paul, who speaks of himself as burdened with 'the care of all the churches,' to a settled episcopate, did not take place in all Churches simultaneously. Some, such as Ephesus and Crete, may have retained such a form of government from the days of Timothy and Titus. Others may have had no local bishop at all during the lifetime of St. Paul, and when he was removed from them by such a distance as would make communication difficult, they may have enjoyed the temporary superintendence of some of his assistants. In such cases, on the cessation of Paul's superintendence, or that of others of the Apostolic College, the Churches so bereft of Apostolic care would of course be often in a very unsettled state, and may have been for some time without a bishop. We suppose that during the lifetime of Paul the Corinthian Church remained under his superintendence, with the aid of such of his assistants as he may have sent there from time to time; and that when he suffered at Rome there was no one specially charged with the care of that Church. It is said indeed, by Jerome we believe, that Apollos was bishop of Corinth, but as other authorities have assigned to him no less than four other different sees, no reliance can be placed on that report, Dorotheus moreover says that Silas was bishop of Corinth, and not Apollos. His list of the sees filled by the Seventy is quite untrustworthy. He seems to have taken all the respectable names he could find in the New Testament to make up the requisite number, and assigned them such sees as he thought fit. His authority is entirely rejected by the learned. The first bishop at Corinth of whom we have any authentic information is Primus, mentioned by Hegesippus, whose episcopate must have been nearly a century later than the date of Clement's Epistle. At any rate it is clear enough from this Epistle that when Clement wrote there was no one in Corinth to whose authority he might have urged the Corinthians to submit. If Paul had died while retaining the personal superintendence of that Church, and in the confusion of the times no bishop had been specially provided for it, whence could the Corinthians so naturally have sought advice

as from Rome, where Paul had died, where his companions would probably have remained, and to which the Corinthians were more nearly related than to any other Church of eminence? For Corinth having been destroyed by Mummius, B.C. 146, remained in ruins until Julius Cæsar planted there a Roman colony chiefly consisting of freedmen, who found great treasures in the ruins, restored the city, and became the flourishing community that existed when the Christian Church was planted there. Accordingly we find several Latin names mentioned in connection with it in the New Testament, besides the numerous residents in Rome whom Paul salutes in writing to the Romans from Corinth.

Having now disposed of Clement, we may turn to the alleged Ignatian testimony. It is admitted that six out of the seven Epistles give no intimation as to any local centre of the Church universal. In these six Epistles, those only whose purity is vouched for by the famous Florentine MS., each local Church in its organization of bishop, presbytery, and deacons, is independent and autonomous, for anything that appears to the contrary; and it is only the possession of this organization that is said to be essential to a Church properly so called. It is true Ignatius speaks of a Catholic Church in Smyrn. viii. 'Where the bishop appears, there let the multitude be; as 'where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.' Is it not highly significant, that in this earliest use of a phrase which has played so important a part in the ecclesiastical discussions of all subsequent ages, it is union with an invisible centre, Jesus Christ, and not external union with a visible centre, that is said to constitute the Catholic Church? This being the state of the case as regards six of the Epistles, it is only in the Epistle to the Romans a few stray expressions are imagined to point to Rome as the centre of unity, or possessed of any sort of primacy.

The point first insisted on is that, in the preface, the Roman Church is said to preside in the region of the Romans.* The argument is put in this form. In the Epistle to the Magnesians the bishop of that Church is described as 'the presiding bishop,'†

* Προκάθηται ἐν τῷ περὶ Ῥωμαίων.

† Προκαθήμενον ἐκπορεύων.

whereby the presidency of the bishop in his diocese is indicated ; while in the Epistle to the Romans it is not the bishop, but the Church that is said to preside, and it is alleged that this can only mean that it, *i.e.*, the Roman Church, 'is to the Church 'catholic what each bishop is to his own Church' (p. 372). One feels disposed to smile at such an argument as this, seriously advanced to sustain so weighty a conclusion. The entire force of the argument is supposed to exist simply in the fact that the word 'preside' is used in one case of the bishop and in the other of the Church. But surely this word, which does not stand absolutely, cannot be understood to denote a presidency extending beyond the region to which it is limited. In the phrase *τόπος χωρίου*, the former word denotes a particular place within the latter, here plainly *the* place by pre-eminence, the article being dropped, as common in the address of epistolary writings. The word *χωρίου* is diminutive, and if it does not mean a small place, it does mean a place of limited extent. The only legitimate translation is that given by Hefele, *In loco regionis Romanorum*, explained in a note, after Pearson, as *In ipsâ urbe Româ cum suburbîis*. Dr. Newman translates the clause as 'the Church which has foremost 'station in the place of the Romans.' This would seem to distinguish the Church in the city from the lesser Churches in the Roman district.

But the Roman Church is presently spoken of as 'presiding 'over charity,' *προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης*. This is translated by Hefele, *universo cœtui charitatis præsidens*, and explained as presiding over the entire body of Christians. There is no usage to justify so forced a rendering, the instance from John of Antioch, *προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀνατολῆς*, being quite irrelevant. This is a natural way of speaking: not so the other, except in the sense of pre-eminent in charity. It is preceded by five and followed by two epithets, all denoting virtues, without one conjunction, except between this and the word preceding, 'worthily pure and presiding over charity,' plainly showing that a virtuous quality is intended, as in the vulgar Latin, *eximie charitatis*.

The Epistle is scarcely addressed to the Church in its corporate capacity, but rather to an assemblage of Christian

people. For with the word Church there stand in apposition a number of plurals denoting people distinguished by Christian graces. And there is no reference to any of the clerical order, no allusion to the bishop of Rome. This is remarkable on any view of his rank, but especially if he was the recognized head of Christendom. The omission seems to help to determine the date of the Epistle, as written *sede vacante*, and so of the condemnation of Ignatius, assigned by the 'Martyrdom' to the ninth year of Trajan, for which Pearson substitutes the nineteenth. His death was many months later than his condemnation, nearly four months having elapsed from the date of the Epistle to the Romans to his death according to the 'Martyrdom.' A like interval must at least have passed after his condemnation, to allow for the journey to Smyrna and all the delays at various resting-places, giving time to write this and the previous Epistles, and to receive deputations from neighbouring Churches. This would bring us to the tenth year of Trajan, the last of Euaerestus in the Roman chair, Alexander having succeeded in the eleventh of Trajan, according to the most approved chronology. (See Dodwell's *Dissertatio Singularis*, p. 79.) We should thus have A.D. 107 for the date of this Epistle and the death of Ignatius. On the other hand, there was no change in the popedom again during the time of Trajan. We do not know if any one else has noticed this remarkable coincidence between the vacancy of the see and the absence of any mention of the bishop in this Epistle, and the date of the martyrdom as commonly assigned to A.D. 107.

We can now barely touch with running pen the remaining marks of Roman pre-eminence. But that will be enough. 1. Ignatius bids the Romans pray for the Syrian Church, which, bereft of him, has God for its pastor. 'Jesus Christ alone will take the oversight of it, ἐπισκοπήσει, and your charity.' This the reviewer renders, 'Jesus Christ alone and your charity will act as bishop to it.' This strains the words: charity is not the subject of the verb, but is subjoined like an afterthought. This oversight of Christian charity might be expected from any Church, much more from the prosperous Church of Rome. 2. The Romans are said to be purified, 'strained out, ἀποδυλισμένοι, from every tinge of foreign dye.' But a like

ἀποδυλισμός is ascribed to the Philadelphians. 3. He gives counsel to the other Churches, but tells the Romans he gives them no precepts like Peter and Paul, referring no doubt to the preaching of those Apostles amongst them. But he does not speak of precepts in general. The one object of the Epistle was to beg that they would make no efforts for his deliverance. In doing this he says, 'I do not, like Peter and Paul, enjoin you.' He tells them they were Apostles, he is condemned; he is not worthy to enjoin, but only to beseech. Besides, he says the same to the Ephesians. 'I do not enjoin you as if I were somebody.' He is only beginning to be a disciple, they are the co-initiated of Paul, *Παύλου συμμύσται*. 4. Lastly, 'of the Roman Church alone he declares 'that it has taught others.' Surely it is the function of every Church to teach, even outside its own boundaries. But plainly he speaks of no special function of teaching, but only as one might say, You have preached to others; practise what you preach. They taught others to be ready to die for Christ, and it is in reference to his fear that they might seek his release that he says, 'Ye have taught others; but I wish that what ye have enjoined in making disciples may be made good,' plainly by themselves in not interfering on his behalf.

Such are the testimonies of Ignatius to Roman pre-eminence, in reference to which Dr. Newman remarks (p. 253) that a writer in the fourth century 'would have introduced the 'doctrine of the Roman supremacy with the energy of the 'contemporary popes,' instead of speaking with such indirect and implicit deference, if he were a partisan of Rome; but if an Oriental, would have been influenced by the feeling of jealousy that existed in those days between Rome and the East. The remark would be just if there really were any notes of special deference in the language of Ignatius, as in fact there are not.

ART. III.—*The Progress of Reform in Russia.*

- (1.) *Our Situation.* By A. KOSHELEFF. In Russian. Berlin. 1875.
- (2.) *Russia in 1870.* By HERBERT BARRY. London. 1871.
- (3.) *Ivan at Home; or, Pictures of Russian Life.* By HERBERT BARRY. London. 1872.
- (4.) *The Englishwoman in Russia.* By a Lady ten years Resident in that Country. London. 1855.

It is now twenty years since the publication of the entertaining and instructive volume placed last in the above list. At that period the long reign of the Emperor Nicholas had just closed in gloom and disaster, and the authoress gives us a vivid description of the condition of Russia during the ten preceding years. The rebellious spirit which was manifested in St. Petersburg on his accession seems permanently to have affected and hardened the mind of Nicholas; for subsequently his sole object seems to have been to keep Russia isolated from the rest of the world, and to bar what he deemed the pernicious encroachments of modern liberalism. On one occasion, it is true, he sounded his nobility on the subject of emancipation, but the resolute opposition which he encountered sufficed to drive from his mind any such project which he may have previously entertained. He likewise conferred many new privileges on the serfs. But the results of what was nothing but a system of brutal repression were seen in the years immediately preceding the Crimean War. The general discontent had culminated in a state of feeling which presaged nothing less than a revolution, brought about by a popular rising, with all its attendant horrors and excesses. Such is the conviction which a perusal of the volume we refer to leaves upon the mind.

Then came the Crimean War, which, though to Russia so disastrous in its immediate consequences, was nevertheless to inaugurate the era of her freedom and regeneration. She became thoroughly aroused to the sense of her inferiority to her neighbours, and mortifying though this consciousness may be to national pride and prejudice, disaster appears to be, at all events in recent history, an invariable condition antecedent to serious reform. The dreaded revolution whose approach

cast such an ominous shadow before it has been averted by the legislation of a monarch who has for ever earned the esteem and admiration of mankind. The measures by which this great change has been effected have been, in their grand result, a success. But it will astonish none who are in a position to estimate the gigantic nature of the task undertaken by the Emperor Alexander the Second to learn that all does not work so smoothly within as outside observers might be tempted to believe; that a perfectly contrived constitutional machine cannot be manufactured to order; that the ardour of the nation is somewhat damped when brought face to face with the inevitable difficulties of a period of transition; or—lastly, that a powerful and interested faction has been called into existence, which spares no effort to impede the progress of the noble work undertaken by their master. That such is, expressed in general terms, the actual condition of Russia at the present moment, we infer from the work of M. Kosheleff, which, though it contains nothing which is not a fair subject for discussion in any land which really enjoys liberty of the press, has been necessarily published at Berlin, owing to the rigour of the Russian censors.

A few words regarding the history of the establishment of serfdom in Russia may not be deemed out of place. As is very generally known, it is an institution of quite recent introduction in that country, and we may trace its origin to about the period when prædial servitude finally became extinct amongst ourselves. The last plea of villenage in the records of our courts bears the date 1618 (a plea pronounced bad, it is true), whilst the first edict of Boris Godúnoff binding the peasantry to the soil was issued in 1592. This act is usually held up to reprobation by foreign historians as a cruel act of tyranny; but the contrary opinion is frequently held by native authors, that it was a necessary step in the further civilisation of their country. We quote from the history of M. Ustrialoff in support of this assertion:—

‘Boris Godúnoff, after having manifested a rare talent in conducting the foreign policy of his country, and having raised it to a summit of power and influence menacing to its neighbours, now proved himself an able administrator of internal government. In this department his principal aims were the purification of morals, the improvement of the social economy, and the encouragement of trade and commerce. To this end,

besides issuing severe edicts against drunkenness, usury, and other prevailing vices, he carried into execution an important alteration in the condition of the people. In Russia the peasants were accustomed to migrate, at stated intervals, from one landed proprietor to another, and the results of these migrations were very injurious. The people habituated themselves to vagrancy and a semi-nomadic mode of life. To remedy this evil the regent, in 1592, forbade the migration of the peasants, or cancelled their right of removal from one estate to another, and commanded them to remain annexed to the lands on which they might be living at the date of the promulgation of the edict. Some were allotted to the Tsar, others to the monasteries, and others to the landed proprietors.'

This regulation was in part rescinded by Boris himself, in 1601, after his accession to the throne; but his concessions were revoked in 1606, during the reign of the False Demetrius, by a decree of the Dúma, or Council of Boyards, confirmed in the following year by an ukase of Vassili Shúiski. But from the reign of Peter the Great dates the complete and final enslavement of the agricultural classes of Russia. The capitation tax introduced by that monarch made each landed proprietor chargeable for the number of peasants actually residing on his estates at the time of compiling the census. They were little likely, in consequence, to connive at the escape of the agriculturists for whom they had to pay the tax, and to whose labour they had become legally entitled. Thus it happened that from that time down to the year of emancipation, 1861, the value of land in Russia has always been appraised by the number of serfs it maintained. Each serf paid a labour-rent of three days per week for the common land of the 'mir,' or commune, to which he belonged, and the plot attached to his cabin tilled by himself personally. The remaining three working days of the week were his own. This apportionment of serf labour enables us to explain the great depreciation in the value of landed property which alarmed the proprietors during the first years of emancipation, and made them so adverse to the same; for by the provisions of that scheme the labour-rent is fixed at forty days per annum for a male and thirty for a female—an arrangement which leaves the landlord little more than a fourth of the labour which he formerly had at his disposal. A rapid and unexampled rise in the price of land has, however, more than indemnified the proprietors for their losses in this respect, though their in-

comes have, in most cases, been curtailed by the abolition of the odious *obrok* levied on the serfs who had become artisans or traders in the towns.

The Russian peasantry were, previous to the year 1861, to make use of our own legal phraseology, villein socagers or villeins *regardant*, since they could not be legally sold apart from the land on which they lived. Formerly there was also the class corresponding to the villeins in gross. They were termed 'kholopy,' and were either prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, or their descendants. Their lords, however, never possessed the right of inflicting capital punishment, whatever the license they may have permitted themselves on their own responsibility.

The principal features of the emancipation scheme of 1861 are as follows. Personal liberty was conferred on the serfs, who were declared to hold their land by copyhold, paying a fixed rent in labour or money; arbitrators, termed 'mirovoy posrednik,' were appointed to measure the land and settle disputes between the proprietors and the liberated serfs; enfranchisement of the copyholds was made obligatory on the landlords on payment of the capitalised value of the rent, this operation being facilitated by the Government advancing four-fifths of the sum in bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent., the same to be repaid in instalments spread over 49 years. Thus the whole operation of emancipation will not be completed till the year 1910.

A system of servitude, which in England was only extinguished by slow degrees during the lapse of many centuries, and whose vestiges still remain in our copyhold tenure, was thus practically abolished by a stroke of the pen. It is a curious circumstance that there is ground for believing that Godúnoff borrowed his scheme for the settlement of the peasantry from an imperfect account of our own Poor Laws, themselves designed to counteract vagrancy, which had assumed large proportions subsequently to the confiscation of the religious foundations by Henry VIII. This conjecture is based on the following data. In the year 1558, Archangel was discovered by the English sailor Chancellor. His crew were conveyed thence to Moscow, where they were well received and hospitably entertained by the reigning monarch, Ivan IV., or 'the Terrible,' as he is termed; and

from this time the latter kept up a close intimacy with England, and more especially with Queen Elizabeth. This policy was also pursued during the reign of the weak Feodor by his all-powerful minister and brother-in-law Godúnoff. The edicts by which the peasants were attached to the soil bear the dates 1592, 1597, 1601, 1606, respectively. The first law which in England confined the poor to their parishes was promulgated in 1504; the first providing for their relief in 1547; followed in 1601 by the celebrated 48 Eliz. c. 2. Is it not then conceivable that the Russian legislator based his schemes on information obtained from the commandant of the English expedition? * These conjectures are interesting, as the 14 Car. II. c. 12 makes a still nearer approach to reducing the destitute classes to a servile condition by confining to their own parishes such as were *likely* to become chargeable to the rates. Had not the Revolution terminated the rule of the Stuarts, it is obvious that under a succession of monarchs of the stamp of James the Second this retrograde legislation might have been pursued still further.

From this slight sketch of the establishment and abolition of serfdom in Russia we pass on to inquire into her social condition at the present moment and the effects of the recent reforms. The testimony of those who have most recently written on this subject, and who are the best qualified by an intimate acquaintance with the people to form a correct opinion, concurs in drawing a picture which differs widely from the sombre delineation of twenty years ago. The national energies have been aroused from their torpor, and the agitation of society is in striking contrast to the unnatural and ominous calm which was remarked during the preceding reign. We most of us remember the Russia of Nicholas as she appeared to the exterior world; how that emperor was the arbiter of Europe for a lengthened period; how he curbed the aspirations of the liberal spirit, and was the prop and refuge of arbitrary power; how he reckoned on Austria and Prussia as his vassals; miscalculated the pacific tendencies of Great Britain; and was surprised by the coalition which shattered the fabric of his power. Such was the imposing attitude of the Russian

* For further details on this subject, *vide* 'Systems of Land Tenure.' Macmillan, 1870. By the Cobden Club.

Colossus thirty years since. Looked up to with reverential awe by the mightiest of its neighbours, it disturbed the minds of the keenest observers and the surest calculators. They were, however, mistaken. The rotten system of the martinet emperor collapsed under the strain of adversity.

Meantime, what was the interior condition of the country? The following is the picture in the words of M. Kosheleff:—

‘From 1825 to 1855 we existed under an oppressive and monotonous system of repression. There was no scope for social activity. Self-government might not even be alluded to; and the use of the word *zemstvo** stamped a man as unworthy of confidence and designing, yes, even rendered him liable to danger and persecution. The assemblies of the nobles were of no importance; scarcely any business was transacted by them, and scandals were of constant occurrence. The elections to important offices degenerated into the intrigues of interested persons. In the towns self-government was a parody of the same, for it was in the hands of the most ignorant of the inhabitants, and meant abject subservience to the provincial governors. The tribunals inspired no confidence, and those among the judges who were honest and impartial, were, thanks to the secrecy of the proceedings, suspected of unfairness and neglect, if not of corruption. Trade was at a standstill and credit had no existence. Serfdom weighed heavily on millions of human beings. Literature was fertile in poetry, dramas, novels, &c., which might be quite immoral, provided social subjects and the conduct of government were not touched upon. A Russian dared not, either in the newspapers or in books, speak of political questions or the evils of the times. In a word, below was the torpor of death, whilst in the upper strata of society despotism flourished free from all restraint. The life of a Russian as a man was confined to the secret recesses of his soul. There alone he felt that he was a being made in the image of God—there alone could he be conscious of an independent existence, of a right to freedom of thought, sentiment, and will. But what brought despotism to its senses, aroused a people robbed of its civil rights, and benefited the country generally, was the desolation of the Crimea.’

We must here again advert to the fact that the Crimean War will in all probability prove the cardinal point upon which the whole future of Russia will hinge, and from this era will date the rise of that vast nationality whose future none can pretend even vaguely to forecast. Without this violent shock it is highly probable that she would never have succeeded in casting from her without internecine strife the hereditary incubus

* The *zemstvo* is the local assembly of Russia, where deputies from all classes meet to discuss matters within their jurisdiction. It is probably lineally descended from the ‘Thing’ of the Scandinavians.

which weighed her to the earth; and it was indubitably far better for her to surmount this crisis of her fate in a desperate contest with the foreigner than amidst the horrors of civil commotion. Since the termination of that struggle, during which she was so rudely undeceived as to the nature of her resources, that great work has been accomplished the necessity of which had been appreciated by both Alexander I. and Nicholas; and she has already been rewarded for the sacrifices incurred in thus adapting herself to the spirit of modern civilisation, for emancipation has enabled her to adopt the principal of universal liability to military service, and thus keep pace with the armaments of her formidable neighbours. Under the régime of serfdom this could not have been effected, since army service conferred personal freedom, and the wealthy classes would have been deprived of their most valuable possessions by its universal enforcement.

The nation now enjoys, to a limited extent it is true, the privilege of self-government, though the system introduced appears to be hampered and obstructed by the *chinovniks*, or civil officials, by every means at their disposal. Both training and personal interest prompt this class to oppose all change, but more especially the development of free institutions. Each district and province has its *zemstvo*, each town its council, which assesses local taxation. As a rule personal liberty is secure, though it is true that suspected persons are occasionally deported to Siberia or Vologda without formal trial. With the exception of these disgraceful acts of despotism on the part of subordinates, every Russian is now tried by a jury of his peers, and the justices of the commune (courts of conscience) are even elected by its members. Though taxation augments with truly formidable rapidity, this can hardly be avoided when the instinct of self-preservation seems to impel every continental power to train its entire able-bodied population to arms. The Russian nation has not the privilege so dear and essential to a free people of arranging its taxation and appropriating its revenues, yet it has made a certain progress in the right direction; for the imperial budgets are now regularly published for the public information, a concession which has but recently been made. There is one circumstance, however, which seriously retards the development of

internal prosperity—the insufficiency of the police force to ensure security to life and property. This arises partly from the vast distances which intervene between the towns or villages in which it is deemed necessary to maintain a station, and partly from the excessive good nature of the inhabitants, which induces them to favour the escape of fugitives from justice. From this circumstance is derived a serious evil which threatens to widen the gulf which already exists between the upper and lower classes—the absenteeism of the nobles and great landed proprietors. These, averse to the new order of things and distrusting the capability of the police to protect their persons and property, spend their lives in the large towns or enter the civil or military service of the Crown. Notwithstanding this, to judge from outward appearances, the condition of the peasantry is improving considerably as to material comfort, and a cursory view of these general facts might lead to the deduction that the Russians have every reason to be satisfied with the progress made in the path of reform during the last fourteen years. How comes it then that, in the words of M. Kosheleff, ‘a sense of profound despair’ prevails amongst educated Russians, and more especially the young? Are we to attribute this phenomenon to defects inherent in the national character—a want of perseverance, and a temper easily discouraged by unexpected obstacles? They themselves reject this imputation, and offer the following explanation. They say in effect: It is true that our Tsar in his great goodness has freed us and accorded us civil liberty and privileges, but his functionaries are ever trying to drag us back into the mire again. By their vexatious practices, their explanatory circulars and memorandums, they have divested the laws made by the emperor of most of their essential qualities; and no sooner do we imagine ourselves in the full and unrestrained enjoyment of our liberties than we are dragged back to our fetters again by these unworthy servants of a benevolent ruler, whose powers are naturally unequal to the supervision of the intricacies of the administration of a vast empire. M. Kosheleff thus illustrates the present situation of his country:—

‘A man shut up in prison, when he has spent some years there, becomes in a measure habituated to the mode of life. He gets through

his time somehow. His emotions become by degrees less sensitive, his thoughts confined; he becomes callous, and ceases to be conscious of the utter misery of his situation. But it is intolerable to a man who has acquired his freedom and tasted its sweets if he is dragged back to prison again from time to time; more especially if these temporary respites are dependent on the caprice of his jailers, and the concession of more or less indulgence is determined by the same tyrants. The mind of such a miserable being must inevitably lose its equilibrium. His ideas become confused, and if he do not resolve on some mad act, despair seizes him. He takes no further interest in anything; his strength wanes; he is annihilated by this intolerable state of existence.'

In other words, the Tsar has, in spite of the most determined opposition from various quarters, promulgated the fundamental laws which should secure civil rights to his subjects; but these are exposed to the arbitrary interpretation of subordinates, who, having failed in the attempt to stop reform altogether, are determined to clog its progress to the utmost of their power.

Are we, then, to accept this as a fair representation of the present condition of Russia,—that of an individual whose faculties are so distraught that he is for ever on the verge of committing suicide, or, as the alternative, of subsiding into a state of idiocy? To form an unbiassed opinion on this question, we must bear in mind that Russia has, ever since the times of Peter the Great, been divided into two great parties, the national, or Old Russian, and the Western. The former, considering community of property in land as the true basis of Slavonic civilisation, regards the economical system of the West as effete, and would have Russia strike out a line of her own without reference to the worn-out ideas and institutions of the Western nations. A doctrine favoured by this party is that which would encourage the increase of population rather than restrain it, and would make the possession of a numerous family a source of affluence rather than of poverty, by assigning an equal portion of land to every adult male in the commune. The adverse party, amongst whom may be numbered the advisers of the emperor, carry out the policy of Peter, and look to the West for the models on which to mould the nascent civilisation of their country. These adhere to economical views which find favour amongst ourselves, and in the Acts of Emancipation clauses have been inserted which provide for the voluntary dissolution of the commune by its

members, who would in this case become peasant proprietors. M. Kosheleff evidently holds views opposed to those which guide the advisers of the Tsar, and though there still may exist in Russia many an abuse demanding the pruning hand of the legislator and administrator, we must carefully bear in mind the divergence of his views and theories from those accredited by the liberators of Russia, before we attach unconditional credence to his statements or yield to the depressing influence of the gloomy picture which he draws.

In Russia the right of meeting for the discussion of public affairs has had no existence since the suppression of the Dúma, or National Council, by the violent hand of Peter the Great. The voice of the people has had consequently but small opportunity of reaching the ears of its rulers in recent times. During the reigns of the first monarchs of the house of Romanoff this was otherwise. The Dúma had elevated the dynasty to the throne and enjoyed a large amount of the confidence of its princes. The evil results of Peter's arbitrary conduct were intensified by his hasty reforms, which practically divided all Russians into two separate classes—the nobles, with their skin-deep polish, the result of a superficial education, and the peasants, who were left in their pristine barbarism and ignorance. Between these two sharply-defined sections of society a vast gulf opened, whose depths are not yet filled up. There is no bond of union between the governing classes and their inferiors, and to the brilliant members of St. Petersburg society the humble mújik of the provinces is the inhabitant of another world, whose inclinations and necessities are but little studied or understood. In former times, when what is now the Russian Empire was but an agglomeration of petty states ruled by petty princes, each of these possessed its diet. Later on, when these principalities began to arrange themselves around Moscow as a nucleus, the White Tsar had his Dúma, and though his decision was final, yet the voice of the people made itself heard, and faulty legislation could not occur through absolute ignorance of popular needs. It was Peter who undid all this, and made Russia what it was previous to the present reign. The morbid activity and despotic temperament of that extraordinary monarch had in many respects an evil influence on the destinies of

his country, though we are far from undervaluing the many real services which he rendered her. But whatever his merits, there can be no doubt that in many instances he mistook the shadow for the reality, aping the fashions, nay, even the follies and vices of civilisation, instead of steadily fixing his attention on its substantial advantages. Even at the present moment the *zemstvo* does not afford the coveted right of unrestricted discussion. The field left open to debate is so hedged in and circumscribed by the directions of the Government, that but little scope is left for the free expression of opinion. The reports of the proceedings in these popular assemblies are submitted to the governor of the province previous to publication, when matter deemed unfit for public perusal is ruthlessly struck out. These again, in their garbled form, excite but little interest amongst the masses, and the press is deprived of much of its legitimate influence.

The Russian peasant nevertheless, following the bent of his nature, takes a lively interest in public affairs. The courts of justice are usually crammed with an attentive audience drawn from the labouring classes, who sit for hours to see, as they say, 'how things are carried on,' now that justice is administered openly and impartially, not as formerly with closed doors by a corrupt official. They perform the office of juror satisfactorily enough, erring, if at all, in the severe and impartial enforcement of penalties. This is the more surprising that the *mújik* is naturally so tender-hearted an individual, that a gang of the vilest criminals passing through his village on their way to the mines of Siberia receive succour and charity at his hand; whilst fugitives from justice issue from the recesses of the woods at night to find their meal placed on the sills of the cottage windows by the kindly inmates. The village justices, or 'conscience people,' likewise give universal satisfaction. It thus appears that the peasants possess many of the qualities which are essential for the task of self-government, nor is it probable that they would misuse this privilege were it fully conceded to them. They are, as a class, conservative in their ideas, and are assuredly as devoted to their country as any peasantry in Europe. They require political education and stimulating in the path of progress, rather than repression. At the present day no government, however

strong in material resources, can dispense with the support to be derived from an educated and enlightened public opinion. It is now an axiom in politics that even the most despotic governments can merely guide public opinion in its selected path, never force it aside or compel it to adopt another. How indispensable is it then that this public opinion should be exercised and developed by the task of self-government, and thus rendered capable of forming, as by instinct, a rapid and sound judgment on any of those tremendous questions which may at any moment be forced on it for decision ! Such without a doubt is the view held by the Tsar ; but it seems certain that those who find it to their advantage 'to fish in troubled waters' retard this consummation by a dogged resistance to progress in every shape.

' Before, we had no civil rights ; we were an appanage along with the serfs, who were themselves domineered over by their owners without any other limit but their own good will and pleasure ; or like a flock of sheep under the guidance and protection of the shepherd and his assistants. At last the great work was accomplished, but not without our co-operation. Afterwards came other reforms framed in the same spirit. We felt ourselves human beings, and were filled with love towards the author of our liberties. We resolved to show ourselves worthy of his benefits, and we exerted ourselves to struggle along the path pointed out by him. But there were men who liked not this unanimity between Tsar and people, and who desecrated in it their own ruin. They disdained no means for compassing the destruction of this alliance. They inspired him with distrust of his people, and the people, just released from slavery, and judging themselves citizens of a European monarchy, were again bent beneath the yoke of despotism, and by degrees deprived of those liberties which they had so recently acquired. Can they avoid feeling the hardship of their situation ? '

It is painful to learn, from the testimony of M. Kosheleff, that corruption has not vanished from official life with the disappearance of the old régime. Mr. Barry relates a device of one of his friends, who, to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of a high official whose good graces he was desirous of winning, offered him a cigarette from a case one side of which was stuffed with notes ; but we had hoped and believed that this was a thing of the past. Candour, however, compels us not to gloss over this disagreeable subject, and to quote the statement of the Russian author to the effect that corruption, though effected with more secrecy, has assumed still more alarming proportions than before.

'Formerly officials accepted, yes, scrambled for kopecks; now our reformed administrators suffer no man to appear in their presence with such mean offerings. But they are not above accepting shares and salaries from railway and other public companies. They are likewise nothing behind the officials of the Napoleonic and Austrian empires in speculations on the Bourse; but in this respect they are in unison with the age. The result is that corruption has not ceased in reality, but only in appearance. It has not decreased, but on the contrary vastly increased. Formerly the atmosphere was clearer in the upper ranks of society and the infection almost confined to its lower strata, but now—the tables are well-nigh turned.'

Corruption has ever been, and will, we apprehend, long remain the besetting sin of the Russian official. A habit which is the growth of centuries cannot be eradicated in a single generation. Peter the Great battled against this evil in vain, and ultimately gave up the attempt in despair. His favourite and right-hand Menshikoff was an incorrigible depredator, and the Tsar had found both remonstrance and punishment (including personal chastisement from the imperial hand) equally useless. On the last occasion on which a petition was placed in his hand detailing the rascalities of his minister, he returned it, merely remarking, 'I cannot help it; Menshikoff will be *'Menshikoff.'* Mr. Barry relates a witty contrivance for arousing the attention of the Emperor Nicholas to similar malpractices. It is customary in Russia to suspend the portrait of the emperor in solitary grandeur at one end of the reception room at grand entertainments. On a certain occasion when the emperor was expected to attend, the host, who was not only of high rank but also of unblemished integrity, hit upon the following device for designating two notorious depredators. He caused their portraits to be suspended on either side of the Tsar's. Nicholas, on arrival, at once remarked this breach of etiquette, and, calling the host aside shortly afterwards, questioned him regarding this alteration in the arrangement of his picture-gallery. The response was: 'Sire, I have this day been entertaining myself by arranging a tableau of the *'crucifixion!'*

If the wisdom and experience of a people be embodied in its proverbs, judges and the law have not hitherto stood very high in popular esteem in Russia. The following are a few random specimens:—'Fear not the law, fear the judge;' 'In judg-

'ment stand with purse in hand ;' 'Where there's law there's injustice ;' 'They complained of their hurts and were stripped to their shirts ;' 'There are worms in the earth, spirits in the water, twigs in the forest, and tricks in the law ;' 'Go not to law, a shoe will cost more than a boot.' If these be the expressions of a belief derived from long experience, the reform of the Russian judicature which took place in 1864 was urgently required.

But to what extent has this reform been effectual ?—That the law may inspire the subject with respect, it is necessary that those who administer it should be independent of the executive authority, and inaccessible to private influence. The irremovability of the judges by the head of the State is rightly regarded as the safeguard of our liberties in this respect, and the same principle has been introduced, at any rate theoretically, in Russia. It is however probable that this salutary regulation is rendered practically inoperative. An independent judge may not be formally removed for failing to give effect to governmental suggestions, but by other means his position may be rendered insupportable for a man of spirit and character. We are told that though during the years immediately subsequent to the reform the best class of Russians came forward to assume judicial functions, these have since been expelled by degrees to make room for more 'promising' persons. The public service is deserted by the best lawyers for private practice, in which self-respect is not subjected to frequent humiliation. The extent to which this cringing to authority is sometimes carried, may be gathered from the following scene witnessed by M. Kosheleff himself :—

'I chanced to be leaving a certain town, the principal one of the province, by rail at about four in the morning. I drove to the station, and what do I behold on the platform ? The whole of the judges of the district tribunal were walking up and down the platform dressed in their robes. I learnt that the Minister of Justice was expected to pass through. I thought that he would at least be as thunderstruck as myself at this strange scene, and that he would severely reprimand his subordinates and point out to them the impropriety of their conduct. But my expectations were unfounded. The minister received the deputation with exceeding politeness and evidently considered the reception as a matter of course. I subsequently learnt that similar proofs of attachment, if they are not exacted, are accepted very willingly from the officials of the

Judicial Department, and when these manifestations of subservience are omitted, it is remarked upon, and the consequences are sometimes serious for those who permit themselves such sallies of independence.'

As might have been foreseen, the acquisition of personal freedom, by enhancing the sentiment of self-respect, has materially raised the standard of comfort aimed at by the peasantry. The consequence has been a general rise in the prices of the necessaries and comforts of life. Increased production has not, however, kept pace with the augmented demand thus created. The prices of bread, wood, meat, &c., have, it is stated, increased threefold, in some cases fourfold. The lower classes drink more spirit than formerly, less, however, than in Poland, England, and Sweden, but make up the difference in tea and beer. This may at first appear a statement little flattering to our own character for sobriety, or that of our Scandinavian cousins; and that the *mújik* should be augmenting his already excessive consumption of ardent spirit is not a hopeful augury for the future. But, in explanation and exculpation, we may state that the Russian drinks only on high days and holidays. Then, it is true that he speedily reduces himself to a condition of helpless inebriety; but usually he imbibes nothing stronger than *kvass* or tea, the former being an inoffensive fluid composed of fermented rye. Thus it is quite possible that his total consumption of spirit in the course of a year is considerably less than that of an Englishman or a Swede with their more chronic habits of drinking. The Russian labourer also attempts to dress better now that he is a free man; he likewise insists on his former dark, smoky, and noisome cabin being fitted with windows and chimneys. This is a state of things which all will approve; but wages, though so high as sometimes to cause the stoppage of mills and factories, have not kept pace with the vastly increased prices of the necessaries of life, and the result is that the labourer frequently contracts debts and sinks to the lowest depths of misery. To this pressure of prices on the labouring classes we in England are no strangers. But in Russia the evil is not extenuated by that thrift which is on the whole a conspicuous characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. Waste and extravagance are strongly-pro-

nounced vices in the Slav character. In 'Ivan at Home' we are introduced to the dissolute and spendthrift 'Barin,' who dissipates a colossal fortune in every species of frivolity and excess, and dies a pauper; and this is not, or perhaps we may now say, *was* not a singular type of the national character. The impecunious prince who spent a chance legacy of £2,000 in attempting to acclimatize lobsters in a fresh-water lake is, we trust, an extinct species of idiot; and the following reflections on the financial ability of M. von. Reutern are surely exaggerated:—

'In general, our political economy has much resemblance to the domestic economy of our former landed proprietors. They maintained swarms of footmen and other hangers-on; they spent vast sums on balls, dinner-parties, equipages, ladies' dresses, and other superfluous expenditure. If they were pressed for money, they used to write to their agents to sell something or collect the *obrok* in advance from their serfs. If these sources became exhausted, they freely gave their notes of hand, and lavished the money thus obtained as if it was surplus revenue. But they never had money to spare for improvements in agriculture, extension of cattle breeding, purchase of machines, &c. . . . To the extreme chagrin of all those devoted to the emperor, our finances are managed almost in the same manner as were formerly those of our nobles. Officials and dignitaries of various sorts and designations are as numerous as the stars of heaven; their salaries, though usually moderate, are, including incidental and extraordinary contributions, very considerable and extremely burdensome to the people. Direct taxation, it is true, increases but slowly, but on the other hand indirect imposts increase not daily but hourly. When there is a deficiency of revenue our finance department hesitates not to cast its burden on future generations by contracting loans, notwithstanding that we are at peace with all the world and that we do not now expend more on the improvement of our means of communication than we shall subsequently have to disburse yearly on different branches of productive expenditure. In one word, thrift and economy are not the distinctive characteristics of our financial measures.'

Whilst considering thriftless and thoughtless extravagance in expenditure and the absence of thought for the morrow as too plainly radical vices in the Russian character, we think it somewhat unfair to tax the imperial government with a desire to ease itself unduly of its burdens at the expense of posterity, when, in reality, that posterity will reap the more tangible benefits of recent reforms, which can only accrue after a lapse of many years. A scheme whose operations stretch over the space of forty-nine years may fairly be allowed to call in the

assistance, in a pecuniary sense, of those who are to follow after. Though the steady rise of late years in the price of land may indemnify the upper classes for losses consequent on the emancipation, the increasing wants of the lower, high prices, and heavy taxation, all tend to deter the Russian government from laying too heavy a burden on the present generation. Besides which, the larger proportion of the loans contracted by it have been devoted to the construction of railways, a description of investment from which posterity must derive infinitely more advantage than those now in existence. The progress that has been made in this department may be judged of from the fact that in 1860 there were but 650 miles of railroad completed; whilst there are at the present moment upwards of 10,000.

We now come to the educational question, and in this department Russia has adopted what will probably be considered a retrograde course. Whilst we, for our parts, have been admiring the linguistic facility displayed by many of her sons, and considering the propriety of diminishing the hours allotted to purely classical pursuits, she, on the other hand, has questioned the value of the curriculum adopted at her educational establishments, and has been led to insist on classical proficiency in both her universities, lyceums, and gymnasia. It may well be doubted whether this be a wise disposition on the part of the Minister of Public Instruction. The Latin tongue has a peculiar significance for the western nations of Europe, who have all more or less come under the influence of Roman civilisation. It is either the basis of, or an important element in, their respective languages, and is also adopted by both law and science. This is not the case to anything like the same extent for the Russian, whilst the acquisition of the more important languages of Western Europe is quite indispensable to him, as it is chiefly through the medium of these that he gains access to the stores of information already accumulated by more advanced civilisations. An Englishman or Frenchman not understanding Latin would be in a similar predicament to a Russian ignorant of either French or German. The importance of an acquaintance with the classical tongues may be sufficiently obvious to ourselves, but M. Kosheleff ascribes our partiality

for them to causes entirely different from those above. Though he is not quite correct in his data, the passage may possess sufficient interest to deserve quotation:—

‘Firstly, the instruction in classical tongues is, like everything else in England, optional, and not compulsory as with us. There it is possible for a man ignorant of Latin to become not only a justice of the peace, *but even lord chancellor (sic)*; not only a subordinate in the ministry, but even premier. With us it is impossible to obtain entrance into the civil service, except as a clerk, but by means of a certificate from at least a middle school; and in the army such a certificate is indispensable to avoid remaining a private soldier for a lengthened period. I do not condemn this order of things established amongst us; it is unavoidable at present; but for this very reason our educational establishments should be organised so as not to awaken universal dissatisfaction amongst our youth, render them dull and degenerate, and cause them to seek an escape from existence with the revolver; but, on the contrary, so as to develop their capabilities and fortify their moral faculties.* How this is to be attained it is not here our province to point out, but one thing is certain—not by those means which are now employed, but by others of quite an opposite character.—Secondly, in England a classical education is not valued in all classes of society, but principally in that which is especially dear to ourselves, and to which we possess nothing similar. Aristocratic pretensions and whims are however ludicrous amongst us; we ought to master thoroughly the real meaning of English aristocratic feeling, finish once for all with these inventions so unsuitable to us, and establish ourselves firmly on our own ground.—Lastly, they retain a classical education in English schools for this reason, that the English are extremely conservative. Their judges still wear wigs; they address the king or queen officially on the knee; the entrance of the Lord Mayor of London upon his functions is celebrated by the strangest of ancient ceremonies; in one word, the English never change anything unless they are obliged, and there is no necessity for them to do so, as each man merely submits to custom as much or as little as he finds convenient.’

Though the writer is evidently ignorant of the real value of the classics, and more especially of the Latin, to an Englishman in professional life, it is plain that they do not possess anything like the same importance for a Russian. This arises from the diverse bases of their respective civilisations. The influence of Rome never of course reached as far as Russia, whilst that of Byzantium was but feebly exercised, since the Greek tongue was never adopted by the Eastern Churches or

* In 1872, out of 23,900 male students at the gymnasia, only 584 received certificates.

made use of for literary purposes. The enlightenment of Russia has proceeded from the West, and it is to the study of Western literature that she must still chiefly look for many a long year for further instruction.

The fact just mentioned has had one remarkable effect in moulding the national character. It has gone far towards destroying originality of thought and has produced a servile spirit of imitation. This spirit, first grafted on the original stock by Peter the Great, has had the effect of obstructing natural growth and development. It has been the fashion at one time to believe implicitly in such and such a French author, now in a German, and now perhaps in an Englishman. This has been carried on to such an extent and for such a prolonged period of time that people have ceased to believe in themselves, and hardly believe in anything at all. This is the true origin of Nihilism, that bugbear of the Russian Government; a doctrine, if we may so term what is an absence of all belief, which arises not from an exercise of the intellectual powers, but from blind subservience to the opinions of others; a total surrender of the mental powers, resulting in a chaotic state of mind which refuses to distinguish between good and evil, and even denies their existence. The epidemic spreads, owing to the secrecy maintained by the government as to the extent of its ravages, and to the fact that its sophisms may not be exposed and refuted by public argument and discussion. In a completely free country the fallacies which now addle the brains of the Russian youth would be brushed away like a gossamer web. But the subject is tabooed by the censors, and as a public attack on a Nihilist is equivalent to a report to the 3rd Section of the Emperor's Cabinet (Secret Police), competent authors abstain on this ground alone from engaging in combat with the common enemy. The havoc caused by this plague is truly formidable, and fully justifies the anxieties expressed by the government in a recent circular. The frequency of suicide amongst men under the age of thirty is a most alarming symptom; and this, coupled with the blighting effect which this pestilential disorder of the mind exercises on domestic relations, is a circumstance which calls loudly for immediate and effectual remedial action. We trust that the following description of its effects is overdrawn:—

'It is impossible to deny that morality, especially in the classes which constitute what is termed society, is at a very low ebb. There is no more domestic happiness. Married couples separate, and if they continue to live under the same roof, cease to hold any communication with each other; and this not from any incompatibility of temper, but because one or both have become infected with Nihilistic doctrines: they disregard marriage, and prefer living apart from each other. Parents, believing in nothing, abandon their offspring to their fate; whilst children seldom venerate their parents, either because, having still before their eyes the ideal innate in man, they perceive how far short their fathers and mothers fall of this; or, themselves falling under the influence of Nihilism, they become corrupted and look upon their parents as behind the age. In short, with us domestic life is shaken to its very foundations, and affords no firm basis for the education of the man, far less of the citizen.'

With regard to freedom of discussion, though the law of 1865 confers this boon on the public press, its provisions have been virtually set aside by the practice of the censors summoning editors privately before them with the view of warning them against touching on topics deemed by the government unfit for publication. The Central Asian question, the famine in the government of Samara, the agitation amongst the Greek Uniats of Poland, are all topics which have recently been prohibited. Two numbers of the '*Bessieda*' were also lately committed to the flames, the one for criticising too boldly the advantages of a classical education, the other for an article on the education of females. In these proceedings we recognise the action of an irresponsible bureaucracy totally unfettered by the restraint of public opinion; and it is highly probable that, so long as such tyrannical proceedings are endured, Nihilism and evils of a similar origin will continue to afflict the country and embarrass and alarm its rulers.

Most of the difficulties under which Russia labours may be traced back to an identical origin—the exaggerated policy of Peter the Great, who, instead of directing his endeavours to adapting the spirit of Western civilisation to the forms of Russian life, persistently followed an opposite course. This error is commonly to be observed in energetic reformers, who seem to imagine that by adopting the forms of civilisation they can secure its substantial advantages. Now it is contended by a large section of the reflecting Russian public that the forms o

Western civilisation are unsuited to the requirements of the Russian people, which is half Asiatic in its origin, manners, and modes of thought, and that it would be far wiser to impart an original impulse to the national energies than to follow servilely in the wake of the West. The class distinctions which exist amongst ourselves, a legacy of feudalism, should find no place, it is maintained, in Russian society. The existence of an aristocracy, a squirearchy, a bourgeoisie, as understood in the West, is not requisite for Russia, the basis of whose social organisation is the 'mir,' or commune, and in whose *zemstvos*, or rural assemblies, all classes sit side by side. Attempts to isolate the nobles from the masses, so it is maintained by the national party, do but subtract from their legitimate influence over their inferiors, and withdraw them from their proper sphere of action.

The Russian nation has been liberated, and it is but natural that it should now look forward a step further, and should yearn for those popular institutions which are the glory and safeguard of countries more advanced in the path of civilisation. The captive has been released from prison and longs to burst asunder the bonds which still fetter his movements. The corruption of justice, the enforced silence of the press, the absence of an educational system, the tyranny of the police, and other abuses troubled and irritated the nation twenty years ago far less than an inconceivably milder type of the same evils and disorders in the present day, for the simple reason that it is now awake to its requirements and sensible of its relative inferiority. M. Kosheleff writes :—

'In former times these and more irksome conditions of existence did not embarrass, burden, or exhaust us to the same extent as they do at present. Formerly, we were not in Europe, or were merely on its outskirts. Formerly we lived isolated and cut off from the civilised portions of humanity. Formerly, borrowing the various conveniences of life from the West, and dazzled by its civilisation, we little heeded our own national wants, and were proud of our *singerie*. Formerly justice was perverted; we endured servitude, or exercised the powers it conferred over others; we revelled in the abuses of arbitrary power or suffered from its consequences. In a word, formerly we were half Asiatics, half Europeans, but not civilised beings conscious of the dignity of man, of the rights, obligations, and necessities of human nature. Certainly, even now we cannot be said to have attained to that consciousness fully, but efforts

have been made in that direction. We feel that we have become beings of another nature; that other necessities begin to make their voices heard within us; and that the satisfaction of these has become a matter of necessity to us.'

It seems clear that the voice of the Russian people will, at no distant date, make itself heard with effect in the national councils; but, meanwhile, until the masses shall have been placed in immediate contact with the monarch by means of a national council, it seems certain that a group of prejudiced and interested persons will continue to obstruct a reform, whose onward progress it is not in the power of man to limit and say, 'Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther.' Until the Dúma, or Great Council of the early Tsars be revived, there is no prospect of Russia realising that grandeur and pre-eminence amongst the nations which is her heritage in the future; and whilst men whose knowledge of Russia goes little beyond the Nevski Prospekt and the fashionable life of the capital remain at the helm in considerable numbers, the real interests of the country will be little cared for. The artificial training which the Russian aristocracy has undergone since Peter's reign has produced a race incapable of taking the lead in the onward and upward march of the nation. Mr. Barry asserts this in the most positive terms,* and M. Koshleff coincides with his views:—

'In St. Petersburg but little is known of Russia and her inhabitants. People pass through it on the railway; they sometimes visit Moscow, the so-called heart of Russia; they sometimes glance at its choice localities; but Russia properly speaking, its people, possessed of their peculiarities, tendencies, and necessities, and principally represented by persons living a secluded life in the interior—this Russia is to them literally a *terra incognita*, less known in St. Petersburg than in Germany, France, or even England. The so-called society of St. Petersburg, composed of civil and military generals,† staff-officers, &c., this is the Russia which is ever kept in view. By the intellect and collective wisdom of this section of society our government subsists, and from it our dignitaries are selected. Is it wonderful then, with such a partial and one-sided representation of interests, that objects are sought after which do not satisfy the wishes of the majority; that laws are made, never perhaps to be put into execution, which do not correspond to the national necessities; or that measures

* 'Russia in 1870.' Chap. iii. and *passim*.

† Civil officials hold military rank in Russia.

are adopted which, far from compassing the desired end, tend to produce effects of quite an opposite nature :—is it astonishing, I repeat, that under these circumstances ‘every pancake turns into a dumpling’ ?”

If the ultimate success of the nation in its struggle with an obstructive bureaucracy clinging vainly to its traditions is assured, it is none the less certain that, in the interim, a state of anarchy and confusion might ensue, dangerous alike to the interior tranquillity of Russia and to the general European equilibrium. The rapid spread of Nihilism is also an astonishing and alarming symptom. The true remedy for this is, as before pointed out, unrestricted liberty of discussion, both oral and also through the medium of the press, and the cultivation of a national and original literature which shall tend to destroy imitativeness and foster original thought. Russia is at present in a state of transition from the ancient order of things to the new, and it is of vast importance to European interests as a whole that this transformation should be effected peaceably and without social disorder, which might paralyze her influence abroad and disturb that balance of power which is so essential to the maintenance of peace. But all agree that it is through the agency of the people, the former serfs, that the ultimate regeneration of Russia will be effected. It is superfluous to adduce the opinions of the Russian author on this head, but a few extracts from Mr. Barry’s works will enforce his assertions.

Speaking of the nobility,* he thus expresses himself :—

‘The happiness and well-being of the millions of Russia have been for generations in their hands. Isolated by immense distances from external pressure, supreme and absolute in the midst of their ignorant serfs, they have had a great opportunity of elevating and promoting the happiness of the latter. That they have shamefully abused that opportunity is evident to the most unreflecting traveller in their country. The power is now taken from them—the accident of birth no longer makes each among them a petty monarch. They are brought out of their retirement to the light of public observation—and what are they ? An effeminate, enervated race, in which the habits which lead to ruin are apparent. And what are the people entrusted to them and their fathers ? A long oppressed and down-trodden race, who, in nine years of liberty, have shown the world already the indications of what they might have become generations since in the hands of wise or unselfish masters.’

* ‘Russia in 1870,’ p. 115.

And of the peasant* thus :—

‘The time is at hand when he will compete in a fair struggle for existence with his former condescending master, and I am no judge of character if the contest do not prove in the end that the down-trodden serf was a better man than his master.’

We have written and quoted enough to prove that the present epoch is a decisive one in the annals of Russia, and one whose influences will mould, not only her own destinies, but indirectly those of all Europe. Her welfare should arouse deep interest in this country, since it is probable that on a good understanding between the two powers depends the future tranquillity of Europe, and it was perhaps owing to her being paralysed by the Polish rebellion that, twelve years ago, the new principle of ‘*Macht vor Recht*’ was allowed to supersede the older one of respect for treaty obligations. The picture which we have endeavoured to draw may appear somewhat gloomy, but there is no ground for despondency. Everything may be hoped from time and the enlightened ruler who has known how to carry into execution his philanthropic projects. When we reflect that centuries were requisite for the gradual extinction of serfdom in Western Europe, can we wonder if the abrupt annihilation of a similar system in Russia has been productive of some social disturbance? The party of obstruction must in the end fade away before the newly aroused energy of a fresh and vigorous race. Much has been accomplished and much remains to be worked out in the future. It will not be the fault of the Tsar if the reforms which he has initiated be not followed out to their rational conclusion. The Russian author whose work has chiefly occupied our attention whilst penning the foregoing pages, concludes by expressing the just conviction that all hope for the future is based on the known character of him ‘who has so wisely and providently executed the great reforms which will serve as stepping-stones to the complete and final regeneration of Russia.’

* ‘Russia in 1870,’ p. 128.

ART. IV.—‘*The Bible Educator.*’

The Bible Educator. Edited by the Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A.,
Vicar of Bickley, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Professor
of Exegesis of the New Testament, King's College, London.
Four Vols. - Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1875.

It augurs well for the progress of religious thought that the labours of the Biblical critic are beginning to find exponents in the popular press. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of facilities which late years have witnessed in almost every department of secular study, singularly little has yet been done by the recognised teachers of religion to bring the results of modern Biblical inquiry within the reach of the unlettered student. Until within recent times a certain lawyer-like familiarity with and aptness in handling the text of Scripture was all, or nearly all, that the public looked for in its religious instructors. Any discussion of the structure, any questioning of the statements, of Holy Writ was deprecated as indicative of unsoundness. But the times of this ignorance are passing away. The literary study of the Bible can no longer be regarded as unimportant to a right understanding of its contents; and though it is to be feared that in some quarters the critical investigation of the sacred books is still regarded with unreasoning suspicion, no one who steadily watches the advancing light of scientific truth can doubt that, if the Bible is to retain the reverence of a sceptical age, there must be no further shrinking on the part of those who would be its interpreters from free inquiry, or from a ready acceptance of many truths which are still popularly accounted heterodox. To a certain class of religious minds any criticism which seems to decry the blind reverence paid to the Bible must necessarily savour of impiety;—yet, were it possible for one who holds the inspiration of its letter to place himself in the position of the devout Catholic at the commencement of the Reformation era, it would be seen that the severance ‘from all ‘beloved custom and believed tradition’ caused by the emancipation of truth from Romish error, was no less bitter to the adherent of an infallible Church than that which the growth

of knowledge is imposing in relation to the Bible upon his own day and generation. Never has a crisis occurred in the history of religious faith but the intellectual struggles of the human conscience have been taken for evidence of some malign force at work for the overthrow of the truth. It is not till the crust of prejudice has been broken up, and men begin to build and plant upon the new deposit, that the law of progress is recognised, and what was deprecated at the time as a catastrophe comes to be generally extolled as a renaissance. For many years the ground has quaked beneath us in this matter of Bible inspiration. From time to time dismay has been caused by the appearance of a sudden rift in the firm ground of tradition. The date of this Book or the authorship of that has been found to be at least an open question. New discoveries in science appear to contradict what simple minds take to be the authoritative meaning of the inspired writers. A more critical investigation of the record of Scripture proves that it lays no claim to immunity from imperfections and inconsistencies such as all human testimony is subject to. Infidelity perceives its advantage, and triumphantly announces the collapse of theology. And, truly, if the value of the written revelation were bound up with the literal inspiration of the writers, a speedy collapse of theology there must be: for the day is not far distant when the knowledge that no such written revelation has been vouchsafed to man as to dispense him from the use of his own mental and moral faculties, will no longer be exclusively confined to the learned student of Scripture.

Signs are visible that those who should be foremost in the investigation of truth, but are too apt to be held back by some 'vague spiritual fear' from exploring the shrine, are beginning to awake to the duty of their calling, and to cast out the idols which an ignorant literalism has set up in the very seat of the Divine Witness. Assuredly, if Bible science is to commend itself to the rising generation, who are being initiated with the dawn of intelligence into the secrets of scientific method, theories must be abandoned which will not square with demonstrated facts. Facts must be diligently collected, scrutinised, compared afresh, in order to arrive at more trustworthy generalisations than those which satisfied

a less instructed age. When the field of knowledge is reconquered to theology, it will be found that there has been an advance all along the line. Meanwhile nothing can be more fatal to the interests of religious truth than that the main body of the army should lag behind in mistrustful apathy, while the courageous few are marching boldly into the enemy's country and endeavouring to establish themselves in the very positions which have rendered the old vantage-ground untenable.

In this belief we are glad to notice that a publishing firm, which has been unrivalled of late years in its efforts to diffuse and cheapen knowledge, has put forth, with the co-operation of a distinguished body of divines of various denominations, a Biblical 'Educator,' framed upon the model of other successful manuals, 'Popular,' 'Scientific,' and 'Technical,' which have already issued from the same press. How far the four volumes which comprise the twenty-four monthly parts in which the 'Bible Educator' was originally published represent 'the best' that has been thought and said upon the varied and important topics with which they deal, it will be our business to inquire presently, but it must be considered a distinct gain to English theology that a work of the kind should be advertised at all with the imprimatur of the two Archbishops and the approval of so staunchly Protestant an organ as the 'Record.' If it proves nothing more, it is at least a sign that old prejudices are dying out, and that a new era of Biblical interpretation is commencing in our midst.

The name of the Editor, Mr. Plumptre, is a sufficient guarantee for liberality of thought and treatment, while the range taken in inviting contributors secures the work from all suspicion of sectarian bias. The book is a medley—we use the word in no invidious sense—of Biblical lore. It would be difficult to name a subject growing out of, or connected with, the study of Scripture which is not treated with more or less fulness within the compass of these pages, and in a manner suited to the ordinary intelligence. Whatever judgment be formed as to any special series of papers, there can hardly be two opinions as to the excellence of the idea which underlies the whole, or to the pains which have been taken to carry it out in the completest manner possible. Of the thirty-nine contri-

butors the majority are clergymen of the Church of England, but the manual contains a considerable infusion of Nonconformist divinity as well as of lay learning, in which respect it has a decided advantage over its ecclesiastical contemporary, the 'Speaker's Commentary.' The Editor has been specially fortunate in obtaining the help of Professor Rawlinson in the archæological department of the work, who, though he is not above an occasional lapse, as when he allows himself to speak of Gregory of Nazianzen,* or to describe the well-known procession of the *Aum* in the tomb at Beni Hassan as 'The arrival of Jacob's family in Egypt,'†—which, as the author of the mistake long since admitted, must have taken place not 'about the time of,' but long subsequently to, the age of the Osirtasens, to whose date it belongs—brings nevertheless a rich store of learned and accurate information to the volumes, which has hitherto been attainable only in expensive works. Mr. Plumptre may be congratulated also upon the chapters which deal with the Music of the Bible, by Dr. Stainer; with its Botany, by Mr. Carruthers; with its Weights, Measures, and Chronology, by Mr. F. R. Conder; and with its Geography, by Major Wilson, of Palestine exploration celebrity. Each of these writers is an adept in his special subject, and gives excellent proof of literary capability in the popular treatment of it. Mr. Houghton's papers on the Zoology of Scripture have less originality than those already named, but are replete with useful information. He has wisely availed himself largely of Canon Tristram's researches, to whom we are indebted for by far the most important additions to our knowledge of the natural history of Palestine which have been made in recent years. The descriptions of animals are illustrated by numerous plates, but upon what principle of selection, except that of ornament, it is not very easy to discover. More in some cases, *e.g.*, in those of the Fox and the Peacock, might have been left to the imagination of the reader, while a stricter regard to the truth of nature would have suggested a less leafy background for the denizens of the desert, *e.g.*, the Jerboa and the *Dhâb* (the latter, by-the-bye, depicted out of all proportion to his companion, the Crocodile (*Livyâthan*)). The chapters by Mr. Birdwood, of the India Museum, upon the Perfumes, and

* IV. p. 254.

† I. p. 104, illustration.

by Dr. G. Deane, of Spring Hill College, upon the Minerals mentioned in Holy Writ, supply an excellent compendium of what is known or conjectured upon these obscure subjects. Dr. Moulton, of the Wesleyan College, Richmond, one of the Company at present employed upon the Revision of the New Testament, contributes a History of the English Bible, commencing with the paraphrase of Cædmon and concluding with the resolution passed by Convocation in February, 1870. The author is under considerable obligations, as was natural, to Dr. Westcott's laborious essay; to which, however, he makes many valuable additions in the way both of illustration and supplement. The reader who expects to find in these articles a mere popular adaptation of the labours of others will be met, to his satisfaction, at every turn by the results of independent judgment and research.

Among the most important contributions to the manual is a series of papers, by the Rev. A. S. Aglen, upon the Poetry of the Bible, which not merely places before the reader with admirable lucidity the main results obtained in this field by the labours of Lowth, Ewald, Herder, and many others, but exhibits a high degree of poetical culture and critical perception in the compiler himself. As a brief popular treatise upon the structure and literary characteristics of a large portion of the Bible, it would not be easy to improve upon these articles. Excellent also, as far as it goes, is Canon Venables' glossary of Bible Words, though but a part of the plan sketched at the outset* has been carried out within the compass of the work. Dr. Ginsburg undertakes the Social Life of Judaism, a subject he has specially made his own. His treatment of it may be described in his own words:—

'In attempting to give a picture of the manners and customs of the Jews, we shall begin with the infant Hebrew. Having greeted his arrival, we shall watch him during his tender years, follow the different stages of his education, and examine his moral and social duties till he has reached the age of manhood. We shall then try to follow him through the successive experiences of his mature life, observe the manner in which he attempts to obtain a wife, attend his marriage, visit his domestic establishment, partake of his hospitality, . . . and, finally, follow him to the grave, when he is gathered to his people.'†

This programme is efficiently carried out. When the writer

* III. p. 58.

† I. p. 29.

steps beyond his own sphere he is apt to trip; as, for instance, when he tells us, in reference to the word *pastor*, that 'it is 'not to be found in the second (English) Bible, which goes by 'the pseudonym Matthews' (*sic*), in Lord Cromwell's, or the 'Great Bible.'* The six last papers in this department are furnished by Dr. Edersheim.

Enough has been said to indicate the wide range of subjects embraced in the 'Bible Educator.' In so far as it aspires to the character of a popular encyclopædia of Biblical knowledge, its merits can scarcely be overstated. So large an amount of various and valuable information in relation to the Bible has never been brought together before for the small sum of one guinea. And if the object of the editor and publishers had been solely, as stated in the preface to the first volume, 'to 'supply a large number of thoughtful readers with a book 'which, while it was neither dictionary nor commentary, 'should yet impart in a more attractive form the information which men seek for in such works,' it would have been unnecessary to qualify the praise already bestowed. But we remember that, in an interesting preface to the first number issued, a higher aim than this was claimed for the undertaking, which does not appear to have been abandoned by its promoters. After an enumeration of the special considerations which seemed to call for such a work at the present time, it was there said to have been projected 'in 'the spirit which seeks to help the honest doubter to a firmer 'faith, and to enlighten that ignorance which is easily misled.' It was no doubt with this end in view that contributions were invited from theologians of more or less eminence upon a variety of topics which admit of wider and more important differences of opinion than those to which reference has been already made. It is easy to see that no little tact was required in selecting writers of trustworthy tone—who should yet be fairly independent of theological bias—men who might be expected to work harmoniously with each other; and yet at the same time sufficiently imbued with the critical spirit to ensure for the work a genuinely educational character in regard to the problems which perplex the age. To say, then, that in its critical character the 'Bible Educator' does not

* II. p. 268.

wholly come up to our idea of what such a work should be, is to say no more than was perhaps inevitable from the nature of the design. But if some of the contributors are uncritical, and even retrograde, in their treatment of the sacred books, still it cannot be otherwise than advantageous to theological progress that their views should proceed from the same platform as those of more advanced teachers: that it should have been found possible, in short, for faith and criticism to join hands and work reverently together for a common object. Differing from those who are impatient of tentative processes, our belief is that more is accomplished for the emancipation of religious thought from its trammels by such works as the present, and we might name in the same connection such a *Life of Christ* as Dr. Farrar's, than by writings of a more uncompromising character which make little allowance for those elements of uncertainty which must enter into all honest discussion of the grounds of faith. That the 'Bible Educator' will be superseded before long in much of its criticism it is hardly possible to doubt, but we readily add our belief to the hope of the Editor, that 'for many years to come it may take its place among the agencies by which the thoughts that widen with the years are being united to the faith that has been from the beginning.'

No one who peruses its pages will doubt the excellent intention of the writers, but the spirit which seeks to assist doubt varies naturally according to the estimate which different minds entertain of its reasonableness; and it is no exaggeration to say that in the minds of several of Mr. Plumptre's contributors there is but little appreciation of the nature of the difficulties which beset the faith of the present generation. What is conceded or insisted upon by one writer is not unfrequently retracted or deprecated by another, and that in relation sometimes to questions which lie at the very root of Bible education. The all-important subject of inspiration, for instance, is treated by Dr. Farrar in a series of papers remarkable for fair statement and lucid analysis; and the conclusion at which he arrives, after reviewing what he describes as 'the five well-marked theories held within the pale of the English Church,' shapes itself into an eloquent, if not perfectly consistent, protest against any view which implies the superses-

sion of human faculties by divine agency. The same thought continually appears in the contributions of the Editor himself, as at the close of an interesting paper upon the coincidences between the Pentateuch and the Apostle John :—

‘The gift and power of which we speak as inspiration works upon the natural character of the man inspired, but does not destroy. It appropriates and, so to speak, utilises all previous study, knowledge, trains of thought, co-operates with all gifts of insight, and leads them, without suspending or suppressing them, to a higher region.’ *

So, again, Professor Rawlinson, in his article upon the Book of Kings :—

‘Divine inspiration did not in the case of the writers of Holy Scripture supersede the use of the ordinary methods of obtaining knowledge.’ †

After this it is difficult to understand how Mr. Spence should have been allowed to write, in reference to 2 Pet. i. 21 :—

‘The prophets while receiving the revelation were in a state unlike their ordinary condition. Their own agency ceased, and they became passive under an overpowering influence of the Spirit of God, which Peter tells us was the Spirit of Christ.’ ‡

We have noted several other instances of the same want of consistency, which detracts as much from the critical value of the work as it is perhaps calculated to gain in acceptability from the comprehensiveness of its teaching. For instance, we find the Dean of Canterbury, in his article on the Book of Genesis, cautiously deprecating all discussions as to the geography of the Garden of Eden, on the ground that ‘we can never tell ‘how much is simple fact, and how much allegory.’ § And yet Mr. Phillpott has been suffered to insert, in his article upon the Flood, || ‘a map to illustrate the geography of Palestine and ‘the Deluge,’ and to descant upon the localities of both in a manner that is, to say the least, exceedingly uncritical. Mr. Aglen’s very just remarks in regard to the Alphabetical Psalms, ¶ should have prevented the astonishing statement of Mr. H. Deane ‘that there is nothing in this style which indicates ‘an author living at a late period ; on the contrary, it would ‘betoken an early state of literature, [and] may be a germ of ‘that great ornament of assonance which is used so freely and ‘with such beauty by the Prophet Isaiah.’ ** Again, the very

* I. 100.

† II. 1.

‡ I. 171.

§ I. 51.

|| I. 151, 234.

¶ III. 112.

** III. 318.

interesting and candid chapters of the Editor upon the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are in singular contrast to the rhapsody of the Bishop of Derry upon the Song of Solomon. Not content with pressing 'the short and easy method of settling a complicated question,' condemned by Mr. Plumptre,* Dr. Alexander finds a confirmation of the Solomonic authorship of 'The Preacher' in a fact which by more critical minds has been considered one of the strongest arguments against it; the substitution, namely, of the word 'Elohim' for the name of the Almighty, ninety times repeated in the Book of Proverbs. 'Solomon,' the bishop tells us, 'had been highly favoured; yet he had fallen; his voice falters, he dare not use the covenant word "Jehovah."'[†] Special pleading of this kind is surely out of place in a Bible Educator. Once more we find, among the Editor's papers upon the Coincidences of Scripture, an able article upon the similarity of aim, which has long been a commonplace of criticism, between the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul.[‡] Without, of course, attaching any importance to the tradition which represents the Apostle as dictating to the Evangelist, he traces, with much subtlety of insight, the real parallelism in thought and feeling which exists between them. Mr. Eustace Conder, on the other hand, in his Introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke, which is hardly up to the requirements of the present time, not only despises the inferences of the early Christian Fathers, 'who were utterly untrained in that keen and accurate criticism which has become habitual with modern scholars,' but 'regarding this special tradition there is,' he writes, 'little or nothing in the Gospel itself to favour such an hypothesis and very much to contradict it.'[§] The only coincidence, in short, between the two writers which he considers worth notice, is that which may be discovered in their respective accounts of the institution of the Last Supper.

But enough has been said to point out what is a real, though, for reasons stated above, a not unpardonable defect in the volumes before us. Another unsatisfactory element is the exegesis of obscure texts, undertaken in chief measure by Mr. Spence and Mr. Elliott. 'It was found,' we are told, 'as the work went on, that to give explanations of passages that might be classed as difficult would unduly narrow the space required

* IV. 228.

† IV. 322.

‡ I. 145.

§ IV. p. 3.

'for the adequate treatment of other subjects, besides that 'these explanations were often given incidentally in other articles: in this respect, therefore, the work is less full than was 'originally contemplated.'* Possibly, too, the Editor may have found himself not seldom out of sympathy with the views it fell to his lot to edit under this head. The attempt to make the 'Bible Educator' do the work of a commentary seems to us the one mistake in its plan. Nothing has hitherto been more obstructive to the progress of Biblical enlightenment than the practice of approaching hard scriptures as though they were 'nuts,' to use Bunyan's phrase, 'whose shells do 'keep their kernels from the eaters.' Its danger is minimised, of course, where an acquaintance with the tenor and texture of the writings may be presumed, but its adoption in a work intended for the unlearned is as out of place as would be the attempt to assist a beginner in his study of Greek authors by introducing him to the 'Journal of Classical Philology.' Moreover, neither Mr. Elliott's nor Mr. Spence's theology is of a sufficiently robust type to make them safe 'educators' in the department that has been assigned them. Mr. Elliott, notwithstanding the painstaking research and pious intent which is manifest in all he writes, is too apt to involve his reader in wordy combat with a great many shadows, and to leave him finally with the painful consciousness of having grasped nothing. Mr. Spence, on the other hand, while aiming to establish the student upon the ground of ancient tradition, not unfrequently commits himself to very precarious conclusions. The following are instances of the manner in which some of the most important questions with which theology can deal are occasionally begged in their papers with no apparent misgiving as to the soundness of the premises from which their opinions are inferred.

'The Holy Spirit here declares, by the pen of St. Matthew, what was in His own mind when the prophet was moved to give utterance to these words ("Out of Egypt have I called my Son"), and, as Bishop Wordsworth unanswerably asks, "Who shall venture to say that he knows the mind of the Spirit better than the Spirit Himself?"'—(Mr. Elliott, on Matt. ii. 14, 15.) †

* Preface, vol. iii.

† I. p. 363.

"'There is a sin unto death.'" We declare, without hesitation, "death" is used in its deepest and most awful signification. The reference is not merely to the physical death, to the death of the body, whatever that may be. It refers plainly to something utterly unconnected with this life and this world.'—(Mr. Spence, on 1 John v. 16.)"

Sometimes, however, we find useful articles from the pen of Mr. Spence. Such is that upon 'The Three Heavenly Witnesses' (1 John v. 7, 8),† except that in summing up the evidence for and against the passage the writer lays stress upon the fact that Cyprian, before the middle of the third century, knew and quoted it as part of the Epistle of John; the truth being that there is no patristic evidence of the existence of the words till two hundred years later; the two passages in Cyprian, upon which he no doubt relies, being abandoned now by all the critics, together with the supposed reference in Tertullian.

A series of papers upon Biblical Psychology, by Mr. Heard, demands a passing notice. The author is one who has studied and thought upon his subject, but his reasonings are as deficient in logical precision as is his style of expressing himself in grammatical accuracy. The Bible will no more yield a 'psychological system' than a 'code of ethics' or a 'scientific cosmogony;' and Mr. Heard's failure to deduce the former from it would, we fear, land him in the very conclusion he deprecates, viz., that 'the Scriptures cannot retain anything like the authority which they lay claim to 'as an authentic and authoritative declaration of the will of 'God.'‡ But we would suggest that Mr. Heard has misread the claim of Scripture. The secrets of man's nature are revealed through the written word adequately for the guidance of his religious aspirations, and yet with less definiteness than Mr. Heard supposes. It cannot be too emphatically insisted upon that the Bible is in no sense a scientific or a philosophical book. The statement that 'God made man in his own 'image' is no more a starting-point for the psychologist than is the declaration that 'in the beginning God created 'the heaven and the earth' a basis for the reasonings of the astronomer or the geologist. Both are 'literary expressions thrown out,' as Mr. Arnold well expresses it, 'at a

* II. p. 333.

† II. p. 118.

‡ I. p. 290.

'not fully grasped object of the writer's consciousness;' they are none the less instinct with truth, but it is the truth of inspiration, and not the truth of science. We have not space to follow Mr. Heard into his analysis of consciousness, but it is important to point out that those who would take refuge in a Biblical psychology against 'the rising tide of materialism,' are not trusting to Him who has borne witness to man's spiritual nature from the beginning, but to one more only of those specious *idola theatri* which have so often betrayed their worshippers.

It is pleasant to turn to a very different series of chapters by Dr. Milligan, of Aberdeen, somewhat misleadingly described under the title 'The Old Testament Fulfilled in the 'New' but which in reality aims at tracing the development of Christian ideas from their Old Testament germs. The popular idea of a type has no place in the writer's theology. He treats the sacred seasons and institutions of Judaism in a philosophical spirit, and with an expansiveness of view which are rare in the handling of this subject. His conclusions are interesting and often unexpected. Special reference may be made to a highly ingenious solution of the great difficulty of Heb. ix. 8, 4, in regard to the position of the Tabernacle furniture; but the following passage upon the Sabbath, in which, in place of the rigidity we are accustomed to expect from the North in relation to this subject, there is all the healthiness of the Scotch breeze, will give a good idea of Dr. Milligan's style:—

'We have seen that all the sacred seasons of Israel which have passed under our notice pointed onwards, not to institutions, but to ideas; that not one of them is fulfilled in any supposed corresponding ordinance of New Testament times. It is thus also in the case before us. Analogy alone might justify the conclusion that we are not to find the fulfilment of the Jewish Sabbath in the Christian Sunday. But we are not left to analogy. We have the direct teaching of Scripture on the point, and that teaching is that the Sabbath is fulfilled in Christ Himself, and in His Church. . . . We fail to reach the meaning of that miracle at the pool of Bethesda . . . if we think of it only as a manifestation of Divine power and grace. . . . Its true language is, that Christ is the reality of which the Sabbath of Israel was the type; the substance, of which it was the shadow. What Christ does is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of work. The calmness, the rest, the oneness with the Father in which He does it is the accomplishment of the Divine idea of rest.'

It remains briefly to notice the Introductions which the manual furnishes to the several books of the Old and New Testaments. The field involved perhaps greater peril to the success of the work than any other ; and, with certain reservations, the Editor may certainly be congratulated upon the labours of his associates. The Pentateuch, the Four Greater, and several of the Minor Prophets have been undertaken by the Dean of Canterbury, whom nature never intended to be a critic, but who seems to have been forced into criticism, in spite of his natural proclivities, by a life of diligent study. Accordingly his papers present a singular mixture of what is valuable and what is trivial. The arguments he adduces for adhering, as he mainly does, to tradition are supported by very considerable learning, and marked by a candour which is the more to his credit that it not unfrequently discloses the real weakness of his own conclusions. Too much space is devoted in his papers, as in those of Mr. Eustace Conder on the Gospels, to answering suspicions of forgery, which belong rather to the past, or, at any rate, are hardly likely to occur to the readers of the 'Bible Educator.' There is, on the other hand, too little direct grappling with questions that press, we will not say, for settlement, but, at any rate, for thorough discussion, such as the origin of the early documents contained in Genesis, the nature of the Books of Jonah and Daniel, the authorship of portions of Isaiah and Zechariah, &c. Useful as the Dean's chapter on the Book of Genesis is likely to be to many who have hitherto regarded it with unquestioning faith as a homogeneous history, its value is not a little diminished by the vacillating tone of his remarks upon the account of Creation. We are afraid, too, that scientific men would not have much difficulty in setting aside the following statement, if it rests upon no better support than Dr. Payne Smith's scientific reading of the first few verses of the Bible :—

'In the first chapter of Genesis there is a wonderful real agreement with our advancing knowledge of astronomy and geology, and especially with what is called the nebular hypothesis of creation.'*

Our space will not permit us to point out the many real merits which these papers possess, notwithstanding their lack of critical consistency and their occasional inaccuracy. It

may be as well to mention in passing that the 'tamarisk and the 'acacia' do not 'produce a similar substance to the manna 'described in the Exodus,'* but a substance unlike it in every respect; and that 'the Cimmerian Bosporus, now the Strait 'of Yenikale,' is not, and never was, 'to be found at the foot 'of the Caucasus in the country of Iberia.' †

Mr. Stanley Leathes' papers on the Books of Joshua and Judges are of a different calibre, and have the great merit of advancing nothing that will have to be retracted in the course of a few years. Canon Rawlinson treats the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired: the same may be said of the excellent papers upon the Acts, the Apocalypse, and the General Epistles, for which the Editor is responsible; though it would be hard to find a greater contrast than exists between the matter-of-fact style of the one professor and the imaginativeness of the other. Mr. Cox, of Nottingham, contributes several articles upon the Minor Prophets. His expansive treatment of Habbakuk, Joel, and Malachi is somewhat out of keeping with the general character of the work, and would have been the better for judicious pruning. His commentary too often runs into rhetoric, as, for instance, where he applies to the 'dim and 'dubious figure' of the prophet Habbakuk the 'questionable 'shape' ‡ attributed by Hamlet to his father's ghost, apparently unconscious that Shakespeare uses the word in its sense of 'easy to be questioned.' The Introductions to the Pauline Epistles are from the pen of Dr. Green, of Rawdon College, Leeds, who makes able and accurate use of the best authorities upon his subject. The omission of any special Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews (promised, vol. iii. p. 269) is hardly justified by the allusions to it contained in Dr. Milligan's papers. § No Epistle is more widely misunderstood or stands more in need of intelligent explication.

Several biographies of Old Testament saints are to be found interspersed in the course of the work, some of which, that of Elijah for instance, are treated with a fearless and powerful hand, while the greater part hardly rise above the level of conventionality. Thus Canon Norris can reconcile it with Christian morality to write:—

* I. 229.

† IV. 107.

‡ I. 161.

§ Preface, vol. iii.

'Nothing can be grander than the burning indignation of Moses on his return, dashing to the ground the tablets of the law which they (the people) had violated, grinding the accursed calf to powder, and, in holy vengeance, seeking to wipe out their shame in the blood of three thousand who persisted in their sin. Nothing can be grander than this, unless it be his deep yearning love for these sinful people which found utterance on the next day in his agony of intercession.' *

And Canon Venables is not above attempting to bring the miracle of Joshua into harmony with science by suggesting that—

'We may safely rid ourselves of the notion of the suspension of the earth's rotation on its axis, which has been a stumbling-block to intelligent believers, as well as a fertile source of objection to the sceptic. An extension of the daylight by natural causes—increased refraction or the like—satisfies all the reasonable requirements of the passage.' †

If, as the writer holds—contrary to the opinion of some of the most eminent of modern orthodox critics, who see in the passage a highly poetical figure quoted from another work, and no more to be taken literally than the statement that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera → a miracle of some kind was wrought in answer to Joshua's prayer, the idea of increased refraction removes no difficulty from the mind that is accustomed to regard the sun's rays as no less under the domain of invariable law than the earth's volume.

The present review may fitly be concluded with the quotation of two passages, by no means isolated specimens, of the interesting and instructive matter with which the 'Bible Educator' abounds. The first is from the ingenious pen of Mr. Plumptre. The suggestion it contains will be new to many.

'Why, it has been asked, if St. Luke was with St. Paul on his arrival at Rome, . . . is his name altogether absent from the Epistle to the Philippians? If he joined in salutations to Churches that he hardly knew, why is he silent when St. Paul writes to that with which he had been so closely and so long connected? I find the explanation of this in an hypothesis, which, if not capable of proof, has, at least, the merit of embracing all the phenomena. Assume that, shortly after their arrival at Rome, St. Luke, who had been absent from his beloved flock for more than three years, was glad to embrace this opportunity of being once more in Europe to revisit the Church committed to his charge, and started (it would not take him more than three weeks to get there) on a journey to Philippi.

* I. 159.

† II. 166.

Note how this not only explains the omission of his name, but furnishes also the key to other problems of the Epistle. Who so likely, if what we have sketched as to St. Luke's work and character be at all true, to have been addressed by St. Paul as his true "yoke-fellow"? What more characteristic charge could have been given to him, after St. Paul's own entreaty to Euodia and Syntyche, obviously two members of the Philippiian sisterhood, that they "would be of the same mind in the Lord," than that he too would help them, . . . forasmuch as they had laboured with him in the Gospel? The theory in question serves to explain other phenomena of the Epistle. It strengthens the traditional belief that the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in Phil. iv. 3 was none other than the bishop of Rome of that name, of whom we have, at least, one genuine epistle to the Church of Corinth. The Evangelist would not be likely to start alone. Clement may have been his companion. The easiest and most natural route would be to go by sea to Corinth and thence to Macedonia. In this way we account not only for the message sent to him, through St. Luke as the true yoke-fellow, but for the connection between Clement and the Church of Corinth.*

Our second quotation is from Mr. Aglen's 'Introduction to the Poetry of the Bible.'

'This poetic nature was doubtless given that Israel might the better perform the great functions committed to it by God. That it might fulfil this end, it needed to be subordinated to the great master truth by which the nation was possessed, and which made its glory and its strength. The poetry of the Hebrew was the handmaid of his religion; there is, therefore, in the poetry of the Bible something which elevates it above all other literature of the same kind. The transcendent nature of its inspiration seems to consecrate all other works of human genius to which we give the name *inspired*. Much that bears the name of poetry is degraded by unworthy associations, or by the subject on which it is employed. It is well known how the great Grecian philosopher planned to exclude from his ideal republic even the works of Homer and the great tragedians. Yet there were songs worthy as he deemed of entrance: "These two harmonies I ask you to leave, . . . the strain of courage and the strain of temperance,—these, I say, leave." What would have to be added to these to exhibit the supreme excellence of Hebrew poetry? It raises the strain, not of courage and virtue only, mighty as these are, but of truth and holiness, of faith and hope, of progress and perfection, of fidelity to God, and unbroken trust in His goodness and love. Ever since it was poured forth from the full hearts of the sweet singers of Israel, the world has been drinking deep draughts of life and strength from its stream. Whatever dreams of future glory humanity shapes for itself, the poetry of the Bible is not excluded, but is welcomed as the music of the kingdom of heaven.*'

It remains only to express our acknowledgements to the compiler of the capital index with which the book is furnished, together with a hope that the volumes will obtain the wide circulation they deserve. Notwithstanding its defects, the work is a step in the right direction, and if a higher value should be communicated to a few sermons, a livelier interest to a few Sunday-school lessons, a wider profit to a few hours of home study, through our recommendation, the main object of the present article will have been accomplished.

ART. V.—*Disestablishment in New England.*

(Continued from the January Number.)

THE best reforms are apt somehow strangely to linger in this depraved world. Quite possibly it did not improve the temper of those who were in power to have their inconsistencies so sharply thrust home upon them. Certain it is that acts of grievous injustice continued to be perpetrated in the name of law. In 1774 eighteen residents of Warwick, belonging to the Baptist society in Royalston, notwithstanding that fact had been certified in accordance with the law to the assessors of Warwick, were seized for the minister's rate of Warwick, and, in default of payment, lodged in Northampton jail. Dr. Backus, as the appointed agent of the Baptist Churches, addressed a memorial to the General Court, then in session, asking that the men be set at liberty, that reparation be made, and that effectual prevention be provided against a repetition of such injuries. His effort was so far successful that an Act was framed which passed both Houses, but the political excitement of the times caused the Court to be prorogued so suddenly that it was not laid before the governor, so that no Act of Exemption at all was left in force. But Backus was able cheerfully to say, 'The more they stir about it, the more light gains; so that my hope of deliverance in due time increases.'*

The next step was an appeal to the first Continental Congress. Warren Association deputed Dr. Backus to visit Philadelphia,

* 'Letter to Rev. Benjamin Wallin.' London.

for the purpose, in the first place, of assuring that body of the hearty concern felt by the Antipædobaptist Churches of New England for the preservation and defence of the rights and privileges of the country, and their willingness to unite with their countrymen in the vigorous pursuit of every prudent measure for relief; but begging leave, in the second place, to add the expression of their firm conviction that, as a distinct denomination of Protestants, they had an equal claim to charter-rights with the rest of their fellow-subjects, rights which, as related to religious worship, had been from them persistently withheld. But on arriving at the city of William Penn, and having free conference with prominent Quakers and others, it was felt to be better not to address Congress as a body, but to seek first a conference with the Massachusetts delegates. This was done October 14th, 1774, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine being among those present. The interview was a long one, and in the course of it John Adams said 'that we might as well expect a change in 'the solar system as to expect the people of Massachusetts to 'give up their Establishment,' although both he and Samuel Adams declared it to be 'a very slender one, hardly to be 'called an Establishment.* As usual, nothing—except that indirect 'light' which comes from 'stir,'—came of all this; and advantage was taken of the circumstances to excite prejudice against the Baptists and their agent, as if he and they had endeavoured to prevent the colonies from uniting in defence of their liberties.† To meet this, the Association's committee addressed to the Congress of the Massachusetts province, in the following December, a careful memorial, in which they once more insist on the incongruity of the treatment they were receiving:—

'It seems that the two main rights which all America are contending for at this day are—not to be taxed where they are not represented, and to have their causes tried by unbiassed judges. And the Baptist Churches in this province as heartily unite with their countrymen in this cause as any denomination in the land, and are as ready to exert all their abilities to defend it. Yet only because they have thought it to be their duty to claim an equal title to these rights with their neighbours, they have

* Guild's 'Life and Times of James Manning,' 238; 'Works of John Adams,' ii. 399.

† Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 214.

repeatedly been accused of evil attempts against the general welfare of the colony; therefore we have thought it expedient to lay a brief statement of the case before this assembly.*

They go on to urge that to impose religious taxes is as much out of the civil jurisdiction as for Britain to tax America; to recount the grievances they have suffered; and to notify the body that they are determined to submit to it no longer; that they claim, as a charter-right, liberty of conscience, and they end by saying: 'If any still deny it to us, they must answer it to Him who has said, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."'† The question what to do with this paper embarrassed the Congress. The majority clearly desired to throw it out; but, on Mr. Adams's discreet suggestion that to do so might cause a division, which would be harmful at a time when union was imperative, it was referred to a committee, who reported that, as they were not an ecclesiastical court, they could do nothing about it, and the memorialists would better appeal to the General Court, a report which was adopted by the body in well-sounding phrase.‡ When the General Court assembled, September 20th, 1775, at Watertown, Dr. Backus sent in a petition, in which he reviewed very plainly the long injustice which had marked the treatment of the body of believers whom he represented by the colony and the province, and once more asked redress. It was received respectfully, referred to a committee of seven (three of whom were Baptists), and ended in a bill making some of the changes demanded, which was read once, but never reached further action by the House. Undismayed by this fresh failure, the indomitable Backus issued an 'Address to all Christian People' in the American Colonies, and especially to those who are of 'the Baptist Denomination,' rearguing the case, and making a fresh appeal. In 1777 he again addressed the people of New England, with the endorsement of the Association. That year a constitution was framed, to be adopted or rejected by the next General Court. It embraced no declaration of rights, but contained an article restoring some of the old Church laws. The Baptists circulated one hundred copies of a protest against that article, and a petition that it might be a

* Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 216.

† Ibid. 221.

‡ Ibid. 223.

fundamental principle of the government 'that ministers shall 'be supported only by Christ's authority, and not at all by 'assessment and secular force.' Many who were not Baptists—not, perhaps, Dissenters at all—signed these protests; but as the proposed constitution fell through, they were never presented. It well illustrates how easy it is for good people to fall into hallucinations upon a matter supposed to affect their interests, that in the Election Sermon of 1778, Rev. Dr. Phillips Payson, of Chelsea, took it upon him to warn the government against any radical change in the ancient modes and usages of religion. 'Let,' he said, 'the restraints of 'religion once be broken down, *as they infallibly would be by 'leaving the subject of public worship to the humours of the multitude*, and we might well defy all human wisdom and power 'to support and preserve order and government in the State.* On the other hand, Dr. Backus came out that year with another little pamphlet of twenty pages, which states a few more plain facts, and sums all up once more in a few plain words:—

'It is not the *pence*, but the *power*, that alarms us. And since the legislature of this State passed an Act, no longer ago than last September, to continue a tax of *fourpence* a year upon the Baptists in every parish where they live,† as an acknowledgment of the *power* that they have long assumed over us in religious affairs, which we know has often been *terribly oppressive*, how can we be blamed for refusing to pay that acknowledgment, especially when it is considered that it is evident to us that God never allowed any civil State upon earth to impose religious taxes, but that He declared His vengeance against those in Israel who presumed to use force in such affairs' (1 Sam. ii. 16, 84; Micah iii. 5, 12).‡

Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, after the American retreat from Rhode Island on the night of August 30th, 1778, undertook

* 'Election Sermon,' 1778, p. 20.

† The 'fourpence' was required to be paid for the certificate of exemption from the town assessors.

‡ 'Government and Liberty Described, and Ecclesiastical Tyranny Exposed,' &c. Boston, 1778. P. 13. Dr. Chandler had lately said that, if a general tax should be laid upon the country to support Bishops in America, fourpence in the hundred pounds would do it (Chandler's 'Appeal,' &c. 108); to which Chauncy had retorted: 'If the country might be taxed fourpence in £100, it might, for the same reason, and with as much justice, if it was thought the support of bishops called for it, be taxed four shillings, or four pounds, and so on.'—Chauncy's 'Answer,' &c. 194. Backus gets his allusion and his arguments from him.

next lecture-day to expound the providential reasons for such a disaster; and named, as one of the 'accursed things' which had caused God's judgment in this colonial defeat, the neglect of the government to make a new law to aid ministers suffering as to their salaries on account of the depreciation of the currency.* The Congregationalists printed and commended the sermon, but history has preserved no Baptist encomiums thereon.

The years 1779 and 1780 were memorable in Massachusetts in connection with her new constitution as a Republican State. Delegates assembled at Cambridge, Sept. 1 of the former year, and chose a large committee to draft the instrument, and re-assembled October 28, to hear their report. The third article in the proposed Bill of Rights gave to the civil rulers power in religious matters, and was warmly debated. Referred, at last, to a special committee of seven—five of whom were distinguished politicians—a new draft was prepared, still preserving the obnoxious principle; and, after animated and extended discussion, it found favour with the majority. On the 5th January following, the convention met again, and early in March had finished their work. The Baptists drew up and circulated protests against the offensive article, on five grounds, viz.: (1) Because it asserts a right in the people to give away a power they never had themselves, in giving the majority in each town and parish the right to covenant with religious teachers for the minority—since no man has the right to judge for others in matters of religion. (2) Because it gives this power into the hands of voters qualified by money, and not by membership in the Church of Christ. (3) Because it contradicts itself in promising equal protection to all sects, while a majority cannot govern in this thing unless the minority submit their rights. (4) Because the civil power is empowered to judge whether men can conveniently and conscientiously attend upon any teacher within their reach, and to oblige them to do it, in contradiction of the rights of conscience. (5) Because it authorizes the legislature to judge what may be 'suitable provision' for religious teachers, which, being 'power without restraint,' is tyranny. These protests were numerous signed, and by others beside Baptists, but

* 'Continental Journal,' Oct. 8, 1788.

when the General Court met in October it ignored them, and adopted the proposed instrument.

At the first hearing, the new Bill of Rights sounded remarkably well, inasmuch as it declared that 'no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law;' and that 'no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience.' But the countervailing force of this subtle and pestilent Third Article was enough to change its entire quality in the face of these fine words and this gracious emptiness. This is the process of it: 'As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend on piety, religion, and morality, . . . the Legislature shall, from time to time, authorise and require the several towns, parishes, and precincts . . . to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the publick worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of publick Protestant teachers of piety, religion, morality,' &c.* And when, in 1786, an Act was passed defining how this provision should be carried out, and empowering the qualified voters of any place, at every annual town-meeting, to 'grant and vote such sums of money as they shall judge necessary for the settlement, maintenance, and support of the ministry, meeting-houses, &c., and other necessary charges arising within the same, to be assessed upon the polls and property within the same, as by law provided;' † it dawned upon the dullest dotard that the Congregationalists had been playing the 'heads I win, tails you lose,' game; and that, being almost everywhere the party in large numerical majority, they had, without appearing to have done so, managed to keep these matters about in the very (grievous) old spot where they had been so long. To be sure there was another provision of the old certificating kind: 'That all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, &c., shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of a public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends.' ‡ The practical operation of this must necessarily

* 'Benedict,' i. 446.

† 'Laws of Mass.' i. 327.

‡ 'Backus,' 250.

have been very odious, inasmuch as it required Dissenters to pay their full taxes for the support of religion, &c., like the members of the Standing Order, into the treasury; only they then had the right to draw that money out again to the use of their own ministers—if they could prove that they had any. But since, as a matter of fact, assessors, collectors, treasurers—and, if they were forced to the processes of the law to recover their money—judges and jurors, were apt to be prejudiced against them, and the money was, by statute, forfeited to the use of the parish if they could not regain it, it does not require much consideration to make us sure that the Bill of Rights, at least as interpreted and made operative by subsequent statute, was, to these long-suffering Baptists, a Bill of Wrongs.

Of course they protested. In 1791 a grievous case occurred in Barnstable, where Baptists were repeatedly taxed, and their property was distrained for the support of the minister of the majority, although they had a minister of their own to maintain.* In 1797, public appeal was made by the Warren Association, on behalf of the Baptist Church and Society in the South Parish of Harwich, 'who have been taxed for several years past to the support of the Congregational minister, to the amount of several hundred dollars, and very considerable sums of it have been actually distrained from them, and, in attempting to recover it by law, they have expended near five hundred dollars more;' and other Baptist Churches were earnestly commended to give it some pecuniary aid.† The coming in of the present century found the matter in this, to them, unsatisfactory state, and Congregationalism still, to all intents and purposes, the established religion in Massachusetts.

We have dwelt thus long upon the aspect of the Bay Colony in this business, because it fairly samples the action of the others, with exceptions already noted in the Old Colony before it became merged in its more powerful neighbour; and we have paid so much attention to the Baptists, because the brunt of the controversy came upon them. We will now turn back to glance for a moment at any matters needing reference in the other New England Colonies, in order to a fair understanding of the facts down to the date which we have reached, three-quarters of a century ago.

* Hovey's '*Backus*,' 256.

† *Ibid.* 262.

In Connecticut, which established a written constitution as early as Jan. 14, 1638, the original requisition for the becoming a freeman was to be admitted an inhabitant and take the oath of fidelity,* and this was subsequently explained to mean 'admitted by a generall voate of ye major parte of the Towne that receiveth them.'† As finally settled (1662), the freemen were required to be 'persons of civill, peaceable, and honest conversation, and that they attain the age of twenty-one yeares, and have £20 estate;' nothing being said about church-membership or religious faith.‡ And when catechised in 1665 by his Majesty's Commissioners, the Court was able to reply: 'We know not of any one that hath bin troubled by us for attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the publique.'§ The New Haven Colony started on the Massachusetts's basis, agreeing 'that noe man of what degree or qualitie soever shall at any time be admitted to be a free burgess within this plantation, but such planters as are members of some or other of the approved Churches of New England, nor shall any but such free burgesses have any vote in any election.'|| When the two colonies were united in 1664, as the process of that union happened to be the absorption of that one which had the stricter rule in this respect by that one which had the more liberal one, there was no practical difficulty in declaring all the New Haven freemen to be free of the corporation of Connecticut — which was done.¶ The general legislation of the two colonies before the union, and their united policy thereafter, was essentially identical with that which we have considered in Massachusetts. All were by law obliged to attend upon Congregational worship, and support the same by rates, laid and collected like those for other civil charges.** No Church could be established without leave of the court.†† There were loopholes of retreat, but they were hard to find, and use.‡‡ The first substantial abatement of the rigour of the rule was effected by the Act of Toleration, in 1708, by which Dissenters were exempted from

* 'Pub. Rec. Col. Conn.' i. 23.

† Ibid. i. 96.

‡ Ibid. i. 389.

§ Ibid. i. 439.

|| 'Records of Col. of Newhaven,' i. 191.

¶ Hollister's 'Hist. Conn.' i. 231.

** 'Contributions to Eccles. Hist. of Conn.' 118.

†† 'Trumbull's Hist. of Conn.' i. 239.

‡‡ 'First Code of Conn.' 22.

punishment for failing to conform to the established religion, but not exempted from taxation for its support. By appearing before the County Court, and declaring there legally their 'sober dissent,' they could obtain permission to worship in their own way—still being obliged to contribute their share to the Congregational expenditures of their town. There was further relaxation in 1727, in the case of Episcopalians, and in the case of Quakers and Baptists in 1729—they being exempted from taxation by the Established Churches on legal evidence that they worshipped with a tolerated society of their own denomination.* In 1784, the Saybrook Platform, which since 1708 had been the legal platform of the Establishment, was abrogated, leaving all free to worship wherever they liked, but still requiring all to be taxed for the support of the Church of their choice. And this was as far as the opening of the nineteenth century found Connecticut advanced in the path of true religious liberty.

One ancient colony remains, exceptional and remarkable, yet whose position on this great question of toleration might easily be overrated and overstated both in its relation to strictness and to license. When in the sweet summer of 1636 Roger Williams and his company of six rounded the headland of Tockwotton, and laid the foundations of what is now a flourishing and exceptionally beautiful town, bearing that devout name of 'Providence' with which he baptized it, they started with the fundamental dictum that no man should be molested for his conscience.† Yet, curiously enough, on almost the first page of the ancient record of their corporate acts is this: 'It was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon the breach of a covenant for restraining the libertie of conscience, shall be withheld from the liberty of voting till he shall declare the contrarie;'‡ which, as explained, appears in this odd guise. Verin's wife, on the plea of liberty of conscience, claimed the right to go to hear Williams and others exhort on weekdays, and so often as to interfere with Verin's domestic comfort and views of propriety, so that he restrained her. Whereupon the company proposed to dispose of Mrs. Verin to some other man, who would use her better; but, on the other

* 'Contributions,' &c. 119.

† 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 102.

‡ 'Records of Col. of Rhode Island,' i. 16.

hand, it was pleaded that, as Verin had acted conscientiously in restraining her, he could not be censured for his act.* When, in 1641, the affairs of the colony were revised and settled, it was ordered: 'That none be accounted a delinquent 'for doctrine; provided it be not directly repugnant to the 'government or lawes established.'† When the charter government came to be in force a few years later, it reached the same result by prefixing the word 'civil' to the terms 'government' or 'laws,' wherever they occur.‡

Here was, of course, a great advance in the matter of religious freedom over the other colonies; and it was natural that such a state of things should then draw to Rhode Island a good many persons—attracted by this particular feature of the colony—whose presence was not especially to be desired, and who might be very likely to abuse such license as they found. Late in 1654 some person undertook to advocate in Providence the doctrine that it is 'blood-guiltiness, and 'against the rule of the gospel to execute judgment upon 'transgressors against the public or private weal.' This brought out Williams to define what his doctrine of liberty of conscience really was, and to rescue it from the desecration of those who seek to level all moral distinctions in favour of unbridled and universal license. He wrote a letter to the town of Providence, in which he says—and we insert the paragraph that he may have the benefit of his own explanation upon a point so important §—

'That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add that I never denied that, notwith-

* 'Winthrop's Journal,' i. 340.

† 'Arnold's Hist. of Rhode Island,' i. 149.

‡ Ibid. i. 200.

§ 'Publications of the Narragansett Club,' vi. 278.

standing this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers; no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits.'

The second charter of 1663 was very explicit on this subject. It declared—

That noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinione in matters of religion which doe not actually disturbe the civill peace of our sayd colonye; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and their owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of lande hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civil injurye or outward disturbance of others.'*

In 1657, the Commissioners of the United Colonies (Rhode Island, for her position on this subject, among other reasons, not being in that Union) wrote a letter to this colony, urging them to banish such Quakers as were already there, and to shut the door against the coming in of others.† To which the plucky little government replied that there was no law in Rhode Island in virtue of which men could be punished for their opinions; that the Quakers were already immensely disgusted because they were not persecuted there; but that should any violent extravagances show themselves, a corrective would be provided—in the shape of complaint made against them to England.‡ In 1716, when elsewhere in New England the precise opposite was taking place, Rhode Island passed an Act: 'That what maintenance or salary may be

* 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 292.

† 'Acts of Com. of Unit. Col.' ii. 181.

‡ 'Rec. Col. R. I.' i. 377-380.

'thought needful or necessary by any of the Churches, congregations, or societies of people now inhabiting, or that hereafter may inhabit, within any part of this Government, for the support of their, or either of their minister or ministers, may be raised by a free contribution, and no other ways.'* Perhaps, in weighing the comparative attitude occupied in this respect by Rhode Island, in fairness it should be borne in mind that her central position, surrounded by the other colonies, made it possibly a little easier for her to have her own way; while the extreme smallness of her population reduced the importance of her action in all respects. Seventy-two years after the founding of the colony, when (December, 1708) her first general census was taken, there were only 7,181 inhabitants.† Nor did the other colonies believe that the Rhode Island way worked well for herself, in a moral and religious point of view. Cotton Mather, who had great powers of statement, expressed a feeling largely existent, when he said of it: 'I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot of ground as have been in that colony. It has been a *colluvies* of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, everything in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians—though of the latter I hope there have been more than of the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of opinionists.'‡

It is, however, a very curious fact, which demands mention here, and which is suggested by what Mather says above of

* 'Rec. Col. R. I.' iv. 206.

† Ibid. iv. 59. It is not possible to form an accurate estimate of the population at that time resident in the other colonies. Governor Dudley set Massachusetts at 56,000 in 1709. ['Coll. Amer. Statis. Assoc.' 584.] Dr. Humphreys estimated the total English-American colonies, in 1700, at about 262,000. [Holmes's 'Amer. Annals,' i. 480.]

‡ 'Magnalia,' bk. vii. ch. iii. sec. 12. Rev. John Callender, pastor of the first Baptist Church in Newport, R. I., in his 'Century Sermon' (1738), admits 'some odd and whimsical opinions,' 'too great an indifference to any social worship,' a 'tincture of enthusiasm,' and 'not so many great and wise men among them, perhaps, as were in some of the other colonies;' but thinks there was 'manifestly an aim and endeavour to prevent or suppress all disorders and immoralities, and to promote universal peace, virtue, godliness, and charity.' ['R. I. Hist. Coll.' iv. 105, 106.]

Papists, that in February, 1788, an Act was passed by the Rhode Island Assembly, *repealing a disabling clause affecting Romanists*, which it declares to have been placed upon the statute book of that colony as early as 1663.* Such an Act at that date would have seemed singularly alien to the spirit of affairs. Seventeen years later, as a matter of fact, there were no Papists among them.† One can find upon the colonial records of 1663, no trace of the ordinance to which reference is made. The disabling clause, it is said, first appears upon a manuscript copy of the laws made in 1705.‡ It crept in, no one can now tell when, or how. Arnold claims that it was always inoperative, and attributes it to 'the exigencies of English politics.'§ Still there is no denying that, for more than three-quarters of a century, Rhode Island did so far retreat from her original position, as, on account of opinions conscientiously held by them, by law to deprive one class of religionists within her borders of civil rights. Say what you will, her claim to lead the world in the truest toleration suffers embarrassment from this stubborn fact. It may not amount to Horace's,

'Quod petiit, spernet; repetit, quod nuper omisit,'

but the story would read much better without it.

One further fact remains to be developed to make complete our glance at what the religious establishment in New England really was, and how it worked. We have seen how it dealt with Anabaptists and Quakers, and various real or imagined heretics; it is needful to know also that it was in no degree less severe in its methods, or less exacting in its spirit, when it was orthodoxy itself which was judged to be out of place.

* The statute reads: 'Be it enacted, &c., that all the rights and privileges of the Protestant citizens of this State, as declared in and by an Act made and passed 1 March, 1663, be, and the same hereby are, *fully extended to Roman Catholic citizens*; and that they, being of competent estates and of civil conversation, and acknowledging and paying obedience to the civil magistrates, shall be admitted freemen, and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen civil or military officers within this State, *any exception in the said Act to the contrary notwithstanding.*' [R. I. State Rec. Feb. 1788, 412.]

† 'As for Papists, wee know of none amongst us.' [Answer of Gov. Sandford, 8th May, 1680, to Board of Trade. Eng. State Paper Office, N. E. Papers, iii. 121.]

‡ 'Arnold's Hist. Rhode Island,' ii. 492.

§ Ibid.

During the Great Awakening in the eighteenth century, there arose a class of Churches, for a time engrossing considerable public attention, which, though purely Congregational in their principles and practices, were not in fellowship with the Congregational Establishment, or, to use the old New England phrase for it, the 'Standing Order.' Most numerous in Connecticut, they existed elsewhere. They insisted strongly on the fundamental necessity of clear evidence of regeneration, and an open confession of faith, with a public recital of the individual experience of the work of God in the soul. They scrupled the ordinary processes of the Churches, feeling that by the 'half-way covenant,' which had been recommended by the Synod of 1665, persons were practically received into the Church who gave no satisfactory evidence of conversion; while they took a more earnest view of the necessity of a deep religious experience than was then common, and were led so highly to estimate zeal, as to feel that it was, at least, quite as important as knowledge in the pulpit; whence they came to advocate what they called 'lowly preaching,' that is, the warm harangues of unlettered men. Altogether, this movement in New England had a strong likeness to the rise of Methodism in England; and while those who were active in it ran into some extravagances both of views and practice, there can be no doubt that they were mainly evangelical in sentiment and devout in life.* The first Church of this description seems to have been formed at Canterbury, Conn., in 1744, whose pastor, Solomon Payne, was one of the chief apostles of this doctrine. Thirty or forty others followed. Their path proved to be a thorny one. The Canterbury 'Separates' were levied upon for the expenses of the council called to ordain the man whom they had refused to hear, for his regular support, and for the repairs of the house of worship they had left. Refusing to pay these rates, their cattle, goods, and household furniture were forcibly taken, and in default of these, their bodies were cast into prison.† They petitioned the Assembly, only to receive more stringent

* 'Contributions to the Eccles. Hist. of Conn.' 253. Hovey's 'Life and Times of Backus,' 42. For best minute information about these 'Separates,' see Larned's 'History of Windham County, Conn. (just issued)' i. 392-485.

† Larned's 'Hist. Windham County,' i. 439.

legislation, intended to hedge in the wild fire, so that it should not spread. The Toleration Act was repealed. It was further enacted that, 'If any ordained minister, or person licensed to preach, should preach or exhort in any parish not immediately under his charge, without express invitation from the minister, or lawful authority of such parish, he should forfeit the benefit of the colonial law made for the support of the gospel ministry;' and that 'any person whatsoever, not a settled and ordained minister, who should go into any parish, and without express invitation from the minister, or constituted authorities, publicly preach or exhort,' should be bound over in £100 to keep the peace; while any 'stranger' presuming so to preach, teach, or publicly exhort, should be sent 'as a vagrant person' out of the colony.* At Norwich, Conn., the 'Separates' became so numerous as to outvote their opponents in town meeting, and so refused to pay the rates of the Established Church. But the Assembly interfered, and taxed them by special Act for the support of the worship they abhorred. Refusing to pay this tax, they were imprisoned, as many as forty persons, men and women, in a single year.† There is no need to dwell upon these painful facts. But they surely demonstrate that there was nothing in the New England air to give mellowness or mitigation to the iniquities and exasperations that are essentially inherent in any union between Church and State; let the Church on the one hand, and the State on the other, be of what quality they may.

The nineteenth century, then, found New England thus situated in regard to the matter under consideration. Massachusetts, which had absorbed Plymouth and evolved New Hampshire,‡ still required every citizen to be attached to

* Larned's 'Hist. Windham County,' i. 399.

† Denison's 'Historical Notices.'

‡ Plymouth Colony ceased its separate existence in the summer of 1692, its General Court exercising its power for the last time by appointing Wednesday, August 31, of that year, 'to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation.' (Baylies's 'Memoir of Plym Col.' iv. 142.) Settled as early as 1623, and several times added to and taken from Massachusetts, New Hampshire became finally a separate province in 1741. (Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 158.) Vermont was claimed by New York, and Maine did not finally separate from Massachusetts until 1820.

some Church organization, taking it for granted that it would be that so long by law defended; yet allowing him to establish his right to go elsewhere, and making it legal for town treasurers to omit to tax for the support of the Standing Order those who belonged to and usually attended other Churches, and authorizing the ministers of such 'other Churches' to recover, by petition or suit, of the town treasurers, the sums paid into their hands for the support of the gospel. So carefully, however, did the dominant influences still guard the interests of Congregationalism—as they understood them—that in 1804 it was judicially decided that an itinerant Methodist minister could not be regarded as so far a 'settled' minister, in the intent of the law, as to enable him to recover under it.*

In Connecticut, the legal establishment of the Saybrook Platform having been repealed in 1784, its citizens were left free to worship with whatever denomination they preferred; but all were still taxed for some Church—the Church of their choice.† In New Hampshire a Dissenter could avoid taxation only by *proving* that he belonged to another sect, a kind of proof often difficult, and sometimes impossible.‡ In the district of Maine the laws of Massachusetts were in force, and there was no essential difference in the general condition of affairs, although its remoteness favoured laxity.§ In Vermont also the inhabitants of every town or parish were by law assumed to be of the Standing Order, unless they were able to prove that they were of different views and supported

* Washburn v. Springfield. 1 Mass. 32.

† 'Contributions to Eccles. Hist. Conn.' 122.

‡ 'When a suit was instituted against him for the tax and he was brought into court, he was met by able counsel, employed by the select-men, well versed in law and ready to quibble at the slightest lack of proof, and vex him by nice legal distinctions. Mr. Smith and Mr. Mason, in one case, contended that the defendant, whose defence was that he was a Baptist, could not avoid the payment, because he had not *proved* that he had been *dipped*. "Neither is he a Congregationalist," replied Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Bartlett, "because he has not *proved* that he has been sprinkled."' (Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 427.)

§ It seems to have been objected to Maine that it was 'the receptacle of schismatics and excommunicants;' and tauntingly said of it, 'that when a man could find no religion to his taste, let him remove to Maine.' (Williamson's 'Hist. Maine,' ii. 281.)

the gospel elsewhere.* Little Rhode Island alone had quietly cut the knot, and allowed all her people to believe as they pleased, and to adopt such measures as they liked for the furtherance of their faith, always provided they behaved 'themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this 'libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civil 'injurye, or outward disturbance of others.'†

It seems hardly possible that thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are still living who were born thus under Congregationalism as the established religion of New England—with the exception of the 1,050 square miles of the little State of Roger Williams—but such is the fact.‡

Vermont seems to have been first to follow the example of Rhode Island. Dissenters in considerable numbers had there risen to political power; and in 1807—a Baptist minister being Speaker of the House, and another Baptist minister being an influential member of the Council—after two years of struggle, the existing statute was repealed, and all laws regulating the support of religion were done away, and the whole matter left to the popular conscience.§ Connecticut came next. In that State the Dissenters had become disgusted with being treated as subordinate to the Standing Order. They were largely of the blood of the old first-comers; they had been born upon the soil, had borne the heat and burden of the day; and they felt that they had as good a right to the sunshine of the government as others. Taking advantage of the political commotion following the war of 1812, and the Hartford Convention, they so managed as to make themselves of consequence to the parties into which the State was divided. The Episcopalians, who numbered many of the first men at the bar and in the legislature, were especially active. A new party arose, bearing the name of 'Tolerationists,' which carried the elections of 1817, making Oliver Wolcott governor, and securing a majority in the Assembly. The rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, preached the election sermon—

* Thompson's 'Hist. Vermont,' ii. 186.

† Language of the Charter of 1663. (Arnold's 'Hist. Rhode Island,' i. 292.)

‡ It was an example of compensation more amusing to the Congregationalists than to Episcopalians, that when Churchmen—of whatever height—came from Old into New England, they became at once Dissenters, and could try how they liked it.

§ Thompson's 'Hist. Vermont,' ii. 186.

a more appalling event for that day and locality than if Messrs. Moody and Sankey were to be now invited by Dean Stanley to take a service in Westminster Abbey. And the new movement did not stop until in the next year the Constitution of the commonwealth was revised, the Standing Order severed from the State, the last legal restriction upon the consciences of men removed, and every denomination left, in perfect freedom, to itself. * New Hampshire followed quickly in the wake of Connecticut, the enemies of the old way being greatly quickened and stimulated by what had there been accomplished. A Toleration Act was introduced into the New Hampshire legislature during its session of 1819. It was fiercely debated. Some of the rhetoric was remarkable. One pleader for the reform pictured the evils of the ancient way, 'where drowy 'justice still nodded upon her rotten seat, intoxicated by the 'poisonous draught of bigotry prepared for her cup.' † The other side retorted: 'Pass this bill, and the temples now 'consecrated to the worship of the Saviour of the world will 'soon be deserted and forsaken.' ‡ But the bill passed, to the grievous sorrow, at the time, of most of the good people who had not been oppressed by the old law; some of whom openly declared that the State had repealed the Christian religion and abolished the Bible; that 'the wicked ones outnumbered 'them, and religion is clean gone.' §

The final separation of Maine from maternal Massachusetts was effected March 15, 1820, when she was admitted into the Union as an independent State. She took advantage of the opportunity afforded in the shaping of her new constitution to adopt the Vermont and Connecticut improvements, which had just again been indorsed by New Hampshire. The State recognised the inviolable right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of conscience and choice, and placed all forms of faith and worship equally under the protection of the laws. || A Parish Act was further passed by the legislature, allowing any number of persons to associate and incorporate themselves into a religious society, without legislative charter. ¶

* Hollister's 'Hist. Conn.' ii. 512-516; Dr. Beardsley's 'Hist. Epis. Chure' in Conn.' ii. 160-173.

† Barstow's 'Hist. New Hampshire,' 531.

‡ Ibid. 434.

§ Ibid. 441.

|| Williamson's 'Hist. Maine,' ii. 691.

¶ Ibid. ii. 678.

Massachusetts alone held out, in part. For several years indeed there had been progress even upon her conservative soil, and statutes had been passed qualifying decisions which her courts had felt themselves obliged to make in applying the ancient policy to an age that was fast making itself incompatible with it. Early in the present century the Supreme Court had decided that ministers of unincorporated religious societies could claim nothing of the town treasurers who had received the taxes of their parishioners, because they were not the 'public teachers recognised by the Bill of Rights, 'but mere private teachers of piety, religion, and morality.'* The courts having several times before decided that such Acts of incorporation were not needful, there were then very few Churches of any denomination which had secured such a charter, so that there were multitudes of applications immediately for the grant of such corporate powers; † while the legislature of 1811 passed an Enabling Act, by the force of which one might leave a Church of the Standing Order and join an Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, or Universalist Society, in the same town, whether he had scruples or not; and his tax filtered at last through the town treasury—however reluctant—into the hands of his own minister, however ordained and whether settled or itinerant, and whether his Society were incorporated or not. Still he was compelled to file with the town authorities a certificate that he did really belong to the abnormal Society, in this, paying tribute to the allegiance which he was still held to owe to the State and the Standing Order, in matters of religion. ‡ This advance in freedom was extremely unwelcome to many excellent people, and the Chief Justice, in 1817, in giving a reluctant endorsement of the constitutionality of the new law, did not conceal his fear that it would be harmful 'to public morals and religion, and tend 'to destroy the decency and regularity of public worship.' § And in 1820, so far were the people of Massachusetts from being moved by the then recent action of Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine, to take up the long-standing

* *Barnes v. Falmouth*. 6 Mass. 401; *Lovell v. Byfield*. 7 Mass. 230; *Turner v. Brookfield*. 7 Mass. 60.

† Some seventy special Acts of this sort were passed in the next five years, only one of which was for a Congregational Society.

‡ Buck's 'Mass. Eccles. Law,' 44.

§ *Adams v. Howe*. 14 Mass. 344.

policy of Rhode Island, that an amendment to the Bill of Rights, designed to bring it toward the same results, was promptly rejected, when put to popular vote, by more than 8,000 majority; while at the same time the proposition in the same direction, so to enlarge the basis of Harvard College, as to allow ministers of all denominations to be among its overseers, was defeated by more than 12,000 majority against it.* The Congregationalists then had 383 churches in the State, and they still preferred the ancient way. One of the ablest of the orthodox lawyers and leaders of opinion—Judge Hubbard—insisted in debate that the commonwealth ought to retain the power of compelling its citizens to go to church; for though the matter had little importance then, the progress of a generation might make it of vast consequence.†

Troubles of an unprecedented and unexpected sort, however, soon modified the judgment of a great many Massachusetts Congregationalists. The Socinian heresy began to manifest itself within the Congregational Churches; and in the struggle which followed, and the endeavour of Congregational Trinitarianism to free itself from Congregational Unitarianism, it became unpleasantly obvious that the connection of the Church with the State was made to play into the hands of the enemy; and when odious decisions followed, stripping orthodox Churches of their rights, and giving their property to the towns which were connected with them, or the parishes which had taken the place of the towns, it was not consoling to be told that the learned judges were guided in their decisions by the spirit of the old statutes uniting Church and State, and were carefully conserving the consistence of the ecclesiastical legislation of Massachusetts with itself. The orthodox minister of Brookfield seceded from the Socinian parish,‡ with a majority of his Church—in point of

* Buck's 'Mass. Eccles. Law,' 47.

† Debates, 352.

‡ It is essential that an Englishman who desires to understand American ecclesiastical terminology and history, should remember that the word 'parish' has several senses, varying with the date when it is used. Originally in New England a parish, as in England, signified a definite tract of land, with the dwellers on it, all of whom owed allegiance to the church in the parish. And inasmuch as for a long time there was but one parish in a town, the lines of the two being identical, the words 'town' and 'parish' were interchangeable and synonymous. As population increased so that it was needful to have more than one parish in a town, the General Court would 'set off' one part of the town into

fact, but *two* male members of the Church were left in the old parish meeting-house with the parish; yet the courts decided that these two males (with the handful of females also remaining) were the old Church, because they did remain with the parish, and decreed to them the property, communion furniture, and Church records.* And all this was because the Church was united still to the State. It was not strange that such an internal argument proved more convincing than all the external reasoning of the years, and that a revulsion of feeling took place within the Standing Order itself, generating a party there which proved to be of sufficient force to be soon able, acting with all other parties who desired the change, to secure a radical modification of the fundamental law. And so it came about that in 1834, a little more than two hundred years after the policy had been adopted in the Bay Colony, an amendment to the Bill of Rights was carried, by the decisive vote of 92,234 ayes to 3,273 noes,† which for ever discharged the commonwealth of all special oversight of religious affairs, and absolutely abandoned the policy of union between the Church and the State which New England had inherited from the mother country, and which the mother country three-quarters of a century later is beginning to suspect to be a more than questionable thing.

At the Plymouth General Court in October, 1658, *Lieu-* a new parish, the other remaining the 'first' parish. After the Revolution, another description of parish was made legal, including men with their lands, estates, and polls, *without reference to contiguity*, and these were styled 'poll' parishes. Subsequently a third form of parish grew up and was legalized, which consisted of men, without reference to their place of residence, lands, or estate, but simply regarding their religious preferences. These were often called 'religious societies.' As a Church, simply as such, is not known to New England law, it becomes needful to have some kind of a parish associated with every Church, to be the legal owner of the house of worship, with the parsonage and funds or other property which may exist for the support of the means of grace in connection with it. And by the existing statutes, any ten persons, being voters, who please to do so, by giving public notice in the manner designated, may incorporate themselves into such a parish, or religious society, thus acquiring all the needed powers and functions, taking care to record in the Registry of Deeds their corporate name, objects, and articles of association. ('General Statutes,' ch. xxx. sec. 4, 5; ch. xxxii. sec. 1. *Buck's 'Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law,'* 17-19, 21, 120, 125, 130-32.)

* *Stebbins v. Jennings.* 10 'Pickering,' 172. See Strong's able argument on the other side, in the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims,' v. 402-424.

† 'Senate Documents,' 1834. No. 3.

tenant Matthew Fuller had been fined fifty shillings for having said that 'the law enacted about minnesters' main-tenance was a wicked and a divellish law, and that the divell 'satt att the sterne when it was enacted ;'* but the drift of feeling on both sides of the sea is now very much with that mulcted officer ; who, if in this respect in advance of his own generation, would find himself quite at home with that which is now on the stage. He was in advance of it, and of four or five more generations that followed it. It was not without terrible convulsions of feeling, and the most conscientious sorrow of many of the short-sighted good, that this great change was wrought. We cannot spare space to trace this, as it might be traced, all along the successive stages of the struggle. But the story would be incomplete without a glance at its latest phase in the first half of the present century. We have already referred to the sad forebodings of some of the Christians of New Hampshire. The subject nowhere awakened a keener feeling than in Connecticut. And the autobiography of good old Lyman Beecher gives a hint of the views taken by the party represented by so truly noble and catholic a soul as his own. He says :—

' The habit of legislation from the beginning had been to favour the Congregational order and provide for it. Congregationalism was the established religion. All others were Dissenters, and complained of favouritism. The ambitious minority early began to make use of the minor sects on the ground of invidious distinctions, thus making them restive. So the democracy, as it rose, included nearly all the minor sects, besides the Sabbath-breakers, rum-selling tippling folk, infidels, and ruff-scuff generally, and made a dead set at us of the Standing Order. It was a long time, however, before they could accomplish anything, so small were the sects, and so united the Federal phalanx. After defeat upon defeat, and while other State delegations in Congress divided, ours, for twenty years [having been] a unit, Pierrepont Edwards, a leader of the Democrats, exclaimed : " As well attempt to revolutionise the kingdom of heaven as the State of Connecticut ! " But throwing Treadwell over in 1811 broke the charm and divided the party ; persons of third-rate ability, on our side, who wanted to be somebody, deserted ; all the infidels in the State had long been leading on that side ; the minor sects had swollen, and complained of having to get a certificate to pay their tax where they liked ; our efforts to enforce reformation of morals by law made us unpopular ; they attacked the clergy unceasingly and myself in par-

* ' *Plym. Col. Rec.* ' iii. 150.

ticular, in season and out of season, with all sorts of misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse; and, finally, the Episcopalians, who had always been staunch Federalists, were disappointed of an appropriation for the Bishops' Fund, which they asked for, and went over to the Democrats. That overset us. They slung us out like a stone from a sling. It was a time of great depression and suffering. It was the worst attack I ever met in my life, except that which Wilson made.* I worked as hard as mortal man could, and at the same time preached for revivals with all my might, and with success; till, at last, what with domestic afflictions and all, my health and spirits began to fail. It was as dark a day as ever I saw.† The odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable.‡

As a specimen of the way in which the newspapers then handled the discussion, one might profitably read an article contributed by Dr. Beecher himself to one of them, entitled, 'The Toleration Dream,' which commenced with the following bit of doggerel, for which his pen seems to have been responsible:—

‘TOLERATION.

‘This famed little word hath four syllables in it,
And a fal-de-ral *Tol* is the first to begin it;
Little *e* is put next—as a link it was done,
For those who cry *TOL* to tack to it *RA-TION*.

‘There are tolerant freemen and tolerant slaves,
There are tolerant dunces and tolerant knaves,
There are tolerant bigots who constantly run,
And seek, through *In-tolerance*, *TOLERATION*.

‘Some tolerate virtue, some tolerate vice,
Some tolerate truth, some tolerate lies,
Some tolerate religion, some tolerate none,
And the test of all faith is their *TOLERATION*.’§

We can get no more graphic idea of the horror with which the good men of the Standing Order then contemplated the idea of disestablishment, as likely to result in the abolition of

* He refers here to his trial for heresy, before the Presbyterian tribunals, in 1835, which was instigated by the Rev. Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, of Cincinnati.

† His daughter Catherine says: ‘I remember seeing father, the day after the election, sitting on one of the old-fashioned rush-bottomed kitchen chairs, his head drooping on his breast, and his arms hanging down. “Father,” said I, “what are you thinking of?” He answered, solemnly, “THE CHURCH OF GOD.”’ (*Autobiography*, i. 344.)

‡ *Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher*, i. 342.

§ *Ibid.* i. 392.

all religion, not merely, but in a general saturnalia of vice, than is afforded by an extract from the article which is prefaced by the lines just quoted, which is thrown into the similitude of a dream.

'I looked, and beheld a little tenement upon wheels moving slowly toward the place where I stood. Within and without, on every side, was a company of men with such blazing noses and burning breath that they seemed to add both to the light and heat of the sun. They were armed with jugs, and bottles, and tumblers, and wine-glasses, which they brandished with fearless courage and constancy, projecting as they passed the waving line of beauty, and drowning, as they shouted "TOLERATION," even the voice of the trumpet.

'I approached the door of the tenement, and, with a look of surprise, demanded of the man who dealt out the *inspiration*: "Friend, are you aware that you violate the laws of the State?" "Laws of the State!" he replied; "what have I to do with the laws of the State? Has not 'TOLERATION' gained the victory?" The falling tear answered, "Yes." "Well," said he, "you may whine, but I shall sell rum. I have news from headquarters, and have nothing to fear. Besides, the laws on this subject are soon to be repealed."

'I turned to the unhappy crowd around me, and inquired: "My dear fellow-men, what do you want?" "TOLERATION," they all bawled in my ear at once. "What is that?" said I. "Down with the laws against selling rum—down with the penalties against being merry," they all responded. "Alas!" I exclaimed. "Have you not liberty enough now? What harm do the laws do, when nobody executes them?" "Ay," said they, as they reeled along, "but the *principle*; we cannot bear laws in the statute-book wrong in principle. We cannot,—in conscience we cannot,—for though we drink without fear or restraint, who knows whether our children may be allowed to do so when we are dead. We contend for the right of unborn generations to drink when they please, and as much as they please."

'As I stepped back from this atmosphere of rum, I perceived a number of fishermen in a waggon, mending their nets. "Where are you going?" I asked. "To Connecticut river; it is the Sabbath to-morrow, and we are getting ready." "For what?" I eagerly interrupted them. "To make money," they replied; "for now we have gained 'TOLERATION,' we have seven days to work in instead of six." I said, "My friends, God has commanded you to keep the Sabbath holy, and He will punish you if you break it." "We will risk that," they replied. "But it is against the law of the State." "Law of the State!" said they, sneeringly; "who will execute it? Besides, we have been told from ahead that it shall soon be repealed."

'While I was yet speaking, crack went a whip, and a stage full of people passed, shouting: "Down with the Sabbath!—down with *deacon* justices!"

* * * * *

‘As they passed on, a most miserable sight met mine eye,—a procession, borne on waggons, consumptive, paralytic, asthmatic, and squalid. “Whence are you?” demanded I, as they drew near. “From the almshouse.” “And whither do you go?” “To town meeting, to lay an *eight per cent. tax*. We live too poorly, but it’s *TOLERATION* now; and since *we* too can vote, we shall have better times.” As they passed, I perceived they had in the head waggon a banner floating, with this motto: “*Let the farmers earn the money, and the worthless spend it!*”’ *

When a man of so much good sense, piety, and foresight as Lyman Beecher, could think it was doing God (and man) service to write and print and feel after this fashion, it is easy to understand what must have been the sufferings of the average Christian mind over such a prospect as was afforded by the slow but sure advance of the rending of all ties between Church and State.

We find so clear-headed a publicist and liberal a statesman as Ex-President John Adams soon after expressing himself thus, in a letter of date Nov. 3, 1820, to a Connecticut friend who had sent him a copy of their new constitution:—

‘The *cantilena sacerdotis* will be sung as long as priesthood shall exist. I mean not by this, however, to condemn the article in our Declaration of Rights. I mean to keep my mind open to conviction upon this subject, until I shall be called to give a vote.† An abolition of this law would have so great an effect in this State, that it seems hazardous to touch it. However, I am not about to discuss the question at present. In Rhode Island, I am informed, public preaching is supported by three or four wealthy men in the parish, who either have, or appear to have, a regard for religion, while all others sneak away, and avoid payment of anything. And such, I believe, would be the effect in this State almost universally; yet this, I own, is not a decisive argument in favour of the law. *Sub judice lis est.*’‡

The very natural circumstance that all citizens of a loose religious faith, or of no faith, earnestly contended for a change in the law, had its effect in frightening believers from such advocacy, lest they should be found to play into the hands of evil men. Many also had a notion, which found expression in the plea of one of the delegates to the Convention which made the final revision of the Constitution in Massachusetts, that ‘it is necessary to make legal provision for the support

* ‘Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher,’ i. 402.

† Mr. Adams, then just entered on his *eighty-sixth* year, had been chosen a member of the Convention called to consider the revision of the Constitution of Massachusetts.

‡ ‘Life and Works of John Adams,’ x. 392.

'of religious instruction, that there may be sufficient inducement to young men to qualify themselves for the office of 'public instructors.'* Between 1817-18, when Dr. Beecher was suffering such anguish in Litchfield, Conn., and 1838-34, when the last tie which bound Church and State together in Massachusetts was severed, the world moved quite perceptibly; and while those who were very earnest in their convictions and just a little narrow in their minds felt the gloomiest forebodings lest the day of doom should dawn at once, if the old Bay State—for two centuries the special bulwark of the faith—should follow the ill example of her New England sisterhood, †, broader and abler men in great numbers adopted a different view, until at last the chief organs of orthodox sentiment advocated the new policy.‡

* Remarks of Mr. Flint; 'Journal,' &c. 170.

† It seems to be significant that the General Association of Massachusetts, at its meeting at Lee, in June, 1834, a few months before the popular vote was taken on this subject, adopted the following language in its 'Pastoral Letter' to the Churches:—'At the present day, while the Christian world is aiming to reform existing abuses and errors, the enemy seizes the occasion to overturn the whole system of gospel order; and there is danger that, to a great extent, he will achieve his design. Religious order has, under God, been the glory and the preservation of this land of the Pilgrims, and it is an enemy of your best interests that would break down the established order which our forefathers transmitted to their posterity. A purer religion than theirs we cannot have, for it was the gospel of God. Their religious institutions were in accordance with His Word. Seek not, then, brethren, to pass through the desolations of revolution in pursuit of an inheritance not bequeathed to you, and which, when obtained, will not be deemed worth possessing. Do not prostrate your present edifice until a better is erected.'—'Minutes Gen. Ass. Mass.' 1834, p. 24.

‡ The 'Spirit of the Pilgrims' (then the special mouthpiece of the Trinitarianism of Massachusetts), in its issue for December, 1831, said: 'The legal establishment of religion has been a curse to our Churches; not so great a curse as it was to the Churches in the days of Constantine, or as it has been to the Reformed Churches in Europe, but still an encumbrance and a curse. It has certainly been a source of almost continual contention and strife. It has stained the records of our courts and the pages of our history with numerous instances of oppression and cruelty, which no tears can wash away. It has palsied the energies of our Churches, and brought over them a spirit of coldness, worldly security, and slumber. In short, the result of our *experience* on this subject is that the gospel can be sustained among us, *a religious establishment to the contrary notwithstanding!* We have every reason to believe that it can be better sustained without such an establishment than with it, and consequently that what remains of our old establishment ought to be taken out of the way' (iv. 648). The 'Boston Recorder' made no appeal against the action proposed.

And great was the general joy when time enough had elapsed to enable even the doubting ones to find material for jubilation in the change. In his old age Dr. Beecher said, looking back to his sorrow before noted, 'I suffered what no tongue can tell *for the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut!* It cut the Churches loose from dependence on State support. It threw them wholly on their own resources, and on God. They said ministers would lose their influence; the fact is they have gained. By voluntary efforts, societies, missions, and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than ever they could by queues, and shoe-buckles, and cocked hats, and gold-headed canes.'*

Not only did the event prove that religion was quickened, and infused with a healthier life, when its unnatural connection with the State had ceased, and that more money was given freely to the support of the gospel than had before been grudgingly paid for that purpose to the tax-gatherer, but the orthodox faith found itself relieved of some special disadvantages under which before it had laboured,† and was able to appeal, without apparent drawback, to a higher range of motive. And as to the very serious fear which was felt by many, that the sparsely settled portions of the country would especially suffer if some legal power did not exist by which all taxable property should in some way be held responsible for the maintenance of the worship of God, the general experience was very well summed up by the Rev. Dr. Dutton, of New Haven, in his remarks before the General Association of Connecticut on the completion of its first one hundred and fifty years, when he said:—

* 'Autobiography,' &c. i. 344.

† 'That state of the laws which obliged all to pay for the support of some Church, but allowed them to choose which, was found to favour the laxer kinds of religion. Infidels and Nothingarians, compelled to support some kind of religion and allowed to choose which, of course chose the *least strict*, both as to orthodoxy and practice. They practised on the principle of an infidel who attended Matthew Hale Smith's church, when he was a Universalist minister in Hartford. Said he to Mr. Smith, "I go to hear you preach, but I don't believe your doctrine. I go to hear you *because your doctrine is nearest to nothing of any that I know of!*" This result, which I have described, was what might have been expected from such a state of the laws. And accordingly it has been found, in Massachusetts especially, that the repeal of the law for the compulsory support of religion has been a very severe blow to Unitarianism, so prevalent there, and to all the laxer forms of Christianity.'—'Cont. to Eccl. Hist. Conn.' 123.

‘It has been found, since religion has been put upon the voluntary principle and the free choice of men for support, that men generally have more interest in it, and are more active to extend it. And voluntary enterprise and generosity in the work of home missions have done far more to build up waste places, and to prevent places from becoming waste, than was ever done, or could be done, by force of law.’*

And perhaps no brief collocation of words could better express the manner in which, on the whole, the Churches and the people of New England now look back upon the severance of the Church from the State, than may be quoted from the eloquent address of Dr. Leonard Bacon upon the same interesting occasion, 23rd June, 1859 :—

‘He who leads the blind by a way which they know not, has led us in this way; and as we find ourselves brought out by no wisdom of our own from the chilling enclosure of high and strong division walls, into the warm sunshine of a new and brighter day,—

“The breath of heaven, fresh-blowing, pure and sweet,
With day-spring born,”—

let us say to that guiding spirit of catholic freedom and fraternity which we have learned already to enjoy—nay, rather let us say to that Holy Spirit of God, who seals and sanctifies His elect not under our forms of ministration only, but under many forms,—

“A little onward lend Thy guiding hand
To these dark steps,—a little further on.”

‘Our Churches then, in recovering their original Congregationalism from an unfortunate complication with ideas and principles derived from other systems, have become, and are still becoming, not more sectarian, but less so.’†

Of all forms of spiritual organisation, Congregationalism probably has least fitness to be an established religion; so that the Congregationalists of New England had indeed special cause for joy when at last they had released themselves from a yoke which neither their fathers nor they were able to bear.

And now, upon the good work of the last forty years, and the great and gracious prosperity which has attended these enfranchised Churches and these disenthralled States, it is not needful that we should dwell at length, because they are known and read of all men. Forebodings have been trans-

* ‘Cont. to Eccl. Hist. Conn.’ 124.
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† ‘Historical Discourse,’ &c. p. 66.

mutated into thankfulness, and the buds of apprehension have opened into the blossoms of joy. The Churches of the Pilgrim type, which had been limping on the crutches of Cæsar so long that their limbs were stiffening with inaction, have developed a vigour unknown before; while those adherents of other polities who formerly felt that they had large occasion to complain of injustice and oppression at the hands of the Standing Order, now live in something more than peace—even in cordial fellowship—by their side. Local jealousies have died out with their occasion. The inherent vital energy of the gospel has demonstrated that, with the ordinary blessing of Him of whom extraordinary blessings may be confidently claimed by faith, it can be trusted to take care of itself in the world. And men of sense in New England no longer doubt that the public ordinances of religion can be maintained in the absence of legal compulsion; and at once more effectually and more usefully without its illogical, degrading, and disastrous aid.

Upon two or three specific points we may glance, in bringing this discussion to an end; because they are points as to which, in the present condition of England, English people may desire more light.

1. Disestablishment in New England has promoted a just catholicity between Christians of various shades of belief. Standing all as one before the law, all are thrown back upon the fundamental principles of their common Christianity, and the teachings of that Word of God equally acknowledged by all; and there being no element of felt injustice longer to force them apart, they drift naturally toward that position indicated by the wise and catholic principle: 'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, diversity; in all things, charity.' The motto of William Penn was: 'We must yield the liberty we demand.' Nowhere on the round earth, we are persuaded, has the practical union possible among Christians who differ as to minor principles been more beautifully or more beneficently exhibited than during the last generation in New England.

2. A second result of the total separation of the Churches from the State has been the deepening of the feeling of responsibility on the part of those Churches for the purity of their own faith, the efficiency of their discipline, and the perpetuity and en-

largement of their influence. Left to themselves, they have felt that not to grow in grace and strength would be the most damaging of all possible confessions of radical defect in the underlying principles which each believes to contain the marrow of Scripture, and which each tenderly holds as the *Magna Charta* of its life. Thus each has been stimulated to missionary effort at home and abroad, while each has been careful in seeking to maintain the highest standard of purity in its pulpits, and the most efficient discipline among its membership.

3. Disestablishment has, more than in anything else, proved a blessing in those very relations where it was apprehended that its ill effect would most be felt. It was said that the Congregational Churches especially would be stripped of their importance, and dwindle, if they did not die. But the event has proved that, instead, they entered upon a new era of unwonted prosperity. The year after the last strand which had held Church and State together in Massachusetts had been sundered (1835), she reported 387 Congregational (orthodox) Churches, having 49,089 communicants.* Every year has since been gainful to them, until, by the latest returns, she has 518 of these Churches, with but little short of 90,000 members.† And except as emigration to the West has modified the condition of some of the remoter country towns, essentially the same thing appears to be true of the other New England States.

With this growth has grown also an enlarging liberality. The Congregational pastors of New England probably to-day average the reception from the free contributions of their people of from three to four times the yearly salaries which were paid them when connected with the State; while the amount of money annually given for church erection and maintenance, for Sabbath-schools, for the poor, for theological schools and colleges, for church extension, and for home and foreign missions,‡ is annually counted now by

* 'Minutes of Gen. Assoc. of Mass. for 1874,' p. 129.

† Ibid. Corrected by later returns in the 'Congregational Quarterly' and elsewhere.

‡ In the matter of benevolent contributions it has been thus far found impossible to secure anything like that complete and exact return which is made in regard to all the other current facts of American Congregationalism. But the

thousands, where it was counted by hundreds before.* Altogether, it would be impossible to-day to name a single aspect of the matter which would be seriously considered for one moment by the Congregationalism of New England as an inducement to return to its relation to the State.

And as to the fear which used to be so strongly felt, that if the State did not concern itself to punish infractions of the law of Christ, all manner of moral evil and blasphemy would abound, the result has proved the fear groundless, and the public morals and the cause of Christ safer if left to themselves without civil intermeddling.

So that, in all respects, one may write of these disestablished Congregational Churches, with slight modification, what Augustine wrote to Boniface about the Donatists:—‘*Quorum ‘si videas in Christi pace lætities, frequentias, alacritates, et ‘ad hymnos audiendos et canendos, et ad verbum Dei percipiendum celebres hilaresque conventus, multorumque in eis ‘cum dolore magno recordationem præteriti erroris, et cum ‘gaudio considerationem cognitæ veritatis, et cum indignatione ‘et detestatione mendacium magistrorum, quod modo cognoscant quam falsa jactaverint; tunc diceres nimis fuisse crudelitatis, si isti in hac servitudine relinquerentur.*’†

How much he may have owed to those who had gone before him, even back to Sir Thomas More and his ‘*Utopia*,’‡ we may not now determine; but Roger Williams—restless, pragmatical, catholic, noble, and disagreeable—ought to be named in thankful parting recognition here, as, on the whole, the best

meagre statistics of the subject are sufficient to show that, during the last five years, notwithstanding the financial embarrassments arising from the debasement of the currency by the Rebellion and other causes, the Churches of Massachusetts have averaged about \$400,000 (or £80,000) in their annual benevolences to objects outside of themselves.—*Ibid.* 129.

* In 1872 the five leading denominations in the United States raised for benevolent purposes as follows:—Baptists, 3,391,276 dols.; Congregationalists, 4,000,000 dols.; Episcopalians, 6,304,608 dols.; Methodists, 17,427,184 dols.; Presbyterians, 11,070,325 dols. Total, 42,193,393 dols. Add to this the statistics of the Lutherans, the Reformed, &c. &c., and the sum expended for religious uses by the whole body of American Free Protestant Churches during 1872 would reach fifty millions.—Thompson’s ‘*Church and State in U.S.*’ 110.

† St. Augustine, ‘*Opera*.’ Ed. Le Clerc. ii. 499.

‡ In the second book of ‘*Utopia*’ [Arber’s reprint, 147] is a noble passage, containing the true doctrine of toleration, a century before Roger Williams’s time.

apostle of his time of the new gospel of toleration. Had it been given to him to be prudent, as well as wise, our story might not have been so long. As it is, we may gratefully confess that Christian civilisation owes him a debt as yet unpaid; and may say to him—in his well-earned rest—what Whittier said :—

‘Take heart with us, O man of old,
Soul-freedom’s brave confessor,
So love of God and man wax strong,
Let sect and creed be lesser.

‘The jarring discords of thy day
In ours one hymn are swelling;
The wandering feet, the severed paths,
All seek our Father’s dwelling.

‘And slowly learns the world the truth
That makes us all thy debtor,—
That holy life is more than rite,
And spirit more than letter;

‘That they who differ pole-wide serve,
Perchance, the common Master,
And other sheep He hath than they
Who graze one narrow pasture!

‘For truth’s worst foe is he who claims
To act as God’s avenger,
And deems beyond his sentry-beat
The crystal walls in danger!

‘Who sets for heresy his traps
Of verbal quirk and quibble,
And weeds the garden of the Lord
With Satan’s borrowed dibble.

* * * *

‘Still echo in the hearts of men
The words that thou hast spoken;
No forge of hell can weld again
The fetters thou hast broken.’ *

* ‘A Spiritual Manifestation.’ Poems, 356.

ART. VI. — *Poor-Law Relief in and out of the Workhouse.*

- (1.) *Reports of Poor-Law Inspectors.* 1867.
- (2.) *Provincial Workhouses.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1867.
- (3.) *Circular Letter to Guardians.* By ANDREW DOYLE, Esq., Poor-Law Inspector. Spottiswoode. 1878.
- (4.) *The Poor-Law Administration in the Aston Union.* By W. FOWLER, Esq., Chairman. Birmingham. 1878.

It has been truly asserted by Professor Fawcett that

‘The English are the only people who have ventured to incur the grave responsibility of proclaiming that every one possesses a legal right to be supported from the rates.’

No one who has studied the operation of this principle, as embodied in the Poor Laws of forty years ago, can doubt that it bore the evil fruit of much improvidence and deterioration of English character. Some persons seem to be of opinion that there ought to be no poverty in a nation so prosperous as ours. They attribute to the influence of the Poor Laws the premature marriages, the unthrifty habits, and the intemperance of many of the working men. But they forget and ignore the fact that our country has for many years been placed under exceptional circumstances. Never, at any period, were there so many artisans collected together in mills and crowded dwellings as in England of to-day. The steadiest operatives are not always able to make such provision for old age as will enable them to maintain themselves independently. There are great vicissitudes and fluctuations in foreign trade. The American civil war, for example, produced a dearth of cotton, which threw thousands of steady artisans into distress. There is more sickness in this class of people, on the average, than among lords and ladies, induced for the most part by sedentary labour and defective ventilation. The debilitating influence of many employments has an appreciable effect upon the health and longevity of operatives. At Sheffield we hear of the ‘grinders’ rot.’ The average duration of the life of artisans in steel at that place,

is from that of dry-grinders, who reach twenty-nine years, to that of saw-grinders, who attain to thirty-eight. Again, if we take the case of colliers and miners, we learn that upwards of fifteen hundred lives have been lost annually for some years past from various mining casualties, and not less than ten thousand accidents have occurred from similar causes. We are all acquainted with casualties befalling married couples in humble walks of life before the bread-winner has had time to make a permanent provision, or to educate his children. Neither can the agricultural labourer, burdened with a family and receiving 11s. or 12s. per week, be obnoxious to blame if he fails to save under such difficult conditions. These are but samples of circumstances and cases in which actual want may suddenly come upon families like a flood. It is not practicable to trample out poverty in prosperous England: The very fact of our prosperity induces early marriages and premature deaths, two main causes of pauperism. In England few, far too few, persons possess an acre of land, and the multitude depend altogether upon their health and muscles. It seems as if we were to be witnesses of the truth of the saying, 'The poor ye have always with you,' though we might well have expected a steady and continuous decrease of pauperism after the great reform of the Poor Law in 1835. And for a few years there was a diminution of paupers and poor rates, but again the tide began to flow. The number of paupers rose from 851,620 in 1860 to 1,081,926 in 1871. It may be that this increase is not out of proportion to the increase of population, and of the rateable value of the property assessed. Indeed, the increase in the value of rated property since the early part of this century is simply astonishing. For the estimated annual value for 1803 was thirty-four millions, and for 1868 one hundred and forty-three millions.* The increase of pauperism is not due to flatness of trade, for it occurred simultaneously with unprecedented prosperity. It is probably attributable to several causes: partly to laxity and negligence in the administration of out relief; partly to growing habits of intemperance; and also to the increase of casualties and accidents among our working people. Certainly some great organisation is required to meet

* Report on Local Taxation, 1871.

the wants of the day. Benevolent societies, or *bureaux de bienveillance*, such as exist in some of the continental towns, have much to recommend them. They seem to emanate directly from the spirit of Christianity, and to be an essential department of the Church's work. Voluntary work of this kind is, of course, better than involuntary rates; for charity is a holy virtue, and to visit the fatherless and the widow in affliction is a work both of religion and civilization. But a charitable organisation which is to meet the casualties of a nation of thirty millions of people, requires continuous personal exertions, which it is hard to obtain from a busy money-making population. Money can be had in abundance, but the personal ministrations of it is rare. If the management of a great bureau of charity fell into the hands of paid officials, then the work would be done by proxy in a cold and perfunctory manner, and the very life and spirit of charity would evaporate. Nor could a thorough organisation be expected to cover the whole country. Charity working by deputy is a very inefficient virtue. The city of Hamburg, seventy years ago, had rich foundations, but no proper organisation. The result was a demoralised population, wasted funds, and much destitution. And, further, let those who would substitute charity for a Poor Law, contemplate the self-imposed taxation of the benevolent, and the exemption of the rest from the discharge of a moral duty. Besides these objections to a reliance on charity, our English experience of the management of charitable institutions leads us to distrust them.

'There is nothing which charity, as in some places at present organised, so much resembles as the Order of the Garter. Merit has *nothing* whatever to do with it. Let no one delude himself that he has got into an asylum, say for the blind, because he happened to be blind and helpless. In fact the complaint has become almost universal, that under the present system too many charitable institutions may be said to exist for the aggravation rather than the relief of distress. It is influence and wealth rather than deserts which secure admission.'*

It would be simply chimerical to expect to find a good working administration of sufficient charitable funds in every district of the country, and yet everywhere the want of both would be

* 'Echo,' October, 1873.

more or less felt. The managers of public charities and the administrators of the poor rates may beneficially correspond and co-operate, and greatly assist each other; but we hold that under existing circumstances there is no hope of substituting charitable ministration for legal relief.

Again, it is sometimes urged that instead of looking forward to the receipt of relief in the event of emergencies, the labouring classes ought to have recourse to benefit and burial clubs and the post-office savings banks. As to the former, the chairman of one of the largest unions in the kingdom, and a man of great practical knowledge, says :—

‘It may be questioned if the ordinary benefit clubs, holding their meetings at public-houses, and from time to time dividing bonuses, have not been the means of demoralising more men than they have permanently benefited. The advantage of burial clubs may also be much questioned.’*

As to the post-office banks, the interest offered is too small to attract the investment of sums which might often be well spared. Far be it from us to depreciate these methods of insuring some provision against certain contingencies; but it is well known that many of these local clubs are not founded upon sound calculations, and fail in giving support when the pinch of life arrives. Widows, with young children and no income; orphans, sufferers from accidents, incurables, idiots, cases of friendless old age; these are classes of cases so numerous and so helpless that they can only be dealt with by a universal and personal charity, or by continuing the system of public relief. For these vicissitudes and strange inequalities of life there are no other remedies. The moral government of this world permits these inexplicable phenomena, and it is the business of statesmen and administrators to reduce them to a minimum by all available means: by the discouragement of idleness and apathy, and by giving facilities for making provision against the contingencies of life; and, further, to deal with the residue with a firm but humane hand. This may be done best by a perfect organisation of charities, or by a Poor Law and charity in alliance and co-operation. For the moment we are dealing with the Poor Law alone, and before

* ‘The Poor Law in the Aston Union.’ By William Fowler, Esq., Chairman.

we come to the details of administration, it may be well to recall to the mind the principle on which all poor-law legislation rests. Paley affirms that the claim of the poor is founded on the law of nature, because, all things having been originally common, the exclusive possession of property was and is permitted on the expectation that every one should have enough for subsistence or the means of procuring it. We may doubt whether this opinion is sound, but we cannot doubt that the Poor Law rests upon moral and political considerations of great weight. Statesmen cannot contemplate masses of population in a condition of semi-starvation without anxiety and fear. It is politically necessary to prevent such a state of things. And upon the owners of property in a given locality there rests a moral obligation to help those who own nothing. But the right of the poor, prior to legislation, is but an imperfect one, though *in foro conscientie* sufficiently cogent. It is imperfect, because the relative duty of contribution could not be enforced. For many centuries it so remained, while the blind eleemosynary spirit of the Latin Church* relieved and created poverty. The monastic foundations, standing at irregular intervals, could not dispense their doles on proper information as to the merits of cases. At last, after many vain attempts to repress pauperism and beggary prior to the reign of Elizabeth, the statesmen of that day deemed it expedient that an imperfect should be converted into a perfect right, and their legislation did the work effectually. The State stepped in to enforce obedience to an admitted moral obligation, which otherwise would be recognised by the conscientious and disregarded by the selfish. *This is the principle of that Poor Law* which will certainly be continued for many years to come. Great law, "With all thy faults I love thee still." It has thorns among its fruit, but can we reasonably doubt that the balance of good has greatly outweighed the evil? There is grandeur in a law, unprecedented in the history of the world, that there shall be bread, bed, and shelter for every soul in England who is in need of these things. There is also danger in the law, but it is a law of humanity and of Christianity.

The leading features of the Poor Law of Elizabeth are the

* Hallam's 'Const. Hist.' chap. ii.

same which modern legislation has assumed. To the honour of the Elizabethan statesmen, be it remembered that their work was the guide to poor-law reformers in 1834. It was founded on the true principle of public relief, that is, work for the destitute strong, and aid to the weak, sick, and infirm. The Elizabethan legislators were well aware of the abuses of charity. They sought to guard against their recurrence by constituting a local authority which should obtain fair proportionate contributions from all competent parishioners. The sums levied by the overseers were at first moderate, but under subsequent lax administration became oppressively heavy, and finally rose in some parishes to such an amount as to give cause for great discontent.

Parliament was convinced that some decided reformation must take place, and an Act was passed which has been known as 'The New Poor Law.' Its chief purpose was the discouragement of out-door relief to able-bodied persons.

Unions were constituted under boards of guardians, who were empowered to erect union workhouses, and authorised to refuse grants of relief to the able-bodied, except on the condition of residence within the workhouse. As that residence 'was usually regarded as a kind of imprisonment, a 'most important check was thus given to voluntary pauperism.'* The general order of the commissioners, which permitted some exceptions, ran as follows :—

'Every able-bodied person shall be relieved wholly in the workhouse, except in cases of sudden necessity, sickness, aid towards burial, and widows with legitimate child or children, being unable to maintain themselves.'

The effect of the measure was a rapid reduction of the poor rate. It had reached the great amount of £8,200,000 in 1832, and it fell to £5,200,000 in 1837. Since that period the rate has again gradually increased, until in 1870 it reached the sum of £7,673,000. The pauper population had also increased from 844,000 in 1860 to 1,032,000 in 1870. But since 1870 there has been a diminution of the number of paupers, and it is said that the recipients of out-door relief have decreased by twenty per cent. A vigorous effort is now being made to reduce pauperism and the poor rate still further.

* Fawcett's 'Political Economy,' 513.

We desire to call the attention of our readers to the best means by which the desired end may be attained. There is, doubtless, much room for improvement. The condition of things prior to the great reform of 1834 was disclosed in the evidence taken by the commissioners, and that evidence throws much light upon the questions of the present day. One witness, a man of great experience, stated the results of it in these words:—

‘The greater number of out-door paupers are worthless people; but still the number of decent people who ought to have made provision for themselves, and who come, is very great. I have stationed persons at well-known gin-shops, and from their evidence I have concluded that £30 out of every £100 of money given as out-door relief is spent in this way.’

It may be said that this evidence is old, and not applicable to present circumstances. We now offer the evidence of a parochial officer who has had twenty years’ experience in dealing with the poor. He says:—

‘There is a class of people who think union funds are common property, and that they have a right to it under all circumstances; and my experience tells me that once a pauper, always a pauper.’

But the concrete is more impressive than the general. A friend of ours, who is a Staffordshire squire, had known a man in his village for years as a do-nothing out-door pauper. One day last year he saw him on the top of a house, thatching the roof. He inquired about this strange circumstance. ‘Why, I thought,’ said he, ‘Tom Perkins had an allowance because he couldn’t work.’ ‘Well, sir,’ was the answer, ‘he did not use to work, but they’ve stopped the pay, and now *he’s gone to work again!*’ Cases of this kind are, of course, exceptions, but it is to be feared they are not rare. Human nature is not changed, and the elevating power of education is very little extended. How can we expect the moral standard, the veracity, the candour of the poorest classes, to have been much altered since the time of the last royal commission. There is too much reason to believe that ratepayers are burdened with many claims to relief which are sometimes unfounded and often exaggerated. Want of space prevents the accumulation of proofs of the grievances of ratepayers—often themselves in indigence—who have to contribute to the

support of worthless incumbrancers of the rate. If, however, their grievances are well founded; if the vast number of poor who are relieved in their own houses or lodgings is considered; the facilities for deception, and the imperfect means now in use for detecting imposition; it is manifest that the time is come for some amendment of the system. The object of a new reform is identical with that of forty years ago. It is to reduce the recipients of relief from the rates to those who are able to work but cannot obtain employment, and those who are truly and honestly unable to work, or so partially disabled as to be incompetent without aid to obtain the necessaries of life for themselves and those dependent on them. With the first of these two classes we are not now concerned. As to them the Poor Law is inexorable. The able-bodied must, as a rule, submit to come into the workhouse, and give that guarantee of genuine want.

This provision is necessary to prevent utter demoralisation from spreading like a plague. No sharper test need be applied than the discipline of the workhouse, the labour imposed, the deprivation of beer and tobacco, and the infrequency of the privilege of egress. No fresh reform can be brought forward with reference to this class. But can any alteration be made in dealing with that other great and formidable class who have received relief out of doors? The leading official reformer is Mr. Andrew Doyle,* one of the poor-law inspectors, a gentleman of great experience and much ability. He has adopted as the basis of his proposals the view of the late Mr. Mill, expressed in these words:—

‘The State must act by general rules. It cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving indigent. It owes no more than subsistence to the first, and can give no less to the last.’

‘That,’ said Mr. Doyle, at a recent conference, ‘is the principle on which the Poor Law ought to be administered. Give to every poor person the minimum of relief which will suffice for support. He knew this was an unpopular doctrine, but every board ought to keep it in mind. The principle was a sound one.’

The principle avowed by Mr. Doyle is in his opinion best developed in practice in the union of Atcham, in Shropshire, whose administrators have met with his cordial approbation.

* Since this article was written Mr. Doyle has retired.

The 'Atcham system' is thus described by Sir Baldwin Leighton:—

'We have few children on out relief. This shows the small number of young persons with young families who apply. When widows with families apply, we offer to take some of their children into the house. We give no permanent relief out of the workhouse to any who rent more than half an acre of land, or to orphan children, or to deserted wives or children.'

In other words, the Atcham system is founded on the application of the workhouse test to as many cases as possible. The actual result is indicated in a table which has been prepared by Mr. Doyle, and to which he invites special attention as a proof of the success of this policy. In that union there were in one recent year 240 applicants for relief, whose families brought up the number to 674. Now the actual total number of persons admitted into the workhouse was 27 only! To all those applicants the workhouse had been offered. Undoubtedly the table is a startling one, and Mr. Doyle points to it as evidence of the power of the workhouse test in detecting fraud. Only eighteen applicants out of 240 entered the house and received relief! We intend to recur to these facts hereafter.

It is fair to assume that the tendency of a circular letter, recently addressed by this distinguished officer of the Local Government Board, enforced by his spoken addresses to conferences and guardians, and backed by tables and figures, was to impress upon them the expediency of withdrawing outdoor relief, and applying the workhouse test more generally. There are also many guardians who hold opinions adverse to outdoor relief. Their theory is that the receipt of relief even in old age and infirmity is a reproach to the recipients, and that a sharper and stricter administration will tend to elevate the character of the poor, force them to be more provident, and reduce the rate to very small proportions.

In examining these views and opinions, the great fundamental principles of the Poor Law ought never to be forgotten. The Act of Elizabeth involved two principles: first, that every destitute and needy person shall be relieved, or (what is equivalent) provided with work; and, secondly, that this shall be done parochially. There are only two ways of

administering poor-law relief. Either the person must be supplied with money or goods at his lodging, or he must be lodged and fed by the local authority. The question is whether the grant of relief shall generally be accompanied by the condition that the applicant shall dwell in a union workhouse? In other words, is it expedient that out-door relief shall be discontinued as a general practice, and the workhouse test be more stringently applied? These are the only alternatives. The two systems are at present mixed in practice. Ought they to continue to be intermixed, or shall one absorb the other?

Considering that the workhouse of the union is thus regarded as of primary importance in the proposed reform, it is material to ascertain the original object and purpose of these establishments. When the new Poor Law of 1834 was carried, parishes were formed into unions, and union workhouses were to be provided at the common expense. The object was manifest. They were constructed for the purpose of testing able-bodied paupers, and discovering whether they were 'malingers' and indolent shammers, or whether they were true but unfortunate men. The union workhouse was to scare away the abuses which had crept into parochial management. It was further intended that the union house should be a common centre of administration for the newly constituted boards. It was never contemplated for a moment by the commissioners, or the reforming party, that out-door relief should cease. The able-bodied could be most conveniently set to work within the walls of the house, and as, for the most part, they were improvident idlers, there was no good reason why they should not be employed, fed, and lodged at the lowest rate consistent with health. The commissioners decreed that 'every able-bodied person shall be relieved wholly 'in the workhouse,' subject to a few specified exceptions. It is perfectly clear that they never thought of prohibiting, nor even of discountenancing out-door relief to the other classes of poor. They desired to make the receipt of relief as little agreeable as possible to able-bodied people. Their system was thus described:—

'The manner of administering relief was so regulated by subjecting the applicants to the discipline of the workhouse, and to other restraints,

that the condition of a pauper living on the rates was *depressed* in point of comfort below that of the labourer.*

For this there was ample justification. People without money who can work and will not work are useless drones, and must be stimulated to make themselves of some use. The system was justified also on the ground that it is almost impossible to get at the facts with respect to able-bodied applicants. Want of employment would generally be the result of bad temper, or indolence, or indifferent character, and the workhouse was designed to be a rough substitute for that accurate information as to the chance of getting work which it is so difficult to obtain. The guardians, therefore, rightly believing that shamers will rarely submit to the discipline of the union, justly apply this crucial test with a view to keep deceivers off the list. There is no doubt of the efficacy of this touchstone. It is true that even from this point of view the workhouse has its drawbacks. There are persons who enter it *bonâ fide*, and becoming gradually inured to and contented with its rules and customs, linger on year after year in semi-idleness, when, had they been temporarily relieved out of doors, they would easily have found some kind of employment. But, upon the whole, the place is fairly cleared from false pretences to poverty. But we now have to inquire whether, if the workhouse test were more generally applied to all sorts of cases, we should, in repelling shams, run the risk of repulsing honest, genuine, innocent poverty. Again and again let our readers recall to their minds the grand principle of the existing Poor Law, namely, that every one in case of need *has a claim to relief*. This principle was fully recognised by the royal commissioners; it is a legal principle; it exists in full force at the present day, and is of the very essence of the Poor Law. The reformers of forty years ago only sought to *test* poverty, they never suggested that it should be repelled. But the reformers of the Atcham Union, commended by Mr. Doyle, offered relief to 674 individuals on the express condition that they should enter and dwell within the union workhouse. It has been stated above that 27 only of the 674 accepted relief on the conditions imposed. This extraordinary result is referred to with much satisfaction. But is

* Report of Commissioners, 1840.

it reasonable, or even possible, to presume that the claims of 647 persons in a single union could have been *fraudulently* pressed upon the notice of the guardians? They were represented by 222 applicants. Either we must suppose that all those 222 persons were attempting to defraud the ratepayers by affecting want which they did not suffer, or we must conclude that a certain proportion, at least, of the number preferred the most pinching poverty, a life just raised above starvation, to a compliance with the condition annexed to relief. It is highly improbable that half the number were shamming. In that case can we contemplate the Atcham system with pleasure? Can it be said that relief was administered in this particular union in true harmony with the existing Poor Law? If conditions and incidents are annexed to relief, which cause persons in unfeigned distress to make any shift and endure any privation rather than comply with them, can that course be reconciled with justice and morality? Are not the interests of the ratepayers and the credit of reducing the rates made of prior importance to the duty which guardians owe to the poor?

But it may be fairly demanded, Is there any substantial objection to the workhouse? Is there any hardship imposed on the poor applicants in requiring them to come in and dwell in it? Is not their repugnance to it a mere sentimental dislike? We have already shown that the design of the union workhouse is to be a sharp test of *bona fides*. It is necessarily arranged for this special purpose. But as a place of residence for persons of moral and respectable habits, many English workhouses are far from satisfactory. Dr. Smith, a witness of great weight, stated to one of the inspectors, that the construction and arrangement of union houses ought to be improved, and he complained bitterly of *the mixture of the vicious with the moral inmates*, and confessed the difficulty of separating them in most rural workhouses. There are inmates whose indigence is the fruit of vice and gross negligence, pestilential in their talk and dirty in their habits. There are others whose destitution is the result of misfortune, people of pure and blameless lives, to whom foul language, immorality, and unchastity would be as repulsive as to the wives of any of our readers. These two classes

cannot be associated together without inflicting grievous injury upon the latter. *Have we a moral right to annex such an incident to relief?* Such persons shrink from the union with terror. Take the case of a young woman, the widow of an industrious young gardener of unblemished character; a woman as good and virtuous as any that can be found, and left with five or six young children. She is now helped to live and educate her children by a little relief received in her own small cottage. Would it be just or consistent with the spirit of the Poor Law to offer the workhouse to such a woman as this? By working early and late, by the help of one or two good friends, and with the four shillings a week which she receives from the guardians, she manages to live and send the children to school. If she had been obliged to reside in the workhouse, distant from her home and her associations, she would have to associate with women whose habits and language would be disagreeable and sometimes shocking. She would find herself miles away from every old friend of her husband's. In former times the *parish* had its 'poor-house,' and, bad as it was, it had this merit, that its inmates were not separated from their local associations. Think of the M—— Union, with its *thirty* parishes, and the consequent deprivation of the last and only pleasure in life, that of local sights and talk and circumstances. When the old home is four, five, or eight miles from the union house, it becomes practically a prison. It is hard to impose both a separation from home associations and the company of the lowest men and women upon the decent poor.

'Who can, when here, the social neighbour meet?
 Who learn the story current in the street?
 Who to the long known intimate impart
 Facts they have known, or feelings of the heart?
 I own it grieves me to behold them sent
 From their old homes, 'tis pain, 'tis punishment.'

It is true that workhouses may be so improved as to be capable of insuring moral classification. They may then be offered to good moral people under more favourable conditions than at present. But we earnestly contend that before 'the house' is offered as a *general* test of destitution, there ought to be such improvements as will enable the

guardians to shelter the decent from the contamination of the indecent, and to furnish them with the ordinary appliances of a good labourer's cottage. The opponents of out-door relief are beginning at the wrong end. They should commence with the reform of our workhouses. Let us have in every union a workhouse certified by two inspectors, at least, that they are adequate in all respects to the exigencies of the district, and capable of *moral* as well as other ordinary classification. When this is done it will be time enough to press for the cessation of out relief and the reception of all paupers into the houses. We have already said that there is abundant evidence in blue books that such a reform has not yet been effected. Within a few days from the time when these lines are written the writer visited a small neighbouring workhouse, and found in it nine young women with illegitimate children; two about to be confined with the same; no infectious wards; no real separation for special cases of the worst description; no separate infirmary. Whoever will take the trouble to examine the reports of poor-law inspectors of 1867 will find, *passim*, proofs of the need of workhouse reformation. We turn accidentally to the report of a northern union, in which we are told that

'The male patients are left mainly to the care of pauper nurses. Some of the men cannot read at all, yet they are entrusted to give medicines to the sick. The nursing of the male patients is inadequate in every way; children and adults are to be seen in the same ward together. There is a day room for men used as a convalescent ward. With the men and in this room is *an idiot*, whose habits by day and by night are highly offensive. The beds in the infirmary are some of them flocks—some were certainly neither dry nor clean. The means for washing are defective—there is *but one* towel a week for use in each ward. There are no cupboards, and uncleanness and confusion all around make these sick wards thoroughly comfortless in every way. The workhouse is intended for the reception of all classes of inmates. Each class may be divided, but the separation is not effectual. The school-girls could by climbing a wall obtain access to the infirmary. There are no detached and separate fever wards.'

And Mr. Graves, a late inspector of great ability, said:—

'The guardians would never have consented to erect less imperfect buildings, and the question in many cases has been, of things useful and convenient, How many may be sacrificed with the least detriment? There

is still a prevailing disposition to reject some changes, not so much on the ground that they would be expensive, or would not be useful, as *because they are associated with ideas of refinement which are deemed incongruous in character with the position of a pauper.**

In the thick folio from which these words are extracted there is an immense mass of facts and animadversions of a similar nature. There are, doubtless, many well-conducted houses, and these are probably the majority. But after all, admission to a union workhouse *can* only be a coarse and unsatisfactory system of administering relief to the greater part of the needy applicants. If they are *truly* in distress and want, and wish to be relieved out of the house, it is a needless aggravation of misery to compel them to come in. Considered as a test of destitution, it is a *rough substitute for accurate information*, and that information *can* be obtained in almost every case, if the guardians are determined to have it. The true and proper use of a union-house is to test by its discipline the good faith of able-bodied applicants; to be a hospital for sick poor who have no friends to tend them; a refuge for harmless imbeciles, and for destitute persons of all kinds who have no other place to go to. Whenever these classes are collected under its roof it is a difficult place to manage without adding to its population. The *concentration* of large masses of poor does incalculable mischief, while *dispersion* mitigates the evil and increases the chances of cure. Put a thousand sick people into a hospital, and we find the very walls are impregnated with disease. Place a thousand paupers in one house, and moral mischief will run riot in spite of all restraint. Let that same thousand be *dispersed* over the district, and the fresh air of virtue and decency will overpower and sweeten the taint. It is on this principle of *dispersion* as opposed to concentration, that the 'boarding-out' system for pauper children is so valuable; that hospitals and lunatic asylums are now broken up into blocks; and that criminals with good conduct passes are allowed to be dispersed and to mix with the honest population, even before the expiration of their sentences. Workhouses are necessary, and of great use within proper limits, but it may well be doubted whether those limits should be extended.

* Report, 1867, pp. 227, 230.

It may be said, Are we then to be content to let the acknowledged evils incident to out relief be perpetuated? We answer that, so long as the present Poor Law is continued, the system of out relief is just, humane, and in harmony with the old and the amended law. The principal objection to it is the facility it affords for frauds. No doubt it is impossible to eliminate shams altogether from out door relief, but it may be reduced to such small dimensions as to do no appreciable harm to the ratepayers. The operation of a few practical rules and tests would quickly exterminate the ordinary trickery of applicants. The present system is this. The poor person goes to the relieving officer, states the circumstances of the case, obtains a ticket to go before the guardians at their next meeting, and there makes a formal application. A few questions are put to him by the chairman, and the officer is also heard. Upon the simple statement of the two relief is generally granted, and it rests with that officer whether he will use special diligence to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the home and history of the pauper. But what says Mr. Doyle?

‘Looking to the acreage, population, pauperism,’ &c., in the districts he alludes to, ‘it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the duty imposed on the officers is, in the majority of cases, so onerous, that no man, however active and intelligent, can satisfactorily discharge them.’

It appears that there are districts in which the number of paupers under the charge of one relieving officer exceeds a thousand.

‘It is simply impossible that he can visit at short intervals the several cases, or make himself acquainted with the varying circumstances of them. Rarely are they able to inform the board of the exact circumstances of the family and relations—the information afforded is of little value—thus a very large number of persons are in receipt of relief who are not without resources, or who have relations able to maintain them.’

Consequently, the relief districts ought to be reduced in size, and a superior officer ought to be appointed for every union or parts of unions, of superior rank and education to the average relieving officer, and remunerated with such a salary as would secure the services of thoroughly good men. Besides this measure, the boards of guardians ought to be

divided into active visiting committees, each committee undertaking to *visit* and become personally acquainted with a certain number of cases in the course of a half-year. At present the boards see and hear for the most part through the eyes and ears of their relieving officers, some of whom are neither steady nor clever enough to be exclusively relied upon, even if they had time to inform themselves fully. What the boards want is accurate knowledge, which, under the present system, is not fully supplied. The salary of a paid assistant guardian would ultimately promote economy by preventing fraud. Another simple arrangement might be adopted in the interest of truth. Every applicant for relief should be required by law to answer a set of printed questions, comprising every material circumstance in connection with the case, and on the discovery of a false answer wilfully made, he should be liable to summary conviction and some period of imprisonment. Such an enactment would at once check fraud, and in time almost prevent it. There is no hardship in this requirement. Soldiers and militia-men are expected to answer printed questions, false answers to which make them liable to sharp punishment. So also persons seeking to insure their lives have to answer printed questions, and forfeit their policies if they answer fraudulently. Again, as a further precaution, every fresh resident applicant might be required to bring a certificate from some householder of the parish, stating his personal knowledge of the main fact on which the application for relief happens to rest. The combined operation of these practical measures, namely, the increase of the number of relieving officers; the appointment of assistant guardians, to be wholly employed in the investigation of cases; the annexation of summary punishment to false answers by applicants; and the production of certificates; would substantially put an end to frauds, and reduce the recipients of out relief to cases of unfeigned want.

It may be objected that the continuation of out relief is calculated to prevent a diminution of poor rates. It is possible that, to some extent, such may be the case. But it is not improbable, on the other hand, that the administration of relief outside of the union-houses—upon full and reliable information, and with every practicable guarantee for its

necessity and its proper amount — would itself reduce our rates. In many cases the relief would be economically given in kind, and not in cash; work may be given out to women; and money advanced on loan in cases of temporary difficulty, and recovered by instalments. The example of the Aston Union, which comprises part of the population of Birmingham, shows how much may be done by careful though humane administration. The excellent chairman of that union says, in a recent pamphlet:—

‘It is, to my mind, simply a crime for a board of guardians, *where relief is obviously needed*, to offer the house, not really as a test of destitution, but in the hope of staving off the application.’

It is not possible to stamp out pauperism any more than poverty, and the most stringent mode of administering relief can only have an infinitesimal influence in making the poor self-reliant; that is, in the sense of

‘Inducing them to make the first object of life the provision of comfort and competence for old age. Whatever theories may be advanced to the contrary, parish relief has been, now is, and must continue to be, the normal provision for the old age and infirmity, and the premature death of a large section of the community. It is education only, and that not of an entirely secular character, that can work such a change on the mind and habits of the poor as to make them generally careful and provident; and, after all, it is only a comparatively small proportion of them who can save if they would.’

Now, it may be conjectured by some of our readers that in the district where the holder of these sentiments administers the rates they would be large in amount, and out relief would far exceed the relief in the house. The reverse of this, however, is the case. In the year ending at Lady-day, 1871, the out relief amounted to £2,225, the in-door relief to £3,725; the population was 146,818; the area, 29,000 acres; and the total number of persons receiving relief exactly one per cent. of the population, a proportion, probably, without parallel throughout the kingdom. The secret of this successful administration is to be found in patient inquiry into the merits of each case, and the requirement of complete information being furnished to the board. Want of space forbids us from alluding in detail to the signal example of the town of Elberfeld as a proof of the value of personal inquiry, organisation, and

close supervision of all cases of destitution and poverty. It harmonizes with the evidence afforded by Aston, and leads to the conclusion that *lax, perfunctory, and ill-informed administration*, and not *out-door relief*, is the real cause of *wasted and exorbitant rates*. At all events, the diminution of poor rates is not the sole object to be kept in view. Our real purpose is the stern repulse of sham pauperism, the careful and moderate relief of genuine want, out of doors if practicable, in doors on sufficient reason, and all decisions founded on personal, accurate, and reliable intelligence. We trust it has been proved that the workhouse test, which would grievously affect hundreds of thousands of our people, and is merely a rough and ready substitute for trouble and knowledge, need not be more extensively applied. We value the union house for its proper special uses. It has been the means of abolishing abuses which had become intolerable. But we deprecate that official zeal which would inaugurate a new era of poor-law policy, in which the union workhouse will be the salient feature.

‘That giant building, that high bounding wall,
Those bare worn walks, that lofty thundering hall;
That large loud clock which tolls each dreaded hour,
Those gates and locks, and all those signs of power;
It is a prison with a milder name,
Which few inhabit without dread or shame.’*

ART. VII.—*The Atonement.*

The Atonement. The Congregational Lecture for 1875. By
R. W. DALE, Birmingham. London: Hodder and
Stoughton.

THE theology of the English pulpit has undergone a great change. If some of the fathers could return to hear what is now preached, they would be greatly puzzled and profoundly grieved. Preachers, by no means few and far between, now glory, not so much in the Cross as in the Cradle of Christ—not so much in the Redemption as in the Incarnation of the Son of God. This change is due to the influence of

* Crabbe's ‘Borough.’

Schleiermacher, who, about fifty years ago, adopted a new starting-point in theology, and was the means of initiating a great reaction against the rationalism, or, rather, the infidelity, which had swept in a desolating torrent over his native land. But although the new theology did good service to the cause of religion, it is in itself scarcely anything else than a new and embellished form of Socinianism. The conspicuous and all-absorbing point in this system is the incarnation of God in Christ; but this incarnation means something very different from what is commonly understood by it. According to Schleiermacher this great fact is not peculiar to the Lord Jesus Christ, but takes place in every good man, the only difference being one of degree and not of kind. It is true that he speaks of the Divinity of Christ, but what he means by His Divinity is that He was sinless and infallible. In short, according to him, Christ was a mere man, but distinguished from other men by His miraculous origin, His sinless character, and perfect intelligence. He not only dilutes the Divinity of Christ, but denies His great redemptive act, the Atonement. He holds that the mission of the great Author of our faith was to elevate humanity not so much by doing anything for us, as by simply living in our nature and originating an influence, which, like the leaven in the meal, works and ferments, and diffuses itself in the hearts and lives of the human race. He further holds that Christ could not do what He did without suffering—suffering, however, not of a penal, but of a providential kind, such as every good man must encounter, in a greater or less degree, while living in a corrupt and sinful world. The influence of these views is easily recognised in the modern pulpit. There are some conspicuous men who owe not a little of their reputation for intellect and originality to a more or less intimate acquaintance with the great German divine; while there are many more, innocent alike of the name and writings of their great master, who have learnt the shibboleth of his school, and show its influence in what they preach, and especially in what they omit to preach. Their discourses lack the old evangelical flavour. Christ and His cross, as we have been accustomed to understand it, is not all their theme. We look in vain for the ‘rich atoning blood,’ without which there is no

remission. If referred to at all, it has no other value, as set forth by them, than that of the Prince of Martyrs or the Chief of Philanthropists. We therefore hail with joy and thankfulness Mr. Dale's brilliant and able volume on the Atonement, which we hope will help to arrest the downward tendency of the English pulpit, and bring about the restoration of 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' 'Though this 'venerable doctrine has been fiercely assailed from age to age, yea, though it has been cast away and trampled upon by irreverent mockeries, it has never yet been able to die; and we believe never will, for it has in it the power of a 'Divine life.'

The author has divided his subject into two parts: the first being the fact of the Atonement; the second, the theory of the Atonement. This division has, at first view, a suspicious look; for there are some who, under the pretence of distinguishing between the fact and the theory of the Atonement, get rid of the doctrine altogether. But this, it is needless to say, is not the case with the author of this book. What he means by the fact of the Atonement, is the doctrine in its more general form and expression—the principle in which all the methods of conceiving of the doctrine agree and harmonise. That essential and universal principle, as laid down in these lectures, is that the death of the Lord Jesus Christ has a direct relation to the remission of sins, or, in other words, that it is the objective ground upon which we obtain forgiveness. This is contradictory of every view of the death of Christ which limits its nature and value merely to the influence it is fitted to exert upon the human heart. It has an influence upon God as well as upon man, or, to put it more guardedly, it has an influence upon God's attitude towards man as well as upon man's attitude towards God. It is not merely the death of a martyr, however glorious, who sealed and certified with his blood the great truths which he taught; nor of a model man, however exalted, who came to show us how we ought to live and how we ought to die; nor of a Divine Being, however literally affirmed, who, by sympathy and self-denial, has come to manifest how God loves us, vile and unworthy though we be. It is all this, but it has in it something else above and beyond all this—something that makes it a

ground and a reason why God should abolish guilt and receive the prodigal back to His family.

Mr. Dale's method of proving the fact of the Atonement does not consist in a mere appeal to single passages where the doctrine is categorically affirmed—the stereotyped method among English divines—but in a more comprehensive use of the Scriptures, in which attention is paid to the general course of thought and the underlying assumption of the sacred writers—a method recommended by Schleiermacher, although not exemplified by him, except in a manner to be shunned rather than imitated. This idea the author has carried out with great ability and power, and the discussion occupies nearly two-thirds of the volume. It is in our judgment the most valuable and effective part of the book. We do not see how it is possible to read the lucid and cogent reasonings of the Lecturer, without accepting the conclusion that Christ taught and the apostles believed the great fact of the Atonement.

The Lecturer, having established the fact, proceeds to construct a theory of the Atonement. By the theory is meant an explanation of the reasons why the death of Christ is the objective ground of the pardon of sin. The author shows very clearly that, although we have the materials of a distinct and definite theory in the Scriptures, we have not a categorical and scientific statement of the doctrine. Indeed, this is the case not of the Atonement alone, but of all the other truths of revelation.

We now enter upon the most difficult, and, in some respects, the least satisfactory part of the volume. While it contains a great deal of what is fresh and striking and sound, there is a German air about some of it, which deprives it of English clearness and palpability. Mr. Dale is naturally perspicacious and definite in his mode of thinking, but even he cannot make the amorphous dreamy thoughts of mysticism into well-defined and luminous concepts. With all his independence and self-reliance as a thinker, which is beyond all doubt, he has not quite escaped the fog which rises from the sea of German speculation.

There are two great questions which Mr. Dale discusses at some length, and which in his view furnish the links of connection between the death of Christ and the forgiveness

of sinful man. These questions are: '1st. The original 'relation existing between the Lord Jesus Christ and the 'eternal Law of Righteousness, of which sin is the trans-'gression. 2nd. The original relation existing between the 'Lord Jesus Christ and the race whose sins needed remis-'sion.' Under the first head the author confronts the *questio vexata* of the origin of moral distinctions. He very soon gives its quietus to the theory that the boundary between right and wrong is the creation of the Divine Will, from which it receives all its force and all its validity. Not less conclusively does he overthrow the idea, very generally entertained by orthodox theologians, that the moral standard has its origin in the Divine nature, or as Dr. Chalmers somewhat anthropomorphically terms it in 'The Constitution of the 'Godhead,' an idea which inverts the natural order of thought, and leaves the Divine character in an undetermined condition. His own view is that the eternal Law of Righteousness is co-ordinate, or, as he calls it, 'identical' with the Divine Will and with the Divine Nature; and this, in our judgment, is the right position to take upon the subject. But he here starts a question which lands him, in what seems to us, a doubtful conclusion. The question is, Whether God Himself is subject to the authority of the eternal Law of Righteousness, even as we are? He takes the negative view. He affirms that we instinctively reject it, because even in idea nothing can be higher than God. He says that the relation between God and the eternal law is unique—that it is a relation not of subjection but of identity. Here we are at issue with the author, if we understand him. We admit that there is *seemingly* something harsh and irreverent in speaking of God's obligation to do or not to do certain things, but this is because we associate with obligation the idea of a person *ab extra* who has power to reward and to punish; but if 'obligation' is purified from this heteronomical idea, and is made to express nothing more than the idea of fitness or propriety, we do not see anything irreverent in ascribing moral obligation to God in such a sense. Surely we are not guilty of irreverence in saying that God has in His mind the ideas of right and wrong, and that it would be wrong if He were to disregard these ideas in His conduct towards His creatures.

We are unable to see any disparagement to the Divine Majesty in the conception that the standard of righteousness has ever existed in the Divine mind, and that this standard is not only a *Rule* but a *Law* of the Divine conduct.

The author, having discussed the subject of the Law in general, takes up next the question of its penalty, which he handles in a lucid and masterly manner. Here he investigates the idea of punishment. Upon this subject he passes in review various theories. There is the theory of correction, or that punishment is intended to reform the offender. There is the theory of prevention, or that punishment is inflicted for the purpose of restraining men from breaking the law. There is the theory of vindication, or that punishment is meant to defend the personal rights of the Ruler. Finally, there is the theory of retribution, or that punishment is inflicted because it is deserved. The latter is the theory which the author accepts. He holds that the fundamental idea of punishment is that of retribution, although he does not hold this exclusively. His view is that sin is punished for various reasons: viz., because it deserves punishment; then because it is fitted to protect the welfare of the universe; and finally because it vindicates the rights of God as the supreme Ruler. The essential and leading idea is that punishment is an end in itself—that the sinner is punished because he deserves to be punished.

This brings the author face to face with a question of formidable difficulty, and which from his standpoint is intimately connected not only with the *nature* but with the *possibility* of the Atonement. The question is whether justice absolutely requires the punishment of the *sinner*. The author's conception of punishment seems to imply this. But if justice requires the punishment of the *sinner*, the possibility of atonement seems to be excluded; for if an atonement is admitted the *sinner* is not punished, but *some one else who takes his place*. How does the Lecturer meet this difficulty? His solution is, according to our conception of his meaning, that it is not absolutely necessary to punish the *sinner*, but that it is absolutely necessary to punish *sin*. His own language is as follows:—

‘The heart of the whole problem lies here. The eternal Law of Righteousness declares that sin deserves to be punished. The will of God

is identified both by the conscience and the religious intuitions of man with the eternal Law of Righteousness. . . . The whole Law, the authority of its precepts, the justice of its penalties, must be asserted in the Divine acts, or else the Divine Will cannot be perfectly identified with the eternal Law of Righteousness. If God does not assert the principle that sin deserves punishment by punishing it, He must assert that principle in some other way. Some Divine act is required which shall have all the moral worth and significance of the act by which the penalties of sin would have been inflicted on the sinner.

'The Christian Atonement is the fulfilment of that necessity. The principle that suffering—suffering of the most terrible kind—is the just desert of sin, is not suppressed. It would have been adequately asserted had God inflicted on man the penalties of transgression. It is asserted in a still grander form and by a Divine act which in its awful sublimity and unique glory infinitely transcends the mere infliction of suffering on those who have sinned, &c. It belonged to Him (*i.e.*, to God in the person of His Son) to assert by His own act that suffering is the just result of sin. He asserts it not by inflicting suffering on the sinner, but by enduring suffering Himself' (pp. 891, 2).

If we discuss this question on metaphysical grounds we get into an impenetrable fog. It is by no means clear, if we look upon it as a matter of rational speculation, that the principle of justice is what Mr. Dale holds it to be. When he lays it down as an absolute principle of intelligence that the Law of Righteousness does not imperatively require the punishment of the transgressor, but simply affirms his desert of punishment, we feel as if he were running counter to something not unlike a moral instinct of our nature. The ordinary idea of justice is that God should give to every one his due—punishment to whom punishment is due, and reward to whom reward is due. The language of justice, as commonly understood, is not, 'The soul that sinneth *deserves* to die;' but, 'The soul that sinneth it *shall* die.' Besides, the desert of punishment on the part of the sinner seems to imply the obligation of punishment on the part of the Ruler. To deserve punishment is to deserve punishment from some one—from Him whose function it is to punish; and to deserve punishment from some one, is the same thing as saying that it is fit or proper that some one should inflict punishment. The desert of punishment simply expresses the congruity and connection which exists between sin and suffering. And yet however we may differ with Mr. Dale when looking at the subject as

a metaphysical speculation, we must agree with him in the result at which he has arrived, viz., that the claims of justice may be satisfied in some other way than the punishment of the sinner himself; for otherwise there could be no atonement and no forgiveness.

Our view is that we should, on this question, eschew metaphysics, and follow the guidance of holy Scripture. We there find that the language of God's Law is, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die.' Hence it would seem necessary, from God's own declaration, that the sinner himself should be punished; and inasmuch as the Law is, in a certain sense, the transcript of God's own nature, it seems that the Divine justice as well as the Divine veracity requires not simply the punishment of *sin*, but of the *sinner himself*. But if this be true, it proves too much, for it proves the inadmissibility of atonement and the irremissibility of sin. This shows the necessity of great care in dealing with the question of Divine justice, for many, in their eagerness to establish the necessity of the Atonement, have overshot the mark and involved themselves in point-blank contradiction. Mr. Dale has avoided this extreme by avowing, on grounds of reason, as we understand him, and altogether apart from Scripture, that justice only requires the punishment of *sin in some way*, and not absolutely the punishment of the sinner. This is another extreme. Not that we think him wrong in the principle which he advocates, but wrong in the method by which he arrives at it. We deny that his principle is a principle of reason: it is a principle of revelation—a principle that we owe in its definite and certain form to the light of the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

We think another method of stating the relation of justice to the Atonement is more in accordance with our limited knowledge, and with the facts of the case. Some of our ablest divines * would put the case thus:—If we had no source of knowledge but the eternal Law of Righteousness, the only reasonable conclusion we could reach, would be, that the punishment of the offender was inevitable, and we should despairingly ask, 'How can man be just with God?' Nevertheless, if assured by competent authority that God had resolved on the exercise of mercy, we should expect more than

* Vide Dr. Cunningham's 'Historical Theology,' vol. ii. p. 260.

a bare amnesty—we should expect some extraordinary provision to indemnify the Divine law and to manifest the Divine justice; and, when made fully acquainted with the Christian redemption, we should feel impressed with its adaptation to give peace to our conscience and to bring glory to God. This comes to the same thing in the result as the view of our author, but it has been arrived at, as we think, in a more legitimate way—the way of faith, not that of reason. Whatever view we may take of *a priori* speculations bearing on the necessity of the Atonement, one thing is certain, that there is a want in the human mind which nothing but the Atonement can satisfy, though it may be a stumbling-block to the Jew and foolishness to the Greek. In the language of Henry Rogers: ‘It is adapted to human nature, as a bitter medicine may be to a patient. Those who have taken it, tried its efficacy, and recovered spiritual health, gladly proclaim its value. But to those who have not, and will not try it, it is an unpalatable potion still.’

The questions of law and justice in the foregoing discussions have been viewed in their relation to the Godhead in general, and not in their relation to the Lord Jesus Christ. But the Lecturer holds that there is a special and original relation existing between Christ and the eternal Law of Righteousness. He has laid it down as one of the pillars of his theory of the Atonement, that Christ, by virtue of His Sonship in the ineffable mystery of the Trinity, is the Representative of the Law and the Guardian of its majesty; or, in Mr. Dale’s own words, the moral Ruler and the final Judge of the human race. This he shows by quoting such familiar passages as the following: ‘The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.’ ‘God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom he hath ordained.’ ‘God hath given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.’ ‘He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.’ These passages certainly prove that Christ, by virtue of the redemptive arrangement, and on the ground of what He did and suffered as the Saviour of the world, does sustain the function of the

moral Ruler of the human race. But they certainly do not prove that this was a function which *originally* belonged to Him as the *second Person* in the Trinity. We need not, by referring to the context of the cited passages, labour to show that the rulership spoken of is the Mediatorial Rulership of Christ, founded expressly upon His Incarnation and Atonement. Besides, we are explicitly told that this sublime relation is so far from being original, that at the consummation of all things it is destined to terminate. 'When all things shall be 'subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject 'unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all 'in all.' Is it not inverting the natural order of things to convert the result of the Atonement into the ground and rationale of it?

We cannot think that Mr. Dale, with his clear and logical head, has fallen into such a patent paralogism as this. He must have had something else in his mind which he has omitted to state. It is possible that he might have been thinking of Christ's present Rulership as implying His proper and supreme Divinity, and of His Divinity as implying an original relationship to the law *in common* with the Father and the Spirit; but *not in contradistinction* from them. As God, each of the three Persons in the Triune Mystery is, in a certain sense, Supreme Ruler in the kingdom of spirits. The Father is Ruler, the Son is Ruler, and the Holy Spirit is Ruler, each by virtue of His own Deity. But it is one thing to possess a *homousian* rulership—quite another to possess a *hypostatical* rulership. (The terminology may be pardoned for the sake of brevity.) In the *homousian* sense we might affirm that the threefold existence became incarnate, but in the *hypostatical* sense it was the *Son alone* who became incarnate. Hence, if it be Mr. Dale's object to ascribe no more to Christ than a *homousian* prerogative in relation to government, it is not enough for His purpose, unless we hold that we may with propriety ascribe the Atonement not only to the Son, but also to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. This is a great mystery, the deepest mystery of the Divine nature; and therefore it behoves us that our words should be few, lest we deserve the rebuke that 'fools rush in where angels 'fear to tread.'

According to the scripture method of representation, the Father is set forth as the Lawgiver, whose authority has been desecrated, and the Son as the Mediator, 'who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins.' But Mr. Dale ignores the personal distinctions in the Godhead, in so far as the Atonement is concerned, and proceeds upon the principle of Monarchianism. The language of Scripture is, 'The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all.' The language of Mr. Dale is, The Lawgiver punished Himself instead of punishing us. It used to be one of the objections brought against the Atonement, that it represented God as making atonement to Himself. But our author, instead of replying to the objection, adopts it as a correct statement of the doctrine. For our own part, we prefer the old-fashioned method which we have learnt from the Scriptures. It is more human, more intelligible, and quite as free from objection. Indeed, to confess the truth, Mr. Dale's mode of representation on this subject 'confounds our mind instead of helping our ideas, or making them more easy and intelligible.'

The next general topic taken up by the author with a view to a theory of the Atonement, is the relation of our Lord Jesus Christ to the human race. He says:—

'Although the redemption of mankind is spoken of both by Christ Himself and by His apostles as originating in the love and righteousness of God, the language of the New Testament seems to imply that in some sense Christ died in the name of the human race. It is not God alone who has part in the great mystery. Christ was a sacrifice and propitiation for us, though not by our own choice and appointment. His death is described as an appeal to God's infinite mercy coming from the human race itself, or from one who has a right to speak, and act, and suffer as its Representative. This aspect of the death of Christ has no place in the partial conception of it which we have reached by considering the relation of Christ to the eternal Law of Righteousness. Again; this partial conception of it leaves the impression on the mind that the death of Christ had something of a dramatic character, and that its value lies in its dramatic effect. The theory, if I may so speak, seems to be in the air. If it can be shown that the original and ideal relation of the Lord Jesus Christ to the human race constitutes a reason why He should become a sacrifice and propitiation for our sins, the conception of His death illustrated in the preceding lecture will rest on more solid and secure foundations' (pp. 401, 2).

He then proceeds to say that this relation has never yet been clearly understood by the Church, and he candidly confesses that he himself has not very definite views on the subject. He affirms, however, that in *some sense* Christ is the Head and Representative of mankind—that this conception of Him is wrought into the very structure of apostolic doctrine, that it has been insisted on by Mr. Maurice and his disciples in this country, and since the days of Schelling has occupied a conspicuous place in German theology. Dr. Watts, by the way, had a very definite and intelligible theory upon this subject. He held that the human soul of Christ existed before the world began, in personal union with his Divine nature, so that He was a theanthropic Person before He was born of the Virgin. He held that it is on this account that He is called the *image* of the invisible God; for, as he contends, the Divine nature cannot be the image of itself. That term can only apply to the human factor in his complex personality. He also founds his theory upon the fact that the Covenant of Redemption betwixt God the Father and His Son was *made before the foundation of the world*—a fact which seems to imply ‘the man Christ Jesus, who is ‘most properly the Mediator, according to 1 Tim. ii. 5, to ‘be also *present* before the world was made; to be chosen and ‘appointed as the Redeemer or Reconciler of mankind; to be ‘then ordained the Head of His future people; to receive ‘promises, grace, and blessings in their name; and to accept ‘the solemn and weighty trust from the hand of His Father, ‘that is, to take care of millions of souls.’*

Mr. Dale's view, whatever it may be, seems to have more affinity with the realistic theory of the late Professor Maurice. That theory, so far as we are able to understand the dreamy thoughts of that erratic theologian, is, in substance, as follows:—That humanity was chronologically prior to individual men—that this humanity was created by Christ in His own image, and existed in Him before time began; so that Christ was God and man before the Incarnation, and the Incarnation was only the manifestation of an eternal reality. Hence there is a twofold union between Christ and our race, by original constitution. 1st. He is the natural Representative

* Watts's Works, vol. vi. p. 820.

of the race. *He*, not *Adam*, is our original Head. We are collectively included in His original humanity. We are parts of Him as the original and ideal man. Hence what Christ did and suffered, we did and suffered. That Mr. Dale has a tendency towards the realistic theory in some form or other, is evident from the following passage of the Rev. Stopford Brooke, which, in Appendix F, he quotes with approbation:—

‘There in Christ all humanity was concentrated; there all humanity suffered and sacrificed itself; there all humanity reconciled itself to God; there God saw all humanity die to sin, and reconciled Himself to it; there all humanity conquered death in a last struggle with it; there the whole race united itself to the life of God, for Christ was not only a man, *He was humanity*’ (p. 474).

2nd. Christ’s original relation to mankind also includes that He is the natural source of our life, both physical and spiritual. ‘All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.’ He made us in His own image, and He upholds us, and until we sinned He was the fountain of our higher life. There was, it is alleged, the same vital union between Christ and unfallen man as there is between Christ and believers under the gospel dispensation—a union explained by our Saviour’s own beautiful words: ‘I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing.’ Now for the application of this twofold relationship to the subject in hand. The fact that Christ is our natural Head enables Him (Mr. Dale would say) to make reconciliation for our iniquities, and this reconciliation unseals the fountain of Divine influences, and restores the vital relation which He originally sustained to us, *potentially* in the case of all men, and *actually* in the case of believers. We do not deny that Christ was the agent in the creation of man; nor do we deny that He was the model according to which man was made; nor are we concerned to deny that He was the source of man’s original righteousness; but we do deny the realistic idea, whether held by Mr. Dale or not, that He created the species before the individual—that He united humanity to Himself before all time—and that, as such, He was the original Head of the human race. We

believe that when Moses says that 'God made man in his 'own image,' he means not a generic but an individual creation; and that when Paul says, 'The first man Adam 'was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, 'but that which is natural; and afterward that which is 'spiritual'—his meaning is that Adam, and not Christ, was the original head of the human family. There are other expressions in conflict with the view that Christ was the original Head of the race—such as 'The Word was made 'flesh'—'He was made in the likeness of men'—which imply that He *became what He was not before* in any sense of the word—that is to say, a human being.

All admit that the Atonement to be valid implies some sort of *union* between the Substitute and the sinner. The following quotation from a work entitled 'Primeval Man Unveiled,' contains the view of an able writer:—

'But the Scriptures do not represent the efficacy of the Atonement as a *mere* substitution, although in our theological systems the idea of substitution is generally placed in the foreground. In Scripture the grand idea presented is not so much substitution as union; and for every passage in which substitution is presented as the theory of salvation, there are ten which represent it under the idea of a union. In fact, without union there could be no substitution according to law.

'There is a story told of a lady who was given up by her physicians, and when the fond husband asked them if there was really nothing that could by possibility save her life, they replied that she was dying for want of blood, but if that could be supplied, it was possible that she might live. The husband in a moment bared his arm, and bade them take from his veins whatever quantity was necessary for the purpose. We are told that the communication was formed, the blood was transfused from the strong body of the husband, and made to flow gently into the veins of his wife. The consequence was that she revived and lived. Here there was no miracle—no violation of the physical laws. The lady would have died but for the transfusion, and, in that case, the laws of nature would have been satisfied; but these laws were equally satisfied when the blood flowed into her body, and she revived.

'In this incident we have an illustration of the mode of salvation by Christ, in which the law is satisfied and the sinner saved. There is, indeed, in the Atonement a *substitution*, because, in reality, the just suffers for the unjust, and the innocent Jesus becomes the substitute of the guilty sinner. But there must be more than substitution; there must also be union; for without union there could be no substitution according to law. In the case of the lady, union without substitution

would have been useless, because the mere forming of the communication without the transfusion of the blood would not have been enough: the husband must be weakened that the wife might be strengthened, and the blood which was gained by the one must be lost by the other. But, on the other hand, substitution without union would have been equally impossible, because the death of the husband would have been as contrary to law as the recovery of the wife, unless the transfusion had taken place by means of the union.

'The objection which has been raised to the doctrine of the Atonement, as opposed to our instinctive sense of justice, is founded on a misapprehension of its nature; and the moment we introduce the idea of union, the objection ceases to have force. In so far as there is no union there can be no substitution according to law, or consistent with justice; and if the Scripture had represented the Atonement as a substitution without union, it might not have been very easy to reply to the objection. But Scripture does not represent the gospel as a substitution without union: there is union; and unless it can be shown that the union is not such as to satisfy law—that is to say, unless it can be shown that the union is not a real and personal, but only a theoretical and ideal union—the objection cannot be held to have any force. Now the Scripture asserts that the union between the Saviour and the saved is not only a real and personal union, but a union so complete that it is described not as being a *union* so much as a *unity*. The unity which exists between Christ and His people is spoken of in the most absolute terms. He is the Vine, they are the branches; He is the Head, they are the members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones; they are one with Him, He being in them and they in Him. Such references might be multiplied to any extent, because the Scripture is full of them both in type and doctrine. If this then be the nature of the Atonement, and if this union be real and personal, and not merely legal and metaphorical, the death of Christ must necessarily be a complete satisfaction to justice, not in theory only but in fact. When the Head was crucified, the members must be reckoned as having died; when the Head rose from the dead, the members could no longer be held as prisoners; and when Christ ascended to heaven, every member of His body was entitled to regard it as his home. If the Head be in heaven, the members may for a time be on earth; but they cannot remain there, far less can they ever be in hell.'

Such is another view of the union which is considered necessary to the existence of the Christian Atonement. We admit and rejoice in the union described between Christ and His people, and our heart has been touched and moved by the earnest and forcible exhibition of it in the eloquent citation just given; but we fail to perceive its application to the point in hand. It accounts for the subjective effect of the Atonement, but not for the objective validity of the Atonement.

It answers the question why we become partakers of the benefits of the Atonement, but it does not answer the question why the death of Christ, any more than the death of other beings, constitutes the atonement for our sins.

Dr. Crawford, in his able and elaborate work on the Atonement, contends that—

‘The difficulty to be solved is not how it comes to pass that both the Saviour and the redeemed sinner are treated otherwise than they deserve, but how it comes to pass that the unmerited sufferings of the one are deemed, in the judgment of God, a sufficient ground for the bestowal of unmerited blessings—in other words, for the *application* of redemption to them? Where this is the question, the union of believers with Christ is a most relevant consideration to be taken into the account. That which we are looking for is *some bond of connection* between the Redeemer and those whom He redeems, which may help us to apprehend on what principle it is that His obedience unto death should be applicable for their advantage. And surely we have made a considerable approximation towards discovering the desideratum, when we find that believers are represented in the Word of God as intimately and vitally united to the Saviour.’

This is a patent *ignoratio elenchi*, for the thing to be accounted for is the *objective* redemption accomplished on the cross, and not the *subjective* redemption experienced in the heart. The application of redemption implies the existence of a redemption that could be applied. The union between believers and Christ is not creative but conductive. The pipes which bring water to our houses do not originate the supply of water in the reservoirs—they simply convey the water if there be any to convey. The mystical union of believers with their Head explains how they receive the benefits of the Atonement, but it does not explain how or why the unmerited sufferings of the Redeemer acquire an atoning value or significance, and become a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

The union which is implied in the substitution of Christ must be *anterior* to the substitution itself; but the mystical union of believers with Him is *posterior* to it, not only in the order of *time*, but in the order of *thought*. It therefore avails nothing to bring in the doctrine of election, and to say that the union in question was predetermined before the foundation of the world, and was a fact in the Divine mind before it is

actually realised in the case of believers. The *substitution* of the Saviour, as well as the *conversion* of the sinner, was a fact in the Divine mind before time began. Hence, nothing is got by penetrating into the Divine purposes, for the question is, which of the two things is first in the order of thought, in their necessary relation to one another. It is clear that the union referred to is founded upon the Atonement, and not the Atonement on the union. The Atonement is the cause and the union the effect, which even Dr. Crawford virtually admits when he says that 'the impetration of redemption *secures* the 'application of it.'

The view combated is liable to another objection—a serious one from our standpoint. It is, that it necessarily limits the extent of the Atonement. If there be no expiation of guilt without a real and personal union between the substitute and the offender, then there is no sacrifice for sin except for a limited number of the human race, viz., those who shall actually be brought to believe in Christ. We believe that Christ, 'by the grace of God, tasted death for every man,' 'that he gave himself a ransom for all,' and that 'no mortal 'has a just pretence to perish in despair.'

It now remains that we should give our own view of the relation of Christ to mankind, which qualifies Him to be their Representative in the great work of redemption. That relation we consider to be His *assumption of our nature*. He became bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and blood of our blood. 'As the children were partakers of flesh and blood, 'he himself took part of the same.' He became our kinsman, our brother, our elder brother. He not only became a man, but *the* man, and therefore had a more intimate relation to the human race than any other member of the great family. He is the pattern man, in whom the complete idea of humanity is projected into time and space. Hence 'His 'individuality is related to that of every other human being, 'as the centre of the circle to every point of the periphery.' We often speak of representative men—men who pre-eminently exhibit the mental and moral characteristics of the nations to which they belong. History records the names of many such representative personages. Christ upon far higher and truer grounds is the representative of *all* mankind,

for He possessed our nature in its most comprehensive and consummate form. He was neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond, or free; but He was humanity in its most unrestricted, enlarged, and ideal manifestation. 'He was the 'chief among ten thousand, the altogether lovely.' So that, on the ground of His humanity alone, none else could have been chosen with equal propriety to be the new Head of the human race. But He is more than man. He is God as well as man in one mysterious Person, and thus He is qualified not only to represent the human race, but to do so in such a manner as to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to restore man to his original intercourse with God.

Mr. Dale is not alone amongst orthodox divines in challenging the Incarnation as an adequate explanation of the efficacy of the death of Christ. Dr. Crawford makes use of the following language :—

'It cannot be said, however, that the Saviour's incarnation furnishes a complete and satisfactory explanation of the efficacy of His sufferings and obedience in securing the remission of our sins. It may indeed be viewed as a *sine qua non*, or an indispensable requisite to that efficacy, by making Him to be in such a sense akin to us, that the sufferings He endured, and the obedience He rendered, were the *same in kind* with those which are required of us. But it does not so identify Him as a personal agent with those whom He redeemed, that all He did and all He suffered may be properly and righteously considered as done and suffered by *them*, irrespective of anything that brings them as individual and personal agents into union or communion with Him.*

It seems to us that there is here a demand for a relation so intimate and complete between the Redeemer and redeemed, that nothing short of absolute identity can satisfy the demand. It may be always said to be a fiction and a technicality, to consider that what was done and suffered by the Son of God on the cross was done and suffered by us. This can never be literally and really true, except upon the assumption that there is no distinction between the Saviour and the sinner—that in fact the one *is* the other. But we can never believe this paradox unless, with Hegel, we are able to soar into the empyrean far above the laws of ordinary logic, and acquire the wondrous power of perceiving that a thing *is* not only *what it is*, but also and at the same time *what it is not*.

*Crawford on the Atonement, p. 444.

Shall we then accept the realistic view of Christ, in order to make the apostle's statement literally true, viz., 'That if one 'died for all, then all died'? This seems to us like going from Scylla to Charybdis; for to say that the humanity of Christ includes all the individuals of the human race, is quite as confounding to the intellect as to say that Christ and the human race are literally and reciprocally identical. We reject it, however, not because of its inherent difficulty, but because of its purely gratuitous and speculative character, having no foundation whatever but in the vain imagination that would be wise above what is written.

Nor do we think that the fact of the mystical union of Christ and His people (held by Dr. Crawford, as well as by many of the older divines, to be a satisfactory explanation of the atoning efficacy of the death of Christ) at all meets the objection of those who are violently opposed to the idea of *imputation*. If it be alleged that believers are regarded by God as if they had lived the life of Christ, and died the death of Christ, upon the ground of their spiritual union with Him, the adversary will reply, they *did not* live His life nor die His death, and therefore why should they be considered as having done and suffered what they have *not* done and suffered. Let us have done with *nisi prius*. Away with all technical fictions, and let us have nothing but realities in the domain of religion. All that can be said by Dr. Crawford by way of rejoinder, as we suppose, is that the union of believers with Christ makes it a fit and proper thing that He should be dealt with as if He had been a sinner, and that His people should be dealt with as if they had been righteous. 'He who knew no sin was 'made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness 'of God in him.' We have already stated our objection to making the mystical union the ground of the Atonement. It is reversing the natural order of things, and making the effect to change places with the cause. We believe with Dr. Crawford that faith has to do with the imputation of righteousness to us, but we do not believe that our faith has anything to do with the imputation of sin to Christ. We hold that the Incarnation qualified Him to be the Representative of the human race, and His own voluntary offer to take their place, and the acceptance of Him by the Father, *actually*

made Him their Representative and Redeemer. What He did and suffered was in the *name* and in the *room* of fallen man. It may be objected that He was not appointed by the race for whom He acted. But parents often represent children for their benefit without their consent. Besides, the first Adam represented his posterity without their consent, to their terrible injury. If so, why may not the second Adam assume a similar function, without their consent, to their unspeakable advantage? 'As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.'

The most serious objection to the view we have taken, viz., that the assumption of our nature furnishes the explanation of the death of Christ for our redemption, is, either that it implies the *ultimate salvation of all men* without exception, or that it has done no more than to make the salvation of men a *mere possibility*. We take an intermediate view. We do not believe that the effect of the Atonement will be to secure the salvation of the whole world, nor do we believe that the effect of the Atonement is reduced to the bare possibility of salvation. We do not see that the *universality* of the Atonement need dilute the *nature*, or impair the *proximate effect*, of it. We hold that the immediate effect of the Atonement was not redemptibility, but redemption. 'We are justified by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.' 'In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.' 'By his own blood he obtained eternal redemption for us.' There is a difference between *objective* and *subjective* redemption. For example, a philanthropist purchases the liberty of a slave. He is *objectively* redeemed as soon as the price is paid, but he is not *subjectively* redeemed until he is actually set at liberty. We may be objectively redeemed without ever being subjectively redeemed. The objective redemption depends upon the *atonement* of Christ, but subjective redemption depends upon our *faith* in Christ. Faith does not *impetrate* redemption, but simply *appropriates* redemption. 'Faith does not make the fact of our redemption, but rests upon it as previously existing; and that without the previous existence

'of it, our faith would be unmeaning and false.' Upon any other hypothesis faith becomes a *ground*, and not a mere *instrument* of salvation; a *proper condition*, and not a mere *appropriation* of eternal life. In the quaint language of one writer it makes our faith into a *Jesus*. It turns the eye inward upon something of our own, instead of fixing its steadfast gaze upon the great redemptive work of the Son of God. All our favourite hymns proceed upon the objective view of redemption and the receptive view of faith. Take the following examples:—

' In my hand no price I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling.'

' The best obedience of my hands
Dares not appear before Thy throne;
But faith can answer Thy demands,
By pleading what my Lord has done.'

All our best hymns are objective in their character, and lead our minds away from ourselves to what Christ has done for us, and thus frequently fill our minds with peace and joy without the help of a laborious and fruitless introspection. Was not this the meaning of the Reformers when they affirmed that *assurance* was of the *essence of faith*? They did not mean by it the assurance that we are Christians, but that Christ had expiated our guilt and that God was propitious to us. Nor, with this limitation, did they mean that the Christian was free from doubts; but only that, when their faith was in exercise, they trusted in Christ and were not afraid. There is great confusion in the minds of modern divines upon this subject. They do not seem to know that assurance has three meanings: one, that which identifies it with faith, and is founded upon a direct view of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus; another, that which results from a process of self-examination, and whose object is our own Christian character; the third is a supernatural attestation of our adoption, the Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are the children of God. This latter view is held by the Wesleyans, who affirm that it is the common privilege of all who are born again. There are others, John Howe for example, who hold the supernatural assurance, but limit

it to a select and favoured few, who have it as the reward of eminent piety. With regard to the first, or objective assurance, Sir W. Hamilton maintains that it is essential to the Reformers' doctrine of justification by faith; for faith deprived of its appropriative character is converted into a work. He quotes Luther as saying that 'he who hath not assurance spews faith out;' and Melancthon, that 'assurance is the discriminating line of Christianity from heathenism.' Sir William winds up his views on this subject in the following passage:—

'This dogma, with its fortune past and present, affords indeed a series of the most *curious contrasts*. For it is curious that this cardinal point of Luther's doctrine should, without exception, have been constituted into the fundamental principle of all the Churches of the Reformation, and as their common and uncatholic doctrine have been explicitly condemned at Trent. Again, it is curious that this common and differential doctrine of the Churches of the Reformation should now be abandoned virtually in, or formally by, all these Churches themselves. Again, it is curious that Protestants should now generally profess the counter doctrine, asserted at Trent in condemnation of their peculiar principle. . . . Finally, it is curious that, though now fully developed, this central approximation of Protestantism to Catholicity should not, as far as I know, have been signalled by any theologian, Protestant or Catholic; whilst the Protestant symbol (*Fides sola justificat*—Faith alone justifies), though now eviscerated of its real import, and only manifesting an unimportant difference of expression, is still supposed to mark the discrimination of the two religious denominations. For both agree that the three heavenly virtues must *all* concur to salvation; and they only differ whether faith, *as a word*, does or does not involve hope and charity. This misprision would have been avoided had Luther and Calvin only said, *Fiducia sola justificat*—Assurance alone justifies; for on their doctrine assurance was convertible with true faith, and true faith implied the other Christian graces. But this primary and peculiar doctrine of the Reformation is now harmoniously condemned by Catholics and Protestants in unison.*

We are persuaded that the pulpit has lost a great deal of its power through the neglect or imperfect statement of this doctrine; for what after all does it mean but a simple and

* Sir W. Hamilton's 'Discussions on Philosophy,' &c., p. 509. We do not forget the able article of Dr. Cunningham, in reply to Hamilton, in the 'British and Foreign Evangelical Review,' October, 1856. But we adhere substantially to the views of Hamilton, although some of his statements require modification; and venture to question whether the great Scotch divine had a clear idea of what was meant by the doctrine 'that faith is of the nature of assurance.' Dr. Chalmers had a far better idea of this.

direct trust in God as our reconciled Father, through the atonement of His Son. Wherever the cross of Christ has been held up as the immediate ground of assurance, the instant source of peace, there has been a stir amongst the dry bones, there has been a flocking to the standard of the Cross. Does not this account for the success of Wesley and Whitefield, and of Moody, the American evangelist, whose fruitful labours are still fresh in the memory of us all. Many are afraid that such an easy method of assurance—such a free method of justification—will lead to Antinomianism. Such was the objection of many to the preaching of Paul, the great Gentile apostle, but the objection is perfectly groundless. On this subject we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the crushing reply of the late Dr. William Anderson, of Glasgow:—

‘I read in books, and they tell me in conversation, that there once existed a species of mankind who seemed to enjoy the most undoubting confidence in God’s love, as secured for them by the work of Christ, who were yet selfish, fraudulent, sensual, and extensively immoral in their conduct. . . . I, for one, know not, and never knew such men. Those that I know, of whom I am persuaded that they have an abiding, joyous trust in God’s paternal love, are all as obedient as they are confiding (I would that some were as confiding as they are obedient); and there is no preaching, I am persuaded, which makes such a waste of words as that which exerts itself in the exposure and rebuke of the man who indulges an Antinomian confidence. It is a mere beating of the air—there is no one to represent the character. It is not only a moral, it is a kind of physical impossibility, that a soul which has “entered into the holiest by the blood of Jesus,” to hold filial intercourse with the Father of spirits, should fail of being transformed into the Divine moral likeness.’*

Having discussed the leading questions involved in a theory of the Atonement, we come now to the theory itself—the theory as constructed by the author whose book is under review. While the theory under consideration, in one important respect, keeps within the strict lines of orthodoxy—in fact, more so than the volume in the old Congregational Series on the same subject, yet it contains some things hard to be understood, and harder still to be received as part and parcel of the Atonement. The general outlines of the theory are contained in the four following propositions:—

* ‘Filial Honour of God,’ pp. 12, 13.

'1. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it was an act of submission to the righteous authority of the law by which the human race was condemned, &c.; and because, in consequence of the relation between Him and us—His life being our own—His submission is the expression of ours, and carries ours with it, &c. This submission was made for us, on our behalf, in our name. But we have a part in it. In a real, and not merely a technical sense, the act is ours' (pp. 480, 1).

This means, in brief, that the death of Christ is the ground of pardon, because it is a *real* expression of our submission to the outraged authority of the Divine Law. But how can it be called a real expression of ours, if we were not present to give our assent and consent to the sublime self-surrender of the Son of God? Is it because it was predetermined in the Divine mind that we should be brought into spiritual union with Him, and hence to give our hearty response to what He did in our name on the cross? In addition to the objection already made, that this is transposing the order of cause and effect, and making, what seems to us, to be the result of the Atonement into its rationale or antecedent ground, it is liable to the further objection that, viewed in relation to Mr. Dale's standpoint, it is an *ignoratio elenchi*. Mr. Dale has elaborately sought to show that there is an *aboriginal* relationship between Christ and mankind, and therefore we should naturally expect that this aboriginal relationship would be constituted into one of the grounds of the Atonement. But what do we find? Why, that he altogether *ignores* the relationship which he laboured so earnestly to prove, and *substitutes* for it another relationship, which only comes into existence *after* the decess accomplished at Jerusalem, when men from age to age are converted to the knowledge of the truth. This is not all. The relationship on which he founds the Atonement bears reference *not* to the *whole* human race, but to a *limited* portion only—those who shall be *actually saved*. How will Mr. Dale be able to harmonise this particularism with the unrestricted extent of the Atonement? We presume that he believes that Christ is not only the propitiation for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world. But this cannot possibly be held by *him* except upon the assumption of the ultimate salvation of all men, a view which, so far as we know, he does not favour.

We believe that the self-surrender of Christ was made for us, on our behalf, in our name; but we do not believe that we had a part in it, in any *real* or *literal* sense. We believe that the validity of His representation does not depend upon *our* consent to the appointment, but upon the command of the Divine Father and the concurrence of the Divine Son.

'2. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it rendered possible the retention (?) or the recovery of our original and ideal relation to God through Christ which sin had dissolved, and the loss of which was the supreme penalty of transgression.'

What is meant by this original and ideal relation to God which is recovered by the death of Christ? In so far as we are able to make out, it means the relation of trustful, loving, and obedient children.

It is affirmed that the death of Christ renders the recovery of this relation possible. But why? We want to know, in a theory of the Atonement, not the *what*, but the *why*. Let us see if we can find the missing link in some other part of the book. Perhaps the following passage, although obscurely expressed, may help us out of our difficulty:—

'Through His death the relation of Christ to the Father is no longer of a kind to render it untrue to our relation to God. Sin had introduced an element into our life which rendered it impossible, except on the hypothesis of an amazing and incredible fiction, for the original relation of Christ to the Father to continue to be the ideal of the relation of the human race to God, and in the region to which the spiritual life of man belongs, fictions can have no place. If, therefore, we were still to be related to God through Christ, it would seem to be necessary that there should be included in His actual relation to the Father an expression of the truth of that relation into which we had come through sin. That expression is found in His death' (pp. 423, 4).

If we have penetrated into the meaning of this obscure passage, it signifies that man in consequence of the Fall needed a new moral exemplar. The exemplar for man in his original condition was not suitable to man in his condition of guilt. A new feature must be added, viz., that of submission to the authority of the violated law. Hence it was necessary, upon the assumption that Christ should continue to be the Exemplar of the human race, that He should sur-

render Himself to the penalty of the law, and thus give us an example of submission to outraged authority. If our investigation has been successful, the second proposition means that the death of Christ is the ground of forgiveness *because it contains a sublime example of submission to authority.* With this result before us, we cannot help feeling that the idea has been considerably disguised and mystified, and that simpler forms of speech would have saved much trouble. We grant that the cross of Christ contains an example of submission to authority, and forms some part, though only a *subordinate* part, of the value of that great sacrifice which was offered on the Tree. But we shall have to include a great many things in the Atonement, if we are to comprehend all the aspects which the death of Christ may assume to thoughtful minds; for it was not only an example of submission, but of patience, of moral heroism, and of the sublimest self-sacrifice, and we know not how many things beside.

‘3. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because it involves the actual destruction of sin in all those who through faith recover their union with Him.’

Does this mean that the death of Christ is fitted to exert a great moral influence upon the heart and life of the believer? No; for the author expressly avows that he means something more and something else. This is clearly expressed in the following passage:—

‘St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Corinthians has these remarkable words, “We thus judge that if one died for all, then all died.” These words, if they stood alone, might perhaps be fairly regarded as a strong rhetorical statement of the effect which ought to be produced on our hearts by the infinite love of Christ in dying for us. It might be said that since He died for us, the greatness of His love ought to dissolve all our relations to this present evil world, and bind us in perfect and eternal loyalty to Himself; that we ought to live as though death had already separated us from the common excitements and sorrows and triumphs of mankind. But in several other of his epistles he speaks of Christ’s death as though it were a real event in our own history, &c. In his Epistle to the Galatians he affirms that he himself had thus died in Christ. ‘I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.’ And many Christian persons have declared that they are conscious that in the death of Christ their old and evil life perished, &c. I accept this relation between the death of Christ and the death of our

own evil self as a fact, though I may be unable to offer any explanation of it' (pp. 425, 6).

It is clear that Mr. Dale in this passage seeks to include in his explanation of the Atonement, not what is called the moral influence theory of the death of Christ, but some form of the mystical theory. He seems to hold that there is some sort of physical connection between Christ and His people; that Christ is not the federal or the moral Head of His people, but their natural Head, so that a common life flows between them. Christ is in His people just 'as the root of the tree is 'in its stem and branches, in its leaves and fruit.' Taking this view by itself, we have no objection to it, if it simply means that God, by the working of His Spirit, makes the death of Christ effectual to the salvation of every one that believes. There can be no doubt that the Scriptures clearly teach that there is a spiritual union between the Saviour and those who believe; but is there not a danger of exaggerating and mystifying it by investing it with the form and colour of the philosophic doctrine of realism? We have already given our reasons for refusing this union, however conceived or expressed, as a legitimate explanation of the expiatory effect of the death of Christ, and therefore it is unnecessary to say anything more upon the subject in this place.

'4. The death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because in His submission to the awful penalty of sin, &c., there was a revelation of the righteousness of God which must otherwise have been revealed in the infliction of the penalties of sin on the human race. He endured the penalty instead of inflicting it.'

This is the supreme and fundamental idea of the Atonement, because it bears reference to an immanent principle in the Divine nature — the sacred and inviolable principle of righteousness. We rejoice that Mr. Dale holds, with no feeble grasp, this grand essential in a proper and real atonement for guilt; and that while many have wandered 'in endless mazes 'lost,' he is 'faithful amongst the faithless found.' This, although the chief ground of the Atonement, is not the only and exclusive ground. We hold that the Atonement has reference to God, to the universe, and to the pardoned sinner, and that a complete explanation of the Atonement must combine what

theologians designate the satisfaction theory, the governmental theory, and the moral influence theory. All these ideas may be found in one form or another in Mr. Dale's theory of the Atonement, and, therefore, so far he has travelled in the beaten track. But his realistic, or quasi-realistic speculations about the original relation of Christ to the human race, seem to invest a part of his teaching with a questionable appearance. To be plain, we do not see any room for the old idea of *imputation* in his theory of the Atonement. He is so anxious to abolish from theology what he calls fiction and technicality, that we have some sort of realism made very conspicuous—humanity in Christ, and Christ in humanity. It seems as if he held that the benefits of the Atonement came to us by *infusion* and not by *imputation*—that the spiritual life which flows to us from our Divine Head is the *immediate ground* of justification in the sight of God. This we should consider a *serious* deflection from the theology of the Reformers. It is possible, however, that we may have misapprehended his meaning.

There is another point which deserves a passing notice : that point is the aspect under which the Lord Jesus Christ became the substitute of sinners. Our author considers that it was as the Supreme Ruler that He took upon Him the penalties of sin. It is to the fact of His supreme Rulership, and not to His Divinity, that he ascribes the validity and value of His atonement. He expresses this view clearly in an article by him in this Periodical on the expiatory theory of the Atonement. His words are : 'Not the dignity of Christ, but *His position as the Ruler of our race*, invests His agony and death 'with all their atoning efficacy.' According to our judgment this is not the way in which the substitution of Christ is set forth in the Scriptures. We nowhere read that Christ the Supreme Ruler took upon Himself our penalties, that He might not inflict them upon us. What we read is, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son.' 'Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation,' &c. 'I have power to lay down (my life), and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.' 'When the fulness of the time was come, God sent

'*forth his Son*, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem 'them that were under the law, that we might receive the 'adoption of sons.' It is evident that the biblical method is to exhibit the Father as the Ruler whose authority has been violated, and the Son as the Divine Person who, in obedience to His Father's will as well as to His own compassion, undertook the sinner's cause, and put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.

We believe, moreover, that the Scriptures expressly attribute the value of the sufferings of Christ to His Divine dignity. In Acts xx. 28 we read of 'the church of God which 'he (God) has purchased with *his own blood*.* Elsewhere (Col. i. 14, 15) we read that we have 'redemption through his 'blood, who is the image of the invisible God.' Also that 'the 'Lord of glory had been crucified.' Take especially the following passage: "If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the 'ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the 'purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of 'Christ, who through (or with) the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead 'works to serve the living God?" (Heb. ix. 13, 14.) It is clear that the inspired writers consider the superior worth of the blood of Christ to be due to His superior nature. Nor is the teaching in conflict with the common sentiments of mankind. Some of our readers will remember the effect upon the unsophisticated minds of the American Indians of an apt illustration used by the missionary Brainerd. They asked him how the death of the one Substitute could be equivalent to the death of the human race. He replied, One sovereign is equal in value to 960 farthings. Why? Because the sovereign is gold and the farthings copper. So Christ, because of the dignity of His person, is of more value than all mankind, and hence His death is equivalent, and more than equivalent, to the dying of the whole world. This solved the difficulty, and gave complete satisfaction to these untutored savages. In all ages men have estimated the value of sacrifices in proportion to the excellence of the creature laid upon the altar, and hence, in great emergencies, men have even shed human blood. We therefore see no reason to abandon the time-

* This reading is a subject of controversy.

honoured idea that the force and value of the Christian sacrifice depends upon the Divine dignity of our Lord's person.

There is one thing of great practical importance which ought not to be omitted in this review—we say of practical importance, because the view we take of it will vitally influence the whole style of our preaching and the efficiency of our labours in the kingdom of God. Mr. Dale teaches that, while the *Atonement itself* is necessary to salvation, *faith* in the Atonement is *not absolutely* necessary, even under the dispensation of the gospel. The following citation conveys that idea :—

‘It is not the theory of the death of Christ that constitutes the ground on which sins are forgiven, but the death itself; and the faith which is the condition on our side of receiving redemption through His blood is trust in Christ Himself as the Son of God and Saviour of men, not the acceptance of any doctrine which explains how it is that salvation comes to us through Him. For this trust it is not necessary that men should acknowledge even the *fact* that the death of Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the world, much less is it necessary that they should receive from others, or elaborate for themselves, a theory of propitiation. It is enough that the authority and love have been so revealed to them that they rely on Him for eternal salvation’ (p. 814).

This is broad enough to take in all who call themselves Christians, however inadequate their views of the glory of Christ, and however erroneous their views of the way of life. To be broad and charitable is good, but not when it comes into conflict with the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Such was the idea of an inspired apostle, for he said, ‘Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.’ We quite agree with Mr. Dale that it is not the *theory* of the death of Christ, but the *death itself* that constitutes the ground of forgiveness. We also agree with him that the faith which is necessary to salvation is *trust in Christ Himself*, and not the acceptance of any particular doctrine or theory of the Atonement. But we seriously disagree with him when he says that for this trust it is not necessary that we should acknowledge even the *fact* that the death of Christ is the propitiation for the sin of the world. We consider the Atonement, in its essential principle, to be the sum and substance of the gospel. An apostle says: ‘Moreover,

‘brethren, I declare to you the *gospel* which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, *how that Christ died for our sins* according to the Scriptures” (1 Cor. xv. 1–9). Can a man be saved without believing the gospel (excluding of course from our consideration the cases of infants and of the heathen)? But the gospel, according to the teaching of the inspired apostle, is that Christ died for our sins. It sounds all right to say that if we trust in Christ we shall be saved; but there can be no trust without knowledge. ‘They that know thy name will put their trust in thee.’ We must therefore determine what knowledge is necessarily implied in this trust. It is evident from the Scriptures that there can be no recognised trust in Him without some acquaintance with His Divine dignity and His great redemptive act. What is the meaning of our Saviour’s words, ‘Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you’? (John vi. 53.) They can mean no less than that faith in His atonement is the imperative and indispensable condition of eternal life. Can any one intelligently and worthily partake of the Lord’s Supper without believing that His body was broken for us, and His blood shed for the remission of sins? If we ignore the Atonement as the ground of our trust in the Son of God, our preaching will soon lose its evangelical tone and flavour, and become stale, flat, and unprofitable; and from ignoring we shall proceed, if God in mercy hinder not, to repudiating this all-important and all-pervading truth. We have often wondered that the Cross has occupied so insignificant a place in the ministry of some men, but the fact is accounted for if the idea prevails that the knowledge of the Atonement is not necessary to the faith that bringeth salvation. We believe that the Cross is the tree of life, that ‘the life is in the blood’—‘the blood that speaketh better things than that of Abel;’ and if we would recover and rehabilitate poor fallen humanity, we must preach Christ and Him crucified—Christ ‘bearing our load of sins, to save our souls from hell.’

In coming to the close, we beg to say that we have found in the book much to approve and admire, some things to question

and dissent from, and a point or two to combat and to condemn. We have honestly sought to understand the author's views and to do them justice ; but if, as it is possible, we have misconceived or misrepresented his meaning, we crave the indulgence which is due to an honest but fallible critic. We thank Mr. Dale most heartily for his able and eloquent lectures, and, with the exceptions made, commend them to the favourable consideration of all who take an interest in theological subjects, hoping that they may awaken fresh interest in a subject of unrivalled importance, and help to attain a more scientific statement and a more effectual vindication of this ground and pillar of our faith.

ART. VIII.—*The Present Aspects of the Church Question.*

Disestablishment. Twelve Addresses by Mr. R. W. DALE, M.A., of Birmingham, and the Rev. J. GUINNESS ROGERS, B.A., of London. Society for the Liberation of Religion, &c. London.

THE prophecies of far-seeing Liberals, uttered when the Conservative reaction burst upon us, are already beginning to give signs of fulfilment. As in the winter vegetable life shows itself mainly in the roots, so in the depression of the Liberal party the chief symptoms of its indestructible political life are felt in the further development and the clearer apprehension of certain great fundamental principles, out of which all its legislative activity has ever sprung. In a singularly inconclusive article contributed to the 'Fortnightly Review,' of February, by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, those principles are not unfairly described, though certain possible issues which mainly concern us here are desperately evaded. 'The unreserved recognition of progress as the appointed law of all human institutions, civil or religious ;' 'an imperishable love of freedom ;' 'equality before the law ;' 'respect for human nature as such ;' 'habitual regard for political justice ;' and 'the deliberate preference of national interests

'over all minor interests, whether of classes, of sects, of 'professions, or of individuals:' such is Mr. Brodrick's summary of Liberal principles, a summary which we quote not as an individual discovery, but simply as a convenient confession of a common political faith. It is very possible, indeed, that most Conservatives also would formally subscribe such a creed. But without imputing to them the non-natural interpretations fostered by the easy morality of ecclesiastical confessions at the present day, we must hold that these principles have for Liberals an expanding significance and a vital, aggressive, constraining force, altogether wanting to the Conservative apprehension of them.

The question of most absorbing interest to all who care to look beyond the present and the following parliamentary session, or whose feeling for the political drift of the times goes deeper than the possible contingencies of mere office-hunting strategy, is, In what fresh direction are these fundamental principles likely next to break out? What will be the next decisive movement of progress in our political institutions? Where, in our social system, is equality before the law most glaringly violated? What parts of our ancient legislation are most incongruous with political justice? How will our growing 'respect for human nature as such' assert itself anew against the invidious distinctions of the past? To these questions we affirm that one answer is unanimously given by all the intellectual and moral forces likely to dominate the immediately coming political future. There is no insult to the principle of progress so flagrant as the stolid persistence of a national ecclesiasticism, of which the vital development was suddenly and hopelessly arrested at a period when the spiritual energies of the nation had just begun to germinate afresh. There is no inequality before the law so monstrous as the contrast of favour and contempt, approval and invective, shown in the attitude of our national ecclesiastical constitution towards the equally conscientious, and, so far as human authority is concerned, the equally legitimate varieties of religious opinion that abound and flourish amongst a hopelessly divided people. There is no failure in political justice amongst us now, so generally oppressive as the system which, in all attempts at social and educational

reform, puts the Nonconformist half of the nation at an enormous disadvantage as compared with the Conforming half, and makes 'watchful jealousy' a hateful sectarian necessity of both. And, finally, our old world laws cherish no disrespect for human nature so deep and vile as that which, in the interests of theological exclusiveness, outrages the sanctities of death, and nourishes the clerical temper that curses the 'carrion of dissent.' It is not any creed, nor is it any class of men, who are denounced by the general voice that condemns this state of things. Neither the clergy, nor the squirearchy, nor the peerage are touched by the growing discontent. What is really condemned and also inevitably doomed is the system which formally and legally identifies the religious life of the nation with the ecclesiastical inventions of Henry VIII.

The general feeling of which we speak has recently received a signal expression in the interest and enthusiasm excited by the mission of Mr. R. W. Dale and the Rev. J. G. Rogers to some of the chief centres of population. We are well aware that it is quite possible to exaggerate the importance of the crowds that are always attracted by eloquence. The United Kingdom Alliance, for instance, can always throng the greatest halls in the country with applauding multitudes, not one-tenth of whom regard the Permissive Bill as a permissible speculation in politics. But even the agitation aroused by Sir Wilfred Lawson is proof demonstrative of a resolve swiftly ripening in the bosom of the nation to rebuke the bullying arrogance of the liquor traffic. And there is this difference between the interest excited by the Alliance meetings and by those of the Liberation Society—that whereas by common consent an eager attendance at the former is considered indicative only of zeal against drunkenness, no man can show any active sympathy with the promoters of the latter without committing himself to the definite measure of legislation announced. Besides, the prominent appearance of local Liberal politicians at these gatherings, and the eager enthusiasm of the rank and file of the party, prove demonstratively that in the centres where the germs of all great reforms have been hitherto ripened, the ecclesiastical constitution of this country is most prominent in men's thoughts.

But if the meetings themselves have been signs of a rapid development in public opinion, the speeches delivered have assuredly done much to stimulate the movement. For ability, force, and statesmanlike grasp of the subject, they are comparable to some of the best oratorical utterances of the Anti-Corn Law agitation. There was, indeed, in the speeches of Mr. Bright's palmiest days, a sonorous ring and a passionate rhythm which no living man can pretend to rival. But for straight hitting and impervious argument, not even Mr. Bright's published speeches excel some of those in the collection before us.

One most gratifying feature is the evident determination of the speakers once for all to divest the agitation of every vestige of sectarian spirit. They have made no attack upon Episcopalianism as a religion. They have denounced neither creeds nor articles. And while always maintaining the right of Nonconformists to urge their conscientious objections to Erastianism, they have evidently preferred such broader political arguments as spring from the fundamental principles of Liberalism, and seem likely, therefore, ultimately to unite the whole party. They have urged the equal wrong and absurdity of employing the whole resources of the State in support of what are, humanly speaking, at the best only sectarian opinions. They insisted upon the odious inequality of the law, according to which some twenty thousand paid functionaries are bound to condemn fully half the religious people of the country as schismatics and heretics, besides occasionally launching solemn curses against them, as in the Athanasian Creed. Another more ordinary point of argument was the futility of the attempt to obtain from Parliament ecclesiastical reforms, the discussion of which is alien to its temper, and the consequent waste of parliamentary time, which blocks the progress of legislation. In these speeches no such assumptions will be found as those which have provoked the wrath of Mr. E. A. Freeman. Plainly, neither Mr. Dale nor Mr. Rogers ever dreamed that at some particular juncture of history an episcopal denomination was established by the State, or that out of a chaos of sects one in particular was at some historical period selected for approval and patronage. Indeed, Mr. Freeman's lucid exposition of the

real state of the case will best enable any student of the question to master the argument that marches throughout the whole series of these speeches. In them the National Establishment is not a sect, 'not a religious body,' as it was erroneously termed in a moment of oblivion by Mr. Cross in the debate on the Burials Bill. It is simply a branch of the British Constitution, the growth of which has been arrested precisely when all other parts have given evidence of increased vitality; a phase of the national life which is manifestly incongruous with the age, and the inconsistency of which with the whole tendency of modern legislation is rapidly becoming intolerable. Lastly, the finishing stroke has been given to this special effort of popular instruction by Mr. Dale's article in the 'Fortnightly Review' for March, which may be regarded as the highest tide-mark of public opinion on the subject.

In commenting on this remarkable series of meetings, some of the leading organs of the daily press have adopted a style of criticism which, while professedly intended to show the hopelessness of the movement, seems to be of ominous significance as to the future line of defence. Thus the 'Pall Mall Gazette' commented on the supposed unwillingness of the speakers to 'approach the question from its practical aspect.' The opportune appearance, on the very morning after the Exeter Hall meeting, of Lord Hampton's returns, giving the amounts raised for Church building and restoration during the last thirty-five years, seemed to give much point to such a remark. And 'The Times' anticipated its evening rival in arguing that the real question is not the abstract justice or desirability of Church establishments in themselves, but the possibility, or otherwise, of disturbing an institution which has driven its roots so deep into our national life. We are far from denying that there is much truth in such observations. We cannot indeed allow that they detract anything from the value of a mission undertaken mainly to inform the public mind, and to excite public opinion. But we not the less gladly acknowledge that the question is passing beyond the stage of theoretical discussion, and demands a more practical mode of treatment than it has hitherto usually received. This is the reason why we have called the criticisms of the daily press ominous of the future. It seems as though by

common consent amongst practical politicians the case of the Establishment were to be surrendered on its merits, and defended only on the ground of insuperable difficulties in touching it. It is precisely this practical view of the matter which we propose here to consider.

Now, first of all, it would appear that by agreement of all classes, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Primitive Methodist preacher, and from extreme Ritualists to the school of Mr. Voysey, the really practical question is not whether *anything* is to be done, but, rather, *what* it is to be. With the present condition of our ecclesiastical constitution no one is satisfied. Not Convocation, for, fretting under the isolation of our national communion, it is stretching out wistful arms to the Greek Church on the one hand and the Old Catholics on the other; not the Archbishop of Canterbury, for, with honest English feeling, he indignantly urges the claims of excluded Christians at home to prior consideration; not the Bishop of Peterborough, for, with vigorous eloquence, he denounces the whole system of patronage; not the Evangelicals, for they have got one Act of Parliament to stamp out ritualistic practice, and would gladly get another to persecute ritualistic doctrine; not common-sense Churchmen, for, as represented by Mr. Salt, they would put an end to the spiritual despotism by which every rector of a parish is enabled to exclude from his domain all Church teaching except his own; not moderate High Churchmen, for, as represented by Mr. Beresford Hope, they insist upon a comprehensive scheme for the increase of the episcopate; not the Broad Churchmen, for, failing to obtain the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, they do the next best thing, by setting it at defiance; not the Ritualists, for, with a violence of language, compared with which the invectives of Liberationists are 'as moonshine unto sunshine, and as water unto wine,' they abuse the bishops, and the parliament, and the court of ecclesiastical appeal, and even the very crown itself. It is needless to prolong the list by adding the discontent of the great Nonconformist bodies; the recently aggravated feelings of the Wesleyans; the claims of Mr. Martineau on the one hand, and Mr. Voysey on the other, for 'comprehension;' or the silent contempt of philosophical Radicals, which they have

recently shown a tendency to exchange for fiery denunciation. There is no class of Englishmen, absolutely none, with the doubtful exception, perhaps, of the scarcely surviving school of high and dry opinions, tempered by a love of old port, which is satisfied with our ecclesiastical constitution as it stands. And that it stands at all is only owing to the circumstance, that while the wind blows from all points of the compass at once, it does not know which way to fall. The utmost that any one interested can say is, that he hopes it will last his time. And the equilibrium has come to be so very precarious, that, according to the continual lamentations of bishops, the class of young men whom they would most gladly ordain is standing out of the way, apparently lest in their mid-career the whole structure should come down upon their heads.

By these observations we do not intend in the least to pre-judge the question as to the course which ecclesiastical reform should take. We only insist upon the universal consent of opinion that it must take *some* form. The truth is, that though Mr. Freeman's account of the Church Establishment is indisputably correct, both in history and law, yet the effect of innumerable changes in opinion and society has been such, that the Church has come to be for all practical purposes just what is most repugnant to his historical conscience, a nationally endowed and privileged sect. No doubt the sect is a very large one. It could not, as 'The Times' truly observes, be put inside Exeter Hall in the sense in which the Congregational Union might. And if the sect were agreed within itself, its very size might for the remainder of this century be a guarantee of impregnable power. But it is not agreed within itself. Very far from it. Its creeds, formularies, and laws are definite enough to exclude all who with a wide divergence of opinion preserve a scrupulous conscience. But they are not definite enough to secure oneness of spiritual sympathy, and they are absolutely powerless against unscrupulosity of conscience. The result is that the language used above is scarcely accurate. Instead of being one endowed and privileged sect, the Anglican communion is a group of such sects, united together, not as the Wesleyans, by unity of opinion; nor even as the Congregationalists, by

sympathy and charity, amidst avowed divergence of opinion ; but rather by a common entanglement of political with religious aims, by agreement on the advantages of legal prestige, and by a general facility of conscience in regard to creeds and formulas.

But though all parties are agreed on the pressing necessity for immediate ecclesiastical reform, the various policies recommended are of a widely diverse character. They may all, however, be reduced under three general heads, which may be termed respectively, conservative, liberal, and radical. We do not use these words here in their technically political meaning, but rather in their ordinary English sense, though it is undeniable that in general the divisions of opinion on ecclesiastical subjects will be found to run along the lines that separate political parties. This, however, is not necessarily the case, and is rather to be deprecated than desired. Certainly there are a large number of political Liberals who, in regard to the Churches of England and Scotland, are like Mr. Gladstone himself, distinctly conservative ; and Mr. Brodric's previously mentioned article in the 'Fortnightly Review,' though nothing short of radical in its general tendency, winds up with an almost scornful repudiation of disestablishment. The different meanings of conservative, liberal, and radical, in their application to the subject in hand, may be thus described. Conservative projects of ecclesiastical reform seek to accommodate the law to the actual facts of Church life and opinion as they exist at the present day. By such means they hope to reunite and consolidate the distracted Anglican communion, so as to ensure a prolongation of its political privileges. Liberal schemes of reform take the direction of comprehension, and seek to remove all legal hindrances to the development of an ideal national Church, to embrace within as yet undetermined extremes all possible varieties of theological opinion. And, lastly, radical reformers insist on reconciling constitutional forms with the facts of national life, by forcing the State to adopt an attitude, not of equal favour, but of impartial neutrality towards all forms of belief or unbelief, and to leave the interests of religion to the voluntary devotion of religious men. If we are right in our review of the position of ecclesiastical affairs, some one of these schemes

of reform must very speedily prevail over the dead-lock that now exists. And the question that more immediately concerns us is, Which of them is the most practicable? For in this practical nation it is most surely true that, whatever may be said in favour of abstract principles, all reforms are certain to move along the line of least resistance.

At first sight it would certainly appear that this English characteristic must inevitably favour conservative reform. For whatever may be the truth as to the perplexing statistics of religious worship, it is indisputable that the Anglican communion not only enjoys the proverbially solid rights of possession, but almost entirely monopolizes the revived religious devotion manifested of late years amongst the socially highest and politically most influential ranks of society. We quite agree with the great organs of the passing day's opinion, that the facts brought out by Lord Hampton's returns reveal an unsuspected amount of enthusiasm in favour of the Anglican Church. Still farther, the telling argument in favour of Christianity, that it must be Divine, or it could not have survived its corruptions, is applicable also in a minor degree to the vitality of the English Establishment. An institution which, under the shameless auction of its sacred offices, burial scandals, senilities of Convocation, inanities of episcopal allocutions, coquettings with superstitions abroad and outrages on our common Christianity at home, can shoot up its thousands of new steeples throughout the land, and jingle its new purse of £26,000,000 in our ears, must be blessed with a very tough constitution indeed. Surely nothing ought to be easier than such trivial modifications in ecclesiastical law as are imperiously required by its present necessities.

When, however, we look at the facts of recent legal and parliamentary history, our first impressions are seriously modified. The aim of conservative reform being the maintenance of Anglicanism, nominally as the national religion, but really as an endowed and privileged denomination, the means to be adopted must be the consolidation of its strength, the improvement of its machinery, and such relaxation of the conditions of communion, or, at any rate, of office, as may relieve devoted adherents, while giving no facilities for inward schism. The measures advocated by conservative reformers,

therefore, strike at ritualism on the one hand and rationalism on the other. The love of Anglicanism for the *via media* is well known, and shows a true instinct of self-preservation. But this *via media* is almost as shifting as the navigable channels at the mouth of the Mersey or the Thames. It is always needing to be marked and buoyed afresh. Its line under Henry VIII. was not the same as under Elizabeth. Under Charles II. it was altered anew, and it has certainly very greatly changed since then. It is absolutely necessary for the purposes of conservative reform that this *via media* should be again mapped out amongst the new shoals that have arisen. And if this cannot be done by an amended Act of Uniformity, it must be accomplished by piecemeal legislation, such as the Public Worship Regulation Act.

This measure affords an excellent illustration of the methods of conservative reform, and, we must add, of their futility. Its purpose was to consolidate the Anglican Communion by excluding eccentricities of ceremony. True it introduced no new principles or definitions, it only gave additional facilities for setting the law in motion in the interests of average Church opinion. It is, however, clearly an attempt to discover the new *via media* by the clumsy method of an appeal to irate churchwardens or aggrieved parishioners. But, as was frankly acknowledged by Mr. Gurney, it is but a half measure, and absolutely requires for its completion similar facilities for prosecution in cases of false doctrine. It is not of the least use to prosecute a clergyman for elevating the cup above his head, if, after submission in the matter of ceremony, he is still free to explain from the pulpit that the cup *ought* to be elevated, because it is an object of adoration. Doctrine is the root of ceremony, not ceremony of doctrine; and a law that forbids the ceremony, which is the legitimate fruit, while it allows the doctrine, which is the irrepressible germ, only accumulates irritation by the inconsistency of its action. The truth of this is well known to conservative reformers, and it was as their representative that Mr. Gurney promised to bring in a supplementary measure, dealing in a similar manner with faults of doctrine. It is needless to say that the perplexities of the subject were found to interpose insuperable difficulties, and that the promised measure was quietly

dropped. Meanwhile the futility of the new law is publicly illustrated by the ceremonial of many churches, in which, what with incense, and genuflexions, and prostrations, and bells, and priestly mumbling of the Queen's English, it is impossible for an occasional visitor to tell whether he is assisting at an Anglican Communion or a Romish Mass. The Act is utterly incommensurate with the facts of the case. It does not cut deep enough to reach the seat of disease ; but, like the lancet of a fumbling surgeon, it is irritating beyond endurance. The offended Ritualists will neither submit nor secede. But in the mean time they are nourishing a very important reinforcement of the party of radical reform.

Space will not allow us to do more than allude to the grief felt by conscientious Churchmen at the growing laxity of clerical feeling on the subject of subscription. And it is a most serious matter, not for the Church only but for the nation at large, that owing to the nature of our ecclesiastical constitution, a charitable tolerance of varied opinions is inevitably blended with laxity of moral feeling. It is one thing to honour and admire a Unitarian like Mr. Martineau ; it is altogether another thing to keep up respect for a man who in private conversation shows himself a Unitarian, but whose public creeds, solemnly professed at the very throne of God, are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. It is one thing to sympathise with the conscientious difficulties felt by many cultivated minds and generous hearts as to the evidences for supernatural religion ; it is altogether another, and a very ruinous thing, to have nothing but polite platitudes or a knowing smile for men who sign the Articles, and recite the Litany, and celebrate the Communion Office, while they regard the Gospel miracles as old-world fables, and prefer the teaching of Comte to that of St. Paul. It is of no use to say that this is exaggerated language. Such cases may be extreme, but they are not infrequent ; and a man must know little indeed of the world of letters, who is not aware that to publish the real personal opinions of many clergymen, together with their names, would be to expose himself to an action for slander. It is high time that the plain truth were spoken on this subject. It is intolerable that 'God's great gift of 'speech' should be abused by respectable hypocrisies at

His very altar. It is monstrous that the morality of this country should be refined away by the jesuitical subtleties of the very men who are its paid official defenders. Conservative Church reformers are fully alive to this evil, and would gladly find a remedy. The best of them are not bigoted. They would make any reasonable concession to the acknowledged progress of opinion. But they would take means to ensure that men who profess to be successors of the apostles should speak in the Church only what they believe. Now Mr. Gurney's prudent abandonment of an impossible enterprise is only one illustration of the insuperable barriers that frown down every attempt at reform in this direction. The very notion of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Bright, Mr. Whalley and The O'Donoghue, Mr. Hughes and Professor Fawcett, Dr. Kenealy and Major O'Gorman, sitting down to devise means for securing a reasonable amount of sincerity in the clergy, is obviously absurd. Nevertheless, the case is pressing; and if some such measure of conservative reform cannot be carried, another of a very different kind is sure to take its place.

Nor are the prospects of reform in the machinery of the Church much more hopeful. As the population has multiplied six times while the number of bishops has remained the same, Mr. Beresford Hope and his friends have obviously very good ground for demanding an increase of the episcopate, especially as they do not propose to ask for any money from the State. But if the truth were known, the political position and social grandeur of the existing bench interpose difficulties which only the strenuous effort of a strong Government could hope to overcome. And even the present ministry seems very loath to risk its reputation in such a cause. In years gone by Lord Sandon has very ably explained how the cause of the Church would be strengthened by the creation of parochial councils. Apparently, however, his official position offers no facilities for the furtherance of his views. The scandals of mercenary patronage find absolutely no defenders; and their remedy has been the passionate desire of perhaps the most vigorous-minded, and certainly the most eloquent bishop of the day. But he has been baffled as completely as though he had run his head

against a stone wall. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury's modest desire to remedy the abuses of sinecure offices and extortionate fees is the issue of a long conflict of twenty years, during which four ineffectual bills have been brought forward on the subject, only to be dropped. In a word, even a Tory Parliament is half-hearted and indifferent. Or, perhaps, it fears that any attempt to adapt the old machinery to modern steam-power would result in an explosion.

Again, conservative reformers, while anxious to secure a reasonable consistency of doctrine, would gladly provide relief for tender consciences, which are as yet unseared, by obtaining some improvements, such as an alternative burial service, or the permissive abandonment of the Athanasian Creed. If Parliament cannot do the business itself, surely it might be induced to adopt the resolutions of Convocation. But, unfortunately, Convocation does not know its own mind; or when it does, it is always opposed to the mind of the age. In a word, the prestige, the political power, the dignity, the wealth, and the popularity of the Anglican communion, however they may impose on the imagination and the eye, are proved by unanswerable facts to fall under the spell of a tantalizing paralysis whenever any attempt is made to use them for the purpose of conservative reform.

Yes, say the advocates of liberal reform, such peddling attempts at legislation stand self-condemned, because they are made in the interest of a sect, and are wholly incongruous with the true idea of a National Church. Such a Church ought to be, not in name only, but in actual fact, coextensive with the nation, or, at any rate, with its religious life. The nonconforming adherents of our national Christianity have clearly a grievance so long as the State imposes conditions of communion or Church office, which can only have the effect of perpetuating schism. But surely that is a short-sighted policy, symptomatic of an acrimonious temper, which, in vexation at past wrongs, would abandon the saintly dream of catholicity, and sacrifice the Divine relations of the State to irritations arising out of earthly squabbles. A nobler aim would be to sink sectarian differences in devotion to our common Christianity; to recognise all existing forms of Church government, and all forms of Christian belief, as so

many phases of our national religion, with a right to a due share of our ancient ecclesiastical funds for the decent support of their worship, and for the encouragement of learning amongst their ministers. In a word, the school of liberal ecclesiastical reformers would correct acknowledged incongruities by accommodating our ecclesiastical laws to an ideal dream.

Such propositions need only one comment—a reference to the history of the Burials Bill. When a prelate of reputation and learning tells us that the parochial graveyards are the *peculium* of the Almighty, and that therefore the permission, within the sacred precincts, of prayers and praises by other children of the common Father than those approved by right reverend bishops, would be an unpardonable sacrilege; when leading Churchmen have so little trust in any national religious feeling, that they predict scenes of riot and blasphemy in our churchyards if the obnoxious bill be passed; when the utmost concession, of which there is any hope with clerical consent, is the permission of a silence at the grave, which would be more eloquent of national dissidence than any petulance of sectaries; is it not a waste of time to discuss even for a moment the possibility of any organised scheme for comprehension? The thing is simply impossible, and therefore it seems needless to add any reasons for considering it undesirable. Yet those who mark the dangers threatening our national fame for individuality of character, through the gradual extension of administrative compulsion with its attendant evil of centralization, over all works of benevolence and public instruction, will feel the importance of not only maintaining, but enlarging the one sphere of voluntary effort and moral enthusiasm which remains to us. Such a comprehensive Church, for instance, as that advocated by Mr. Voysey—and short of it we do not see how comprehension would have any meaning—would necessarily involve a central ministry of public worship. And what religion is under such a ministry, let Germany and France bear witness.

But if both conservative and liberal reform are impossible, radical reform is assuredly inevitable. By this we understand the reconciliation of our ecclesiastical laws, not with the demands of a sect, nor with the suggestions of ideal dreamers,

but with the actual facts of our national life. Englishmen are hopelessly disagreed on matters of Church government and doctrine. Then let the State cease from the hypocritical pretence that they are united. Abundant experience proves that it is not by State patronage and support, but by voluntary devotion, that religion wins its triumphs. For evidence of this we are content to appeal to the agricultural districts, where, according to the confession of S. G. O., made some years ago in 'The Times,' it is not the 'cultivated gentleman' sustained by the State in every parish, but the Primitive Methodist preacher, or the Home Mission agent, who stimulates and guides whatever religious life there is amongst the poor. Whatever aggressions the State Church itself has recently made on the vice and heathenism of the land, have been in the great centres of population, where ancient endowments are miserably inadequate, and where the appeal to the voluntary principle has been most nobly answered. Then let our laws be accommodated to facts, and let religion depend, in form as well as in reality, on its own irrepressible life. We often hear of the advantages possessed by the American States through the wise reserve of public lands for the support of the common schools. But this country, no less than America, has its reserves of national resources in the form either of tithes or lands, which in old times were kept back from the competition of commerce, that they might serve the common weal. The purposes to which these reserves were consecrated are no longer held to serve the common weal, and the application of the funds has been diverted accordingly. The modern use made, however, of these funds, has diverged more and more from the growth of our national needs. We do not want Masses for the dead, or chantries, or monasteries; and it is only one quarter of us who want to worship according to the rites of reformed Anglicanism. But we all of us want common schools, and we all of us groan under the burden they add to the rates. We all of us want to bring the universities within the reach of promising talent in every class. We all of us want to lessen the national debt. Why, in the name of justice, then, should our national reserve funds continue to be diverted from all objects which we unanimously consider to serve the

common weal, and remain devoted to sectarian purposes, for which only a fraction of the nation cares? Let this cease, say radical reformers; let our ecclesiastical laws in this respect also be reconciled with the actual facts of modern life. In other and more familiar words, radical reform would consist in the disestablishment and disendowment of all forms of religion.

But what distinguishes the present aspect of the Church question is this; that disestablishment and disendowment are urged not in the interests of any sectarian triumph of one set of religionists over another, not as the logical issue of any pet theory of Church and State held by worshippers of abstractions, but simply as the common-sense method of dealing with a chaos of incongruities, which people of all opinions alike feel to be intolerable. As Mr. Dale says, 'The question has become one of practical politics, and has passed to the positive stage.' The only elements in political calculation henceforward will be the forces arrayed on either hand—tradition, prejudice, inertia, and vested interests on the one side, with growing opinion and command of the ballot-box on the other.

No doubt the difficulties of radical reform are great. But if we are right in believing any other mode of reform to be impossible, the line of least resistance must be looked for in this direction. The real perplexities of the question are not to be estimated by looking at one set of difficulties alone. The inferences recently drawn from Lord Hampton's returns, as to the powerful social influences arrayed on the side of the Establishment, are legitimate enough. But they overlook the equal or superior forces ranged on the other side. £26,000,000 in thirty-five years is, after all, not a very amazing sum for a nation which last year paid £27,000,000 in excise alone. And while the Episcopalians have thus been exerting themselves, the Nonconformists have not been idle. Statistics, published in the 'Nonconformist' newspaper three years ago, showed that in the twenty years from 1851 to 1872, there had been built in 119 towns, exclusive of London, 1,514 Dissenting places of worship, against 611 Episcopalian churches. And if a complete return on the subject could be obtained, it is certain that the money raised during the present generation by the Free Churches would very considerably dim the glitter of Lord

Hampton's £26,000,000. In truth it must be frankly confessed that if the decision of the question rested wholly with the denominations, the issue must certainly hang in suspense for a long time to come. But that is not the case. The newly enfranchised masses of the people have not as yet realised their power, nor have they hitherto interested themselves much in questions of ecclesiastical polity. They have looked upon the disestablishment movement, not, perhaps, without some justification, as merely a struggle between hostile sects, and therefore they have preferred to shout for manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, and payment of members. Mean time, under all difficulties, popular education is making way. Such speeches as those of Messrs. Dale and Rogers are amongst the most powerful educational influences of the time. And when once the new voters come to understand how far the principles of progress, of freedom, of equality before the law, of respect for human nature as such, of political justice, and of the supremacy of national interests, are involved in this Church question, their weight will descend like a steam-hammer upon the wedge that is already inserted between Church and State.

Note to the Review of Mr. Forster's 'Swift.'

SINCE the review of Mr. Forster's 'Life of Swift' passed through the press, the death of the author has made an empty place in the ranks of contemporary literature, and has ended the hopes of seeing completed by his hand that work whose foundations he had so securely laid, and whose superstructure he had so well begun. It was a fitting close to a life whose labours had taught us familiarity with so many paths of English literature, and made real to us some of those names with whose memories that literature is rich, that the last days should have been spent in removing the rank growth of scandal and falsehood which had till now obscured the genius that stood first in that age, whose wit and wisdom gave to Mr. Forster, as to so many amongst his contemporaries, a congenial field of study. He has cleared the dust from the monument, and traced the lines that are to restore it. Another hand must carry on this work, utilising the materials gathered with so much industry, and completing the 'Life' so worthily begun.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVELS.

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By
H. H. BANCROFT. Vol. V.—Primitive History. Long-
mans and Co.

In this fifth volume Mr. Bancroft concludes what he has to say regarding the native races of the Pacific States, and it worthily fulfils the promise of the earlier volumes. Here is a mass of information regarding the history of tribes which, advancing from rude beginnings, founded empires and dynasties and instituted civilisations of no inconsiderable pretensions in America, such as will not be found anywhere else that we are aware of. The author has, in fact, tapped new mines of historical and archaeological facts which are of the very greatest importance in the present condition of the sciences of comparative history, comparative philology, and comparative religion. He has brought into prominence problems which at one time excited the curious and gave rise to many wild guesses and theories, but which it was impossible to solve when they were first brought forward, and which have since fallen into neglect. Amongst these the most difficult, and yet one of profound interest, is the origin of the so-called aboriginal inhabitants of the American continent. When the discoveries of Columbus unsettled the traditional views of the Middle Ages, it was natural that all sorts of conjectural theories should be indulged in by the champions of the dominant theology of the time; for it was usually in a theological interest that such inquiries were pursued. The theories of origin, as we are shown in this volume, were legion; but none of them have any intrinsic value to us now. The darkness indeed is still unbroken, the obscurity of the primitive history of America is unpierced, and the solution of the problem, if it ever should be solved, will be one of the grandest achievements of modern thought. Mr. Bancroft has gathered together all available materials that may help in this work; but he is forced to confess that, 'while the darkness may be occasionally lighted up here and there by dim rays of conjecture, these only become fixed lights of fact in the eyes of antiquarians, whose lively imagination enables them to see best in the dark, and whose researches are but a sifting-out of supports to a preconceived opinion.' The only authorities from which we have any knowledge of American primitive history are the oral native traditions, the Aztec picture-writings, the works of the Spanish writers who came in contact with the natives immediately after the conquest, and those of converted native writers. The information thus obtained is illustrated, corrected, or confirmed by what we know of the institutions, habits, and beliefs of the nations at the conquest, and their monuments, which have been dealt with in previous volumes. The comparatively scanty results obtained after all this labour are indicated by Mr. Bancroft's modest estimate of his own achievements, when he tells us 'he has found no new

'bright sun to illumine whatever has been dark.' He has followed with discrimination those who have gone before,—the Spanish writers and the antiquarians,—striving always to separate between the historical and the mythical, yet never able to 'flatter himself that he is treading dryshod 'on a wide, solid, and well-lighted highway.' This may be disappointing to readers whose interest has been aroused and hopes quickened by the wide generalisations with which we met in some of the preceding volumes; but science is more likely to be advanced by faithful work done in this humbler tentative fashion than could have been accomplished through the indulgence in fantastic imaginings and theories of wide scope and seeming comprehensiveness. Starting with the earliest gleams of information obtainable regarding the aborigines, the author leads us onward through the pre-Toltec period of aboriginal history, the Toltec and the protracted Chichimec periods, to the Aztec periods, till the time when the Aztec career of conquest was suddenly arrested by the advent of the Spaniards under Cortes, early in the sixteenth century. 'The power known as Aztec, since the formation of the tripartite alliance, 'not quite a century before, under the Acolhua, Mexican, and Tepanec 'kings, had gradually extended its iron grasp from its centre about the 'lakes to the shores of either ocean; and this it had accomplished wholly 'by the force of arms, receiving no voluntary allegiance.' Cortes, with a handful of Spanish soldiers, secured a wonderful and swift success, and was soon the instrument of establishing a priestly tyranny a thousand times more oppressive and destructive than any to which the Nahuas were subjected even under Aztec rule. The remaining chapters of the volume are occupied with the history of the eastern plateau, the Quiché-Oakohiquel empire in Guatemala, miscellaneous tribes of Central America, and the history of the Mayas in Yucatan. We congratulate Mr. Bancroft on the completion of a work of so valuable a character, so extensive in its scope and so replete with information of a varied and important description. It will remain a quarry of materials for future inquirers, and no tribute can be too great to the industry and research of the author. He has added an elaborate and comprehensive index, which will be of value to the student.

The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development. BY WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A. Vol. II. Clarendon Press.

Mr. Stubbs's second volume begins with the eighty years' struggle to secure practically the popular liberties of the great charter, which followed the death of John in 1216, and it closes with the deposition of Richard II. in 1399. Mr. Stubbs is essentially critical. His narrative is plain, unimaginative, unexciting. He paints no pictures, tells no stories. He is antiquarian, legal, and analytical, and we may add conspicuously impartial. His summaries of different periods, and the short contrasts of different monarchs to which he, Plutarch-wise, is addicted, show all the severity and balanced judgment of a Chief Justice's charge. In this he fully equals

Hallam. This gives its distinctive value to his work. An indefatigable worker, he presents us with the last results which documentary evidence has furnished, and deduces from it judgments as free from bias as perhaps human nature is capable of. In this volume he traces the rise of Constitutional Government, and shows how the 'rex politicus,' which through the mediæval period attained to no higher conception than that of balanced forces, slowly tended to organise harmony of all forces. The English Government is really an assembly and combination of estates: both local representation and class representation have their place in it. The growth of our Parliamentary system, dating from 1264, when Simon de Montfort summoned two knights of each shire to a parliament, and shortly afterwards two representatives from each city and borough, is especially interesting. Mr. Stubbs's account may be read in connection with Mr. Freeman's 'Growth of the English Constitution.' A score of points tempt criticism. We must content ourselves with a renewed commendation of an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of our Constitutional history.

A History of Eton College, 1440-1875. By H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

Memoirs of Eminent Etonians. By SIR EDWARD CREASY. A New Edition, with Illustrations. Chatto and Windus.

The story of one of the most famous of our great public schools is told with admirable completeness and skill by Mr. Maxwell-Lyte; while Sir Edward Creasy, with equal care and literary skill, gives us biographical sketches of some of its most illustrious sons: both books together are a complete and sufficient record of Eton, and leave scarcely anything to be desired. Numerous as have been the books published about Eton, good, bad, and indifferent, these two books may well supersede them all. Mr. Maxwell-Lyte, himself an Etonian, tells us, concerning his work, 'My object has been to produce a History of Eton in which matters of biography and architecture, studies and pastimes, old customs and single incidents, should each receive their due share of notice, and fall into their proper places, side by side, in chronological order.' This object he has accomplished with great industry and skill. In the collection of his materials he has not only had the advantage of the labours of numerous predecessors, but in addition to them and to the collections Roger Huggett bequeathed to the British Museum, upon which Sir E. Creasy chiefly relied, he has had access, through the kind permission and assistance of the college authorities, to original MSS. in the Library and Muniment Room hitherto unnoticed. He has consulted the series of audit-rolls and audit-books which, with but few breaks, extend from 1444 to the present time. He has consulted many unused MSS. in the British Museum, the Record Office, the Bodleian, at Cambridge, Lincoln, Windsor Castle, Lambeth, and in the possession of many private individuals. No known or probable source of information seems to have

escaped him; and he has manipulated his materials with loving care and skill, the result of which is a most readable and valuable work, in which the historian, the biographer, and the schoolmaster, as well as the general reader, will find important and interesting materials, and in which several important corrections of previous misstatements have been made.

The history of the foundation of the college by Henry VI., of the affluent endowments and high feudal rights which he bestowed upon it, and of his great purposes and hopes in its establishment, is fully and exhaustively told. The College Church was designed on an extensive scale, and, had the king's purpose been realised, it would have rivalled King's College at Cambridge, its twin foundation. The school at Eton was intended to supply with scholars the New College, founded by the king, at Cambridge. Of course the foundation was ecclesiastical, and it continued to be so until it was secularised in 1872, when the old statutes were abolished and new statutes made by the Eton Commissioners. The early history of Eton, its vicissitudes at the Reformation and under Mary and the Commonwealth, are fully sketched; more than once its very existence was in danger; once, at least, in 1468, its suppression was determined upon, and the Pope's sanction for accomplishing it was obtained. A chapter founded upon the *Consuetudinarium* describes the studies and manner of life at Eton in the sixteenth century.

But, while antiquarians will be chiefly interested in the pre-Reformation history of Eton, general readers will probably most delight in the chapters which describe its subsequent history—more especially during the present century. The sketches of provosts and head-masters, especially little Dr. Keate, of flagellation renown, are full of rich anecdote and characterisation. The strong conservatism even of men like Provost Goodal, the absurd retention of the obsolete Eton Grammar, and of the *Scriptores Græci* and *Romani*, and of the *Poetæ Græci*, until 1865, when all the rest of the world had advanced to new methods and schools of philology, and the wise reforming energy of men like Dr. Hawtrey—one of the greatest of the head-masters and provosts of Eton—are described with discrimination. School barbarities and Spartan discipline, as of the long room and excessive flogging, lingered long. Sports, the relations of Eton to the Castle, especially under George III., William IV., and Victoria, Montem and its abolition, &c., are all touched upon with sufficient fulness and in well-adjusted proportion; while the methods of teaching of different masters are set forth for the information of school reformers.

We must resist the temptation to quote anecdotes, some of them rich and racy, and with our expression of high admiration at the sumptuous way in which, both in respect of letter-press and illustrations, the volume has been got up, send our readers to a scholarly, painstaking, and most pleasant volume.

Sir Edward Creasy's book was first published in 1850. It included only such eminent Etonians as were numbered with the dead; the present edition adds those who have since died. It is a readable, reliable, and interesting series of biographical sketches.

History of India from the Earliest Period to the Close of the East India Company's Government. Abridged from the Author's Larger Work. By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. William Blackwood and Sons.

Mr. Marshman's larger history, in three volumes, has won a high and well-deserved reputation. The author's residence for many years in India, his literary occupation, and his industrious, patient, scholarly habit, together with his power of artistic narration and description, his liberal sympathies, and judicial habit of mind, are qualifications for his work not often found in combination. His history, therefore, has gradually won both confidence and admiration, and would generally be accepted as of very high authority.

For eight years, Mr. Marshman tells us, the larger edition has been used by the students of the University of Calcutta. Three volumes are somewhat too much for an educational manual, and it says much for the excellency of a work of such magnitude that it should have held its ground. The author has conferred a great boon upon students by preparing this abridged edition, thus reducing the work to about the size of the 'Student's Hume.' No one can effect such a process with a work so well as its author, who, as Mr. Marshman has done, can reconstruct where necessary, as well as simply omit. In English universities and schools, as well as in India, the work will be of very great value. An additional chapter brings down the history to 1872.

The History of Lloyds, and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain. By FREDERICK MARTIN, Author of the 'Statesman's Year Book.' Macmillan and Co.

As might have been expected from Mr. Martin, this is a carefully written and very interesting book. We commend it, especially to City men, as a valuable addition to the literature and history of the City. The early chapters, on the 'Merchants of the Steelyard and Lombard Street,' on 'Early English Marine Insurance,' and on the 'Rise of Lloyd's Coffee House,' take the reader back to times and men and habits which tell him, that although still living in the same place, the place is changed so much as to have become a new world. The progress of Lloyd's marks the progress of British trade; and the depicted growth of the law relating to marine insurance shows how our ancestors were perplexed with questions of sea-worthiness, of deviation, of general average, of wager policies, as our law courts still are, and as Parliament is likely to be this session with Sir Stafford Northcote's Bill on Maritime Contracts. There were difficulties in those days regarding 'valued policies,' which, in its wisdom or folly, Parliament made vain attempts to prevent; but the interests of the assurers and the assured were then able, through liberty of contract and reliance on policies of honour, to accomplish what Parliament vainly attempted to prohibit; and as it cannot be imagined that the mercantile classes of this century are less able than those of the last, we suppose that

'valued policies' will continue, whatever may become of the Maritime Contracts Bill.

The chapter in which Mr. Martin relates the origin and fortunes, and, we must add, the misfortunes also, of the first two marine insurance companies, will be read with great interest. It is difficult to imagine two such highly staid and respectable societies as the 'London Assurance Corporation' and the 'Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation' just emerging from the South Sea Bubble period, during which alone a hundred schemes were brought forward which related to insurance. These included 'an insurance office for horses dying natural deaths, stolen, or disabled;' 'an insurance from death by drinking Geneva;' 'an insurance from house-breakers;' 'an insurance from highwaymen;' 'an assurance from lying;' and 'an assurance of female chastity.' Lloyd's resented the monopoly granted to the two corporations named; but the history shows that, so far from injuring Lloyd's, great benefit was conferred on the underwriters in the Coffee House by the outside competition being limited to the two corporations. This monopoly was enjoyed until 1824, when Mr. Nathan Rothschild founded the Alliance Marine Insurance Company, his great influence having procured an enactment by which the monopoly was abolished.

The chapter on 'Lloyd's Registry of Shipping' gives a fair account of another City corporation which has an intimate relation to shipping and insurance. From humble beginnings this society has risen to great importance, and through its able staff of surveyors has exercised a most beneficial influence on the strength, shape, and general efficiency of British ships.

We have said enough to indicate the character of this volume, and the class of readers to whom the perusal of its contents will be acceptable; we therefore only add that it contains an Appendix, with a classification of risks, wrecks, causes of wreck, and of average premiums, which materially adds to the value of the book, and will be found useful in the shipping controversies now occupying so much of the national attention.

Cities of Italy. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE. Three Vols. Daldy, Isbister, and Co.

The first impression produced on looking at this work is that Mr. Hare has made it very bulky. A careful perusal shows that his scheme necessitated large space, and that he has condensed and summarised, and well sucked-out the pith of not a few former books—some of them rather recent ones—and presented it very attractively. We are much mistaken if this book does not supersede several handbooks; for, though Mr. Hare has rather scorned some of the handbook traditions, he uniformly gives in little the essence of the information as to hotels, &c., which used to be so prominent. His arrangement is also calculated to aid in this. In his first volume he takes us up the Riviera, then through Piedmont and Lombardy, and delights us with some vivid pictures, not the least interesting of which is some of the matter of a chapter on the

Waldenses, which certainly seems to lie rather outside his title; but is only the more welcome on that account. Genoa, Turin, Pavia, the Italian lakes, Cremona, Brescia, Verona, Mantua, and Padua, are all visited and described in such a manner as will revive pleasant recollections in not a few, and excite, we daresay, in many more the desire to extend the range of their travels. Mr. Hare shows uniformly the same taste as in former books in the extracts from famous writers by which he relieves his own text. The chief attractions of the second volume are the descriptions of Venice—which, in spite of the multitudes who have preceded him, is freshly and picturesquely done—of Ferrara, Parma, Forli, Rimini, Loretto, Urbino, Pisa, Volterra, Lucca, and Pistoia. The third volume deals with Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Cortona, Perugia, Assisi, Spello, and Foligno. Mr. Hare's antiquarian and artistic tastes in these volumes, as in former ones, stand him in good stead. If he is a little quiet, sedate, and conventional in describing natural scenery himself, he knows how to supplement it by introducing graphic pictures from others,—Buskin, Symonds, Hawthorne, Freeman, Ampère, and Goethe; and certainly he has a good eye for the old and venerable and for what is worthy in art. His excessive conservatism, which led him in his former volumes to introduce somewhat unwise and gratuitous sneers at the Italian Government and what it is doing, has here, we regret to say, too much prominence. In our opinion, his Introduction is almost ruined by it. The Papacy is to be venerated in some respects; but the pages of Dante and other Italian poets which he has scanned in searching for his illustrative quotations—by the way, not always correctly given—might suffice to qualify an overstrained enthusiasm, no less than the satires the Popedom has more recently written on itself, even as a secular Power.

We have marked many passages as noticeable for graceful and graphic description; especially that of the Wood at Ravenna, so intimately associated with two poets contrasted yet in some ways akin—Dante and Byron—and that of Vallombrosa. We have no hesitation in saying of this work that it is at once tasteful, learned, and popular, fitted to fill a place by itself, neither to be forgotten for the knapsack nor lost sight of in the library, but to be treasured and often referred to. It is really a piece of literature; and the woodcuts, from sketches of Mr. Hare's, by Mr. T. Sulman, are certainly as beautiful specimens of the art as we have recently seen, though we could have wished that more had been done for a few of them in the executing.

The Midland Railway: its Rise and Progress. A Narrative of Modern Enterprise. By FREDERICK S. WILLIAMS, Author of 'Our Iron Roads.' Strahan and Co.

Clearly, in drifting into a theological professorship, Mr. Williams has mistaken his vocation. He was predestined to be the secretary of a railway, and it is a cruel fate that has traversed his course. While yet a theological student, twenty-four years ago, he showed the bent of his mind

by the publication of 'Our Iron Roads,' which had a large circulation as a popular summary of what had then been achieved by railway enterprise. Each of our great railway systems might well claim its epic, for magnitude of achievement, romance of incident, exhibition of social development, and illustrations of personal individuality; its history is nobler than that of most wars and as important as that of many kingdoms. The Midland, for instance, possesses 1200 miles of railroad, has a capital of £50,000,000 and an income of £5,000,000. It conveys many millions of her Majesty's subjects every year, and stretches its ramifications all over the kingdom,—a huge system of arteries through which much more than money, much more than flesh and blood, circulate.

Mr. Williams tells the story of its origin in the Leicester and Swannington line, down to the stupendous achievement of the Settle and Carlisle Railway, which gives the Midland an access to Glasgow and Edinburgh corresponding with its recently-achieved access to the metropolis. Nothing connected with its history or its administration seems to have been omitted by Mr. Williams. He carries us back to the dawn of railway ideas, when coal, save as it was transmitted by sea, had to be locally consumed; when wool and leather were transmitted by canal, and when weeks were required sometimes for it; when Nottingham was practically farther from Manchester than it now is from Plymouth. The very conceptions of the changes to be wrought by railway had to be created. The avoidance of great towns was one of the principles of construction. The battle of the gauges, the fierce fights in Parliamentary committee-rooms, the mighty war between the Midland and the Great Northern, down to the carrying of third-class passengers by all trains and the abolition of second-class, both of which are due to the sagacity of Mr. Allport, of the Midland, all are here duly chronicled; adventures of surveyors, excitements in board meetings, difficulties with landowners, engineering difficulties, everything indeed that can convey information and excite interest is here put together by Mr. Williams in a gossipy pleasant way. Then he undertakes a descriptive and picturesque account of the Midland lines and the towns and scenes they pass through, with historical and scientific information and numerous engravings. Finally, he describes all the details of administration, the economy of departments, the functions and methods of officials and servants, down to information respecting return tickets. The descriptions of the superb hotel and station at St. Pancras and of the Settle and Carlisle Railway are especially interesting. Mr. Williams has a keen eye for details. Sometimes, however, they rather overpower him, and a little more vigorous grasp of generals would be an improvement. Sometimes, too, the colloquial degenerates into the flippant, and anecdotes are told twice over, *e.g.*, Mr. Price's joke about the weather (page 610). There is, too, a little excess of eulogy in the solicitous way in which every individual and everything connected with the Midland is glorified. It produces the impression of an advocate holding a brief. Not that we think the Midland has not done noble service and fought a heroic battle, and few men have deserved better of commercial and locomotive England than its present

manager. The railway and its history occupy a place in importance and honour second to none. Mr. Williams's big, instructive, and interesting handbook will claim a place in every commercial and in most family libraries which the Midland comes near.

The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By W. D. KILLEN, D.D., President of The Assembly's College, Belfast, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Two Vols. 8vo. Macmillan and Co.

Dr. Killen has approached his task furnished with almost every qualification which special circumstances and opportunities for obtaining every shred of conflicting evidence could supply. His unwearied diligence and generally sound judgment have enabled him to grapple with the copious details appertaining to the subject of his life-long toil. He never allows his rhetoric to gain the mastery of his impartial purpose, nor does he permit his ecclesiastical position to blind him to the excellences of individuals who have figured conspicuously in communions adverse to that with which he is personally identified. Through the greater part of the first volume he can look dispassionately upon the contending powers, and is not afraid to denounce English as well as Italian arrogance, the vices of Plantagenet as well as of Pope. The volumes are, indeed, an argument against Roman Catholic pretension and a proof of the uniformly disastrous consequences which have followed Papal interpositions, interferences, and claims. He loses no opportunity of showing the different colour put by Papal controvertists and historians on the facts to which he refers; but he refutes their views, either by contemporary evidence, which is unimpeachable, or by the confessions and admissions of his opponents. His foot-notes and references are abundant, and the chance of rectifying misstatements is put within easy reach. Perhaps he reserves his bitterest phrases for the Cromwellian settlement, his most stern reprobation for the language with which Milton replied to the 'Remonstrance' of Belfast on the death of Charles I., and his most satirical satisfaction for the disappearance from Ireland's Churches and State of any vestiges of the Independents, Baptists, and other sectaries, to the influence of whom, so late as 1800, Lord Clare referred in emphatic terms. However, we have little but praise to offer for the spirit with which he tells the terrible story of wars, tumults, mutual hatreds, hideous massacres, and contending and unscrupulous factions.

Dr. Killen shows how the 'Isle of Saints,' the home of cultivated intelligence and primitive and apostolic zeal, became the den of brutal and neglected savages, and fair and beautiful Erin the battle-field of turbulent lust and maddened power. The history of Ireland from the beginning almost to the present hour forms a humiliating chapter in the records of the human race, notwithstanding the heroism, genius, and virtue which often illumine the page.

Our author establishes, with a superabundance of proof, the non-Roman character of the early ministry of Patrick and Columbkille and Bridget, as well as the non-diocesan phase of the episcopacy of the whole island. The 'bishops' were clearly village pastors of the humblest type, who had no notion of either diocesan rule or provincial or metropolitan subordination. Our author details the whole history of the steps taken by Rome to enforce the Roman observance of Easter and of tonsure, and gradually to introduce diocesan claims; and the measures taken to exalt the 'bishop' above the abbot, the Co-arch of Patrick at Armagh, until, at the Synod of Rathbreasil, the Roman obedience was virtually adopted and its discipline made to triumph over the national and spontaneous system which had previously prevailed. The same struggle, occupying sometimes a longer and sometimes a shorter period, has been enacted in other nations and churches. In none, however, were the effects more disastrous than in Ireland. Dr. Killen has told well the romantic story of St. Malachy, who found no less a biographer than Bernard of Clairvaux. It is melancholy to reflect on the provocation which the misguided ritualism of this illustrious rather than great man gave to the preposterous and hypocritical bull of Pope Adrian IV., the 'infallible' provocative to Henry II. of England to invade Ireland. So profoundly wicked, so absolutely unjustifiable and intentionally vicious was this bull, that Roman Catholics disclaimed it as a forgery intended to bring discredit on the Papacy; but it is demonstrably genuine, and its fatal effects were soon visible. The progress of degeneracy in education, in good sense, in purity, in order, followed swiftly on the heels of the new subserviency. The veneration of relics led to the supposed discovery of the bodies of Patrick, Columbkille, and Bridget. The granting of indulgences, with all their degrading accompaniments, the harsh treatment by the Pope of the sufferers from English tyranny, the religious persecution, secretly based on avaricious motives, which disgraced the fourteenth century have found in these pages ample exposition.

Dr. Killen endeavours to account for the limited influence of the Reformation in Ireland by the fact that the *people* were not, as they were in England and Germany, prepared for revolt against Rome by the knowledge of the Word of God, or by any wide-spread diffusion of Evangelical truth. In a country in this state, the proclamation of royal supremacy, the suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of such favourite relics as the 'Staff of Jesus,' roused opposition, instead of enthusiasm; while the violence of the reforming Archbishop Browne produced adverse rather than sympathetic feelings. We have no space for even an epitome of the leading positions of our author, nor can we sketch his account of the rise of Protestantism in Ulster, the terrific massacre, the reprisals, or the Cromwellian settlement with its ultimate failure.

He brings his history down to the present day, discusses all the troubles of the Irish Parliament and those attending the bestowment and withdrawal of the Regium Donum; he recounts the siege of Derry, Catholic Emancipation, and the Union; the movements for repeal of the Legislative Union; the Disestablishment of the Irish

Church; and the more recent struggles and controversies. The Disestablishment was hailed by Roman Catholic authorities as proof that Protestantism had exhausted itself, and would now succumb, when public support and State pay were withheld. Dr. Killen shows by statistics that, up to the time of the Act, the Protestant Churches were gaining proportionally on the Roman Church, and that since the Disestablishment 'the change has inspired it with fresh energy, and it now moves more freshly and vigorously than it ever did before.' He says, however, with some pardonable irritation, 'Ireland can never attain the place which it is entitled to hold among the nations as long as so many of its population exhibit in things spiritual the blindness of infatuation. They fret and fume against England, though by their alliance with its Imperial Government they are kept from anarchy, strengthened and blessed, while they stupidly submit to the absolute will of a superstitious old man in Italy, who has no more right to rule them than the Shah of Persia or the Emperor of Japan.' The volumes are a valuable addition to our historical library, and throw considerable light on the relations between Ireland and Britain, and between Ireland and the Papacy.

Annals of Tacitus. Translated into English, with Notes and Maps. By ALFRED JOHN CHURCH, M.A., and WILLIAM JACKSON BRODRIPP, M.A. Macmillan and Co.

This volume completes the translators' version of the entire extant works of Tacitus. In two previous volumes they gave us translations of the 'History,' of the 'Agricola,' and of the 'Germania.' They omit, however, without assigning reason, the 'Dialogue about Famous Orators.'

Both Gordon's and Murphy's translations—the former published in 1728, the latter in 1729—have great merits, and have held their ground well. The former, however, was too literal in its Latinism for pleasant reading, as was the Oxford edition of 1839. A new translation, made in the lights and edited with the information of our latest scholarship, was desirable. This has been achieved in the work before us, which, in accuracy and elegance, in scholarly editing and compact pertinent information, is a model of what translations from the classics should be. The notes, extending to nearly a hundred pages, furnish an admirable *apparatus criticus*. Tacitus is not an easy author to render in a translation. His terse laconic sentences lend themselves but imperfectly to more diffuse and flowing modern languages. It is high praise to say that, while exactness of meaning has been admirably preserved, the reader will scarcely have excited within him the feeling of a translation. The idiom has been translated as admirably as the words.

The Life, Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine. By WILLIAM STIGAND, Author of 'Athenais; or, the First Crusade,' &c. Two Vols. Longmans.

Mr. Stigand has written well; generally with discrimination and rare intelligence. Heine is not easy to catch; his finest moods are evan-

escent, and pass suddenly into alien and freakish perversities. His ideas of art were sounder than very often his applications of them were. In one word, he was the victim of disease; and it does not much relieve matters to say that that disease, happily united with other elements, aided him to interpret the spirit of his time. His greatest poems are the utterance of an individual passion, which, ungratified, like an artificial fountain, fell back ever upon itself, shrouding in spray and beautiful disorder the source whence it sprung, showing us, not as Mrs. Browning has it,—

‘A fountain,
Which, with silver waters thin,
Clips a little water Naiad sitting smilingly within,’

but a scornful, contested image, that seems and looks proud and calculating amid the suggestion of lost beauty, as it contemplates the world from its own seclusion and through the stir of its own creating, eager at the same time to master that world and to outwit it. There is a lack of rest, of balance, about most of Heine's poems, in spite of their perfection and charm of expression; and the intense way in which they mirror the ironical complexity and confusion of our modern time, its wasted life and strength and passion, is so allied with scorn and coarseness as to justify, in spite of the praises of influential schools, these words of Mr. Stigand's:

‘The world has, indeed, need to hold fast in the present hour to the chivalrous ideal of love, and to make a stand against the degradation of the passion to the foul conception of Baudelaire and his admirers. . . . Heine, as we have intimated before, had no sympathy whatever with the chivalrous spirit; he had as little sympathy with it as he had with the early Christian spirit of martyrdom and abnegation; and, considering his Hebrew descent, there can be little cause for astonishment at his permanent estrangement from the finest traditions of Europe. His love is of the earth, earthy; and there is not one of his poems which might not, so far as sentiment goes, have been written by an Oriental.’

The poet is ever central to the world, says Heine; and thus he justifies the rupture between the real and the ideal in his case, as in that of Byron, of whom he speaks as ‘the only man to whom he felt himself related.’ The world's heart, he held, was in his time cleft in twain, divided; so he justified the mixture in his own poetry of utter sentimentality with grimmest and most scornful realism. There is something in this; but the solution is more strictly to be found in his own individuality. He was a Jew; and in the fresh days of his youth he experienced the rebuff and the scorn which the Germans were wont to show towards the Jews long after other nations had learned to treat them with more respect—let us say with more fairness. The iron entered deep into his young sensitive soul. Then came the passion for his cousin, which at once set free, and gave concentration and definite object to, the stream of sentiment; but there also came the rebuff, which reversed the current and compelled him to celebrate a love which was false. It is no lady of the soul he sings of and worships, but a poor reflection of his own discredited ideal, which he delights to drag down from its pedestal and besmirch

with the mud of his terrible scorn. His own picture of the peace and faith and pure sympathetic rapture of his childhood comes out very strong in the contrast, as we read it in these striking passages, in which he tells of his experiences in the first reading of 'Don Quixote':

'I was a child, and knew not how much of irony God had mingled with the order of the world—irony which the great poet had imitated in his own little world. So I wept the bitterest of tears when the noble Knight, for all his noble valour, got but cudgellings and ingratitude; and since, as yet unpractised in reading, I spoke every word out loud, so that the birds, and the trees, the brook and the flowers, heard all as I read; and since such innocent creatures of nature know as little of the irony of the world as children, so did they too take everything equally for hard earnest, and wept with me over the sorrows of the pitiful Knight.'

With a superficial resemblance to the romanticists, he really made an end of them; for while they sang of ærial visions and impossible ideals—most rarified forms of feeling, related to beings that never even touched the earth, and had no foothold on it—he refused to raise his eye from earth even in the crises of his withering despair. He is hopeless, without faith; and fancy exists for him merely to decorate the dead. This is no figure. Students of his poems will at once admit its actual truth to fact in certain very suggestive relations.

Heine's strength, and his real service to humanity, sprang from much the same source as his poetic perverseness. The Jews were scorned in Germany. No sooner were the wars of liberation ended than in certain cities they were hounded back to their Ghettos, and it was because of this, and such things as this, that he gradually came to hate Germany. France and Napoleon, as he grew to think and observe, became the attractive presences as witnesses for the freedom and progress of humanity. He wrought unceasingly to illustrate and to enforce this; and certainly his writings have done more than those of almost any one else to break down old traditions and to proclaim independence and individuality. For though he became a Protestant, and was baptized on June 28, 1825, he never made pretence that it was for aught but convenience, or that he found Protestant traditions in themselves any way more attractive than those of the Judaism he had thus formally rejected. But, indeed, this needs to be said, that Heine was hardly capable of the ordinary reverences by which men are bound together into communities. A nation of Heines would be a poor affair, even though he claims to have been a brave soldier in the war of liberation, as in certain respects he was. The professed object of some of his more practical writings need not hide from us the real spirit of the man. He was a mocker. It seems incredible else that the man who as boy had been moved to the depths of his soul because of the insults done to his race, could have written so soon afterwards of Jewish matters as he did. This is far from being the worst specimen, but it may pass as a sample of his style of treating what had, at least, a claim for his tolerance and silence, if not for his reverence:

'The result of my investigations into the national wealth of the Jews is very praiseworthy for the race, and confers upon them the greatest honour. Israel is indebted alone for its riches to that sublime belief in God to which it has remained faithful for centuries. The Jews revered a Supreme Being, who rules invisibly in heaven; while the Heathen, incapable of exalting themselves to the purely spiritual, made for themselves all sorts of gold and silver gods, and revered them on earth. Now, had these blind Heathen changed into ready money all the gold and silver which they squandered on this vile idol-worship, and placed it out at interest, they would have become just as rich as the Jews, who knew how to place out their gold and silver more advantageously, perhaps, in Assyrio-Babylonian State loans, or in Nebuchadnezzarian bonds, or in Egyptian Canal shares, in Five per Cent. Sidonians and other classic papers, which the Lord has blessed, as He has also blessed those of our time.'

This is very clever, but very bitter; and in the same spirit he jested with the verities of Christianity. We can enjoy him much better when he is dealing with art, literature, and philosophy. Nothing could be more incisive, more deeply true, than his remarks in the course of his contrast between Goethe and Schiller. Goethe, he holds, is too perfect, too calm; his characters are hybrids,—something between gods and stone: they beget no children. Words should end in deeds; so a nobler meed of praise is due to works lower artificially than Goethe's; those of Schiller, for example, which enkindle sentiments that crave a noble sphere of action. And few readers of Mr. Stigand's book will not feel deeply thankful to him for the exquisite epitomes he has given of the essays, sketches of travel, &c., into which an immense fund of knowledge and entertainment has been packed. As showing how Heine was inclined to view everything with a reference to its bearing on that individuality for which he witnessed, this may be taken:—'German philosophy, although it now places itself on a par with the Protestant Church—*yea*, *will exalt itself above it*—is yet always its daughter, and as such is ever bound to exercise a pious reserve in regard to its mother; and their mutual interests required that they should ally themselves when they both were threatened by the common foe, Jesuitism.'

Heine's opinion of England was by no means high. The English, he said, would never have been able to establish self-government but for their lack of idealism. Along with all this sneering and cynicism we should not forget to refer to that tender love for his mother which flows through all, like a refreshing stream through a parched and sun-scorched land. Even when he was lying—a living death—in that chamber in Paris, he used regularly to write those long loving letters as though he were quite well and strong. Truly, a strange centre of diverse tendencies is the human heart!

Mr. Stigand's translations are extremely faithful, and, for the most part, spirited. 'Love is born in May,' in the 'Intermezzo,' is so good that we must quote it:

' In May, the month so wondrous fair,
When all the buds were starting,
Right thro' my heart, right thro' my heart,
Love all at once went darting.

' In May, the month so wondrous fair,
When wooda with song were teeming,
To her, to her I told my love,
Its longing and its dreaming.'

But he fails, wholly fails, we are sorry to say, in one of the very finest lyrics Heine wrote. This does not reach by any means the airy grace and subtle suggestive charm of the original:

' A pine tree *standeth* lonely
Upon a Northern height,
By ice and snow surrounded,
It sleeps in mantle white.

' Of a palm tree it *lies* dreaming,
Which far in Eastern lands
Mourns, brooding in lone silence,
Down on the burning sands.'

Mr. Stigand should not have passed such a horrible Cockneyism as in this line in the 'Sea Vision':

' Then did I *lay* on the edge of the ship.'

In spite of some faults, this book claims and will reward the attention of the English reading public. It has been done by one who has well prepared himself for the task; he is sympathetic, but severely discriminating, and has made a very complete and attractive picture of the 'Byron of Germany.' We should remark, however, that it does seem odd and behind date to find Mr. Stigand speaking of that young English lady who visited Heine in his evil days in Paris, as known to us only through Lord Houghton's 'Monograph.' Mrs. Ross has given us a full account of the whole relation between her mother, Lady Duff-Gordon, and Heine, and to that we should have been referred, not to Lord Houghton's book, which, on this point, is surely now superseded.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains and Dean of the Chapel Royal, &c. By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, B.A., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains. Baily, Isbister, and Co.

Though we have been very eager for this long-promised biography, all we can do at present is to draw attention to its appearance and to indicate a few of its more salient points. Norman Macleod was one of the men pre-eminently born to great influence by the presence of a combina-

tion of faculties very rarely united. He had sound common sense, great tact, the power of looking at many points quietly, ready humour, which often touched the essence of the subject more quickly than the precise logic, and a winning yet manly sweetness of disposition which could adapt itself easily to diverse circumstances without suggestion either of pretence or condescension. His large human nature, quickened and directed by wide experience, made him everywhere at home. But the deepest interest of this memoir springs from the conflict of a nature formed for joyousness and meditative quietude with circumstances alien to their indulgence—circumstances into which the pressure of events compelled him. He has been spoken of, very short-sightedly, as a great Church politician and primate of the Scottish Church; he was really no politician, and his great powers were of a character that are but seldom tried in that field and are still more seldom improved by it. His biographer, who, notwithstanding the difficulties of near relationship, has written throughout with controlled and well-modulated insight, wisely takes occasion to say that he had to contend against great temptations to natural indolence, and his own diaries are very full of self-reproaches with a similar drift. But this, pardonable in a certain respect, hardly exhausts the whole matter. With men like Norman Macleod the felt necessity for exact and sustained method is apt to disturb that equilibrium in which the 'harvest of a quiet eye' may best be gathered—the harvest which their genius most distinctly fits them to gather. As Principal Shairp, in his very admirable estimate, hints, if he does not even assert it, Norman Macleod in so far as he was an ecclesiastic and a politician was a poet spoiled. His wisdom was not frequently a 'wise passiveness' whose power was in the best sense restorative. Mr. Donald Macleod well points out, and with biographic tact has enabled us to trace for ourselves, the Highland sentiment by which his early life was nourished and on which he fell back constantly. Here we detect at once the root of that fine sympathy which made him intolerant of dogmatic niceties calculated to fetter free life, and also the conservatism which made him so revere the traditions of the past as to disincline him to break with them, however much he might see beyond them. This statement suggests his whole attitude towards the Disruption, and towards Church politics generally,—a subject, however, on which we prefer not to enter in detail here, as we could not possibly discuss it fully. But let any one read the passages extracted from his diaries during that trying period, and he will, we are sure, be ready to acknowledge that seldom indeed have great Church politicians been so persecuted with a loathing of the positions into which they were forced, and a longing almost inexpressible for unity and rest and brotherhood. The extent to which this feeling has place here, we have no doubt, will surprise many; it will, we believe, be a still greater surprise to many, to find here proofs of the deeply inward and devotional life which Norman Macleod lived. Most people—even some of those who had met him on a familiar footing abroad—thought of him as the genial, cultivated man, with a fund of ready wit and a rare power of adaption to the atmosphere in which he found himself. His more

familiar friends all knew well that beyond that there was the still rarer power of changing, with no sense of inconsistency but with an honest open manliness, from gay to grave, from innocent laughter to the 'wise smile' that lends to goodness its true attraction. It was this quality, so transparent in all his efforts, that made him beloved and influential in circles where few clerics have exercised any influence; it was this quality also which enabled him to succeed as he did with his ragged church—into which no well-dressed church-going folks were admitted, though attempts were often made by them to gain admittance—the account of which, and his remarkable tact in management, form one of the most interesting, as it is calculated to be one of the most practically useful, chapters in this memoir. His philanthropy, always tempered by sagacity and prudence, was of the kind which never loses the individual in the mass, and which seldom errs by choosing wrong means and instruments. He soon discovered after his entry on the Barony Parish what this meant, and by means of a system of administration as masterly as it was bold and original, he stretched out hands everywhere by a set of agents some of them taken from the working class, and devoted to him and to the enterprise. As we read of his energy and tact in this great enterprise, we are at once surprised and inspirited. Constantly reproaching himself with want of system, with a tendency to fall beneath his own ideal, he, nevertheless, with masterly skill initiated and sustained it, setting in operation the whole series of agencies—penny banks, &c.—which are now recognised as the most powerful means of elevation to respectability and self-help. He had foresight as well as insight. This work though hard was in itself a refreshment; what wearied and wasted him, latterly at all events, was the constant sense of being out of harmony with noisy parties in the Church, and the cliques who dominated and made great fuss over small points in the Presbyteries. For no man could he have cherished contempt; but the evil of it was that he could not be indifferent to the opinion of other men; and the desire to set himself right with them—as notably seen in the notorious Sabbath question controversy—was what led to the withdrawal of his energies from what he felt was the greater and more clamant work of his life, and roused that tone of self-dissatisfaction and self-reproach which marks more especially his later diaries. He seems even to have been visited now and then by a wish that he had given more study to points of Church law, which, we fear, would only have led to deeper dissatisfaction. But this note, written to that venerated and lamented friend of his John Mackintosh, the 'earnest student,' shortly after the Disruption of 1843, gives us a glimpse of his very heart:

'Oh, for a day of peace—one of those peaceful days which I used to enjoy when a boy in the far west. Such days are gone—fled. I cannot grasp the sense of repose I once felt—that feeling, you know, which one has in a lonely corry or by a burnie's side far up among the mountains, when, far from the noise and turmoil of mortal man, and the fitful agitations of this stormy life, our souls in solitude become calm and serene as the blue sky on which we gazed as we lay half asleep in body,

'though awake in soul, among the brackens or the blooming heather. Could Isaak Walton be a member of a Scotch Presbytery or a General Assembly?—he who "felt thankful for his food and raiment—the rising and setting sun—the singing of larks—and leisure to go a-angling"? Dear old soul! "One of the lovers of peace and quiet, and a good man, as indeed most anglers are." Isaak never would have been a member of any committee along with ——— and Co. That is certain. Don't be angry, dear John! Do let me *claver* with you, and smile or cry just as I feel inclined. We shall slide into business and gravity soon enough.'

It is this tone of sadness, often veiling itself in a gentle rattle of humour, in a clinging affection which would fain assure itself of a kind of permanency in the mere child-like clasping of other's hands, which imparts such a depth of suggestion to these funny letters and to the clever caricatures scratched off with such facility by way of signature to friendly epistles. As we try to gather up hastily a general impression of the book, it is that of a man of great faculty, whose genius was of the kind that would have justified itself in almost any direction. He might have been an artist, a great commander, an author of high rank. What he did write were, as he felt, but trifles hurriedly jotted down in the hours stolen from a more serious pursuit. But what genial wisdom, what quaint wit, and graphic power of portraiture do we have in 'The Old Lieutenant,' or 'The Starling,' or in some of those slighter sketches, full of pathos and graceful humour, which he contributed to 'Good Words' as its editor, such as 'Aunt Mary' or 'Wee Davie'! We think of him, with an affection which increases in the light of more intimate knowledge, as a true worker for others, a devoted, self-denying man, whose sadness was veiled from the great world whilst he lived; that, suffering in secret, he might the better aid others to bear their burden in seeming to bear his own lightly. No small service this to have rendered to any generation, more especially to this generation, when complexities and artificialities tend more and more to generate a form of egotism that is alien to the best kind of healthy Christian endeavour.

William Godwin: his Friends and Contemporaries. By C.

KEGAN PAUL. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Kegan Paul has been fortunate in finding an interesting subject; fortunate also in the access which has been accorded him to papers of interest regarding Godwin and his son-in-law Shelley, through the favour of Sir Percy Shelley. He has set forth Godwin as favourably as could have been hoped for. Godwin was, in one respect, a great thinker, who went down to principles, though, in many respects, he was an egotistic and *unlikeable* man. He was one of those idealists who refuse to qualify *under demands of sympathy*, and who therefore are isolated, imperious, and exacting, and become more so with years and inevitable disappointments. If it had been possible for a biographer to reconcile us thoroughly to his subject, Mr. Paul, we feel, would have done it in this

memoir. With noticeable tact and sympathy he has traced out the gradual manner in which Godwin reached his Deistical ideas, showing us how, in his case, as in so many others, it had root in reaction against the hard and narrow Calvinism in which he had been brought up, and to which his over-strict father hoped to make him conform. Very significant is the Sunday-desecration anecdote of his boyish days, which Mr. Paul sets forth so well. 'One Sunday,' Godwin tells, 'as I walked in the garden, I happened to take the cat in my arms. My father saw me, and seriously reproved my levity, remarking that on the Lord's-day he was ashamed to observe me demeaning myself with such profaneness.' As with many men—the Mills, for example—in whom the intellect has been developed at the expense of the emotions at an early period of life, Godwin never rose to deep passion or formed an intense attachment. His friendships were mainly of an intellectual and easily-adjusted sort; there was a mixture of Platonism in his love affairs; he had little depth on that side of his nature; and a slight difference of opinion or appearance of inappreciation would have soon ended the most consolidated of his friendships. He was, on some points, vain and capricious almost to irrationality, and yet, like many vain people, was easily exercised by certain forms of sentiment which he would have decried in another. Amid all trials and distractions it must be said, however, that he remained faithful to a certain intellectual ideal, and was terribly conscientious in respect of literary work. In the midst of his earnest striving to make clear to himself the true relations of the individual to society rose the ominous phenomenon of the French Revolution, which came to him as a determinative application of many of the ideas which he had been labouring to bring to light. Intellectually he was a child of the Revolution; and to the end he remained involved in some of the rarified abstractions which owed to it their fascinating power, if not even their birth. And though it needs to be said that he qualified, in many respects, the doctrines presented in the 'Political Justice,' especially modifying what he had advanced in favour of communism, still it must be said, and he himself would doubtless have urged, that the great outstanding principles and sentiments remained untouched. Godwin wrote much, but little of it is now read. His individuality appears honestly in all. It is that of a penetrating, honest, egotistic, but thin and rigidly logical mind, very often so disinclined to allow for the necessities of practical affairs, that *genuine* humour must be held, in spite of some apparent evidence to the contrary, to have been absent from it.

Mr. Paul has made Godwin tell his own story; has surrounded him by his friends, and made him say the very best that he could for himself. So faithful has he been to his *subject* that sometimes, in adjusting the lights, a little grotesquerie is imparted to those around him, and a slight occasional injustice is done them by needless frankness and the desire to be complete. 'Pity the man who tries to say all.' Was it needful to give some of the details we have here about Godwin's little Platonic flirting with Mrs. Inchbald? Or was it advisable—though, of course, we all know the general looseness of Coleridge's character—to disillusionise us

by detailed confessions as to fact, and to quote letters in which he, poor genius! analyses his own *tipsiness* with a delicate mixture of self-approval and self-reproach? Never; perhaps, were we more moved than when one of Robert Burns's letters, owing to bad behaviour when drunk, was on one occasion put into our hands; and though this letter is *euphuistic* enough, in all conscience, will Mr. Paul excuse our saying that we should have been more thankful to him had he not printed it, and one or two others. But we must net part from a really valuable and readable book in this mood of fault-finding; let us, instead, wind-up with this most characteristic sketch of Mrs. Inchbald, from the pen of Godwin's daughter:

'Apt to fall in love, and desiring to marry, she continued single because the men who loved and admired her were too worldly to take an actress and a poor authoress, however lovely and charming, for a wife. Her life was thus spent in an interchange of hardship and amusement, privation and luxury. Her character partook of the same contrast; fond of pleasure, she was prudent in her conduct; penurious in her personal expenditure, she was generous to others. Vain of her beauty, we are told that the gown she wore was not worth a shilling, it was so coarse and shabby. Very susceptible to the softer feelings, she could yet guard herself against passion; and, though she might have been called a flirt, her character was unimpeachable. I have heard that a rival beauty of her day pettishly complained that when Mrs. Inchbald came into a room, and sat on a chair in the middle of it, as was her wont, every man gathered round it, and it was vain for any other woman to attempt to gain attention. Godwin could not fail to admire her; she became, and continued to be, a favourite. Her talents, her beauty, her manners, were all delightful to him. He used to describe her as a piquant mixture between a lady and a milkmaid, and added that Sheridan declared that she was the only authoress whose society pleased him.'

The book is full of anecdotes and references to many people distinguished in art and literature at the end of last century, and it may be ranked, in spite of some faults, among the masterly memoirs of a period which has been uncommonly rich in yielding such.

Arthur Schopenhauer: his Life and Philosophy. By HELEN ZIMMERN. Longmans and Co.

Miss Zimmern ventured on a bold task when she undertook to write the life of Schopenhauer. His life illuminates his philosophy, and yet stands in almost grotesque contrast to it. It is as though the man, immersed in the business of thinking, took on a tint of wild madness when he appeared amongst his fellows. He was somewhat like one who stands in the coloured lights of a chemist's window, all unconscious of the effect upon those who may view him from a little distance. Never was there a man of great intellect who developed more of the impatient scorn and wild self-assertion which lie at the antipodes of that self renouncing Buddhism to which it may be said that his philosophy really led. Schopen-

hauer was, in fact, a man in whom two demons contended. On the one side he was an Oriental Fakir; on the other, a German Jew—cautious, suspicious, and full of fears. He did not trust his own mother, and was constantly watching those who attended on him. He was haunted with fears of being poisoned. The universe, according to him, was a congeries of isolated appearances, controlled by a blind impulse, a force, an imperious instinct, which, according to certain laws, rose in certain manifestations, to reason, to intelligence, to individual will. But he never made it very clear, even to himself, where this force or impulse passed into definite expression of individual will; so that we are not surprised to find him on one occasion actually crediting the flowers with energising will, when he was (so far) doubtful of it or of persistent personality in himself. He was found one day before a plant, addressing it as follows: 'What dost thou tell me by thy curious forms? What is the will which reveals itself in those brilliant colours and fading leaves?' The gardener attracted to him, and probably thinking that he had to do with a madman, approached him to ask who he was. 'Yes, if you could tell me who I am, I should be very grateful,' answered Schopenhauer. He laid down the idea that evil followed existence, at all events, individual existence, as shadow follows light, and that the only true philosophy was to rise above evil in rising above desire, passion, energy, exercise of will. In a single word, in reference to all that lies around—

'Not to desire or admire, if a man could learn it, were more
Than to walk all day like the Sultan of old in a garden of spice.'

He managed to infuse a strong naturalism into metaphysics, though he disliked the naturalists, and railed incessantly against them, as he did against all the metaphysicians of his own time. Mind and matter, he held, were in strict correlation, and his ethical conception of the presence of evil in all existence, in connection with it, necessarily led to an absolute disbelief in religion, save as a convenient substitute for the moral self-suppression which he held could be attained through it, as well as through asceticism, with or without religious sanctions. So he was a modern Buddhist in the guise of a philosophic iconoclast, armed to scatter all later systems in wreck, and to establish on their ruins a commixture of Kant, Plato, and Buddha, the heaven of which was a dull nirwana, or unconscious rest, complete escape from desire, affection, sympathy, or effort.

His philosophy is not likely to retain influence, though his writings are full of grand and suggestive ideas. He has no *historical* place in the long descent of 'those who know,' though succeeding thinkers will feel themselves compelled, as they pass along, to glance at this reserved, fiery, egotistic far-glancing thinker. Miss Zimmern has made right good use of her materials, which were scanty, for Schopenhauer had no friends, and thus no correspondents. She writes well, and she has certainly produced a most skilfully-arranged and readable book on a subject which, however, in itself, can only be really interesting to the few.

The Self-Made Man : Autobiography of Karl Friedrich von Klöden. Edited, with a Sketch of his After-Life, by MAX JÄHN. Vol. I. Strahan and Co.

As this volume brings us only to the twenty-third year of Herr Klöden's life, it leaves us ignorant of the kind of manhood which he is to develop. Concerning his general character, therefore, we must defer remark until the second volume is before us. The present is simply a history of singular struggles with poverty and adverse circumstances, and the persistent development of natural tastes and noble qualities. Scarcely any instance in Mr. Smiles' 'Self Help' equals it: perhaps the nearest parallel to it is in Robert Chambers. We see the unconscious revelation, from earliest years, of a gentle, amiable, resolute nature, absorbed by a thirst for knowledge, and attaining it from the most parsimonious means. A descendant of a decayed noble family, Von Klöden was the son of a common soldier, who became during the youth of the former addicted to drinking habits, and who exchanged soldiering for a subordinate position in the Customs, and was stationed in Prussian Friedland. Life in Barracks, Life in a Friedland Border Town, Life as an ill-used Goldsmith's Apprentice at Berlin, are respectively described with singular simplicity and freshness; and through the novelty to us of the different scenes and characters portrayed, the interest is very absorbing. The period, moreover, is from 1786 to 1809, when Napoleon planted his heel upon Continental Europe, and the fortunes of Prussia were at their lowest ebb. Napoleon and his army occupied Berlin; and the author records his impressions of the occupation. He developed unusual musical capabilities; but his tastes were chiefly scientific, and ultimately, as we shall see, he rose to scientific eminence. From beginning to end the volume is full of affecting experiences and interesting sketches, anecdotes, and characterisations. Up to the age of ten he never had a covering for his head; at ten years old he got his first ideas of the world from a copy of 'The Swiss Family Robinson,' and he read it eleven times through from beginning to end without skipping a single syllable. In the original German the book has attracted great attention, and, if we mistake not, it will prove to English readers one of the most attractive biographies published of late years.

Life of William, Earl of Shelburne; afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne. With Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence. By LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE. Vol. II. Macmillan and Co.

The second volume of this admirable life of Shelburne continues the narrative for other ten years, or from 1766 to 1776. It shows us Lord Shelburne struggling vainly against the shortsighted statesmen of his age, who were fast precipitating the rebellion that separated America from the domain of the English Crown, and prepared a crop of troubles in Ireland. Possibly he would have succeeded in making head against his opponents if the active support of Lord Chatham had been steadily

given to him. Unfortunately, however, the great earl was unable to render that. Shutting himself up at Hayes, the victim to serious illness, and his mind probably unsettled and the prey to gloomy fantasies, Lord Chatham left Shelburne to fight the battle single-handed; and the Whigs and Tories of the day were too much for him, especially as he had the king also against him. Nevertheless, this volume affords many fresh illustrations of the liberality and enlightenment of Shelburne, who, on so many questions—including religious toleration and free trade—was in advance of his times. The last chapter in the volume, 'Lord Shelburne on Men and Things,' contains numerous proofs of this, and its contents will go far to justify the high rank given Shelburne as a statesman by the present Prime Minister in the opening chapters of 'Sybel.' The time has come when he should no longer be ranked among the 'suppressed' statesmen of English political history.

Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century, derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist. By EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FONBLANQUE. Macmillan and Co.

Upon several points of interest light is thrown by these memoirs, which are not so much a complete biography as a selection of episodes in a biography. Thus the birth of Burgoyne is vindicated from the aspersion thrown upon it by the random statement of one of Horace Walpole's letters, and it is conclusively proved that he was born in lawful wedlock. His relations to the Derby family as the husband of Lady Charlotte Stanley, with whom he eloped, are also made clear to his honour; the chief proof of which is the high esteem in which he was held through life by Lord Derby. But the chief purpose has been to vindicate his reputation in the surrender of Saratoga. Burgoyne had acquired reputation as a very able, sagacious, and dashing soldier, and received the thanks of Parliament for his Peninsular services. He accepted a command as one of three popular generals reluctantly; he clearly appreciated the incapacity of Sir William Howe, and remonstrated against the absolute instructions for the campaign, which left the generals of three different armies, who were to co-operate together, without any discretion. Howe had gone to Pennsylvania, leaving Clinton in New York. Burgoyne was to advance from Canada, and to force a junction with Clinton at Albany, while Howe was making a diversion in the south. He advanced successfully down Lake Champlain and Lake George, and took Ticonderoga by a brilliant assault. He then advanced to the neighbourhood of Saratoga, but found himself unable to effect the junction with Clinton, and too weak successfully to maintain his own position. His orders were precise and imperative, and he concluded that, even at the cost of sacrificing himself, they must be obeyed. The result was the surrender of his army corps, of 8000 or 4000 men, to General Gage, who surrounded him with 13,000. The evidence, which is here given in detail, seems to show that Burgoyne

had no alternative, and that he did all that a brave and wise commander could have done, and did not deserve to be sacrificed as a scapegoat, by Lord George Germaine and his incompetent colleagues, as he was. It is terrible to learn, from Lord Shelburne's Memoirs, that a forgotten despatch, which this Minister neglected to sign and send to General Howe, containing instructions for his co-operation with Burgoyne, was the chief cause of these disasters. It is said that our late Abyssinian war was due to a similar piece of official forgetfulness. Burgoyne wrote several dramas, was a forcible speaker, and altogether was a remarkable as well as a high-minded man.

The Earls of Middleton, Lords of Clermont and Fettercairn, and the Middleton Family. By A. C. BISCOE. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Biscoe is a chronicler rather than a biographer. There is no literary fusion in his style nor much literary art in his work. He brings together the facts concerning the two Earls of Middleton, whose lives he records, by a commonplace-book method, simply putting in chronological order extracts from Pepys or Clarendon, in the case of the former, and a series of letters from the Court of James in France in that of the latter; or else, in a very prosaic way, he gives the substance of information thus gathered. He scarcely attempts either description or characterisation, much less portrait painting.

The book therefore is very dull, wonderfully so, considering the stirring times in which its heroes lived. Instead of vivid pictures of the great Revolution we have the driest chronicle of facts. John, the first Earl of Middleton, was a great leader in the wars of the Commonwealth, at first a Parliamentarian, then a Royalist. His military achievements in Scotland especially furnish material for a stirring narrative, which Mr. Biscoe has almost miraculously missed. After the Restoration he was appointed Governor of Tangier, and died, a drunkard, from a fall when intoxicated.

Charles, the second Earl, went with James to St. Germain's. The interest of his life, as here given, consists of a series of letters, revealing the policy and the plotting of the French King and the Pretender. Here again was a fine opportunity for a biographer who could have made use of it.

Mr. Biscoe has brought the material together, but he has not made them into a book. A duller plodder never explored the cellars of history.

The Vicar of Morwenstow. A Life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Hawker was grandson of Dr. Hawker, of Plymouth, and was born in 1804. He was a singular conglomerate of wood, hay, stubble, gold, silver, precious stones. His early life at Plymouth was largely spent with his grandfather, whom he sorely tried with his mad practical jokes. When he had been a year at Oxford and was nineteen, his father told him that he could not afford to continue his University career. Robert

started off, without cap or coat, to a farm five miles distant, proposed to one of four sisters who had each £200 a year, but who was forty-two years age, and had nursed him and been his godmother; was accepted, and married: and so he completed his course at Oxford. He became vicar of Morwenstow, near Bude, where he remained to the end of his life. His marriage was a happy one. He tended his blind old wife with the utmost tenderness, and was inconsolable when, in 1865, she died, aged eighty-one. But a year after, with equal impulsiveness, he married a young Polish governess, had three daughters, whom he left without any provision. He was a poet of a high order, and wrote some very fine ballads. He was singularly unselfish and brave, full of human nature, but an Anglican of the purest water, although not a Ritualist; hated Dissenters, although, alas! he lived in a very hotbed of Methodism. He was bigoted, intolerant, and intensely priestly. He contended with great difficulties. All the better class of people were Methodists. He thought 'he had the poor with 'him,' but he could not get them to attend his Church. John Wesley was as hateful to him as Cranmer is to Dr. Littledale, and he had only anathema for him. He thought God's judgments came upon everybody who opposed him, and tells us that 'failure or death befell those who had 'most vindictively opposed him.' He was bitten with Orientalism, and put on an Armenian cope for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and wore a hat without a brim that he might look like an Archimandrite. His Roman Catholic wife had a Romish priest to administer to him during his last illness—Mr. Baring-Gould says when he was unconscious—the sacraments of the Romish Church, from baptism to extreme unction. He died with whatever benefit these might confer, and as much in the bosom of the Romish Church as they could carry him, and was buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery at Plymouth. He had more than one craze, and was, perhaps, as great an oddity as Cornwall ever produced. He was in many respects an anachronism of the fourteenth century. But he was a good and brave and, in some respects, a grand old man. Mr. Baring-Gould tells some rich stories about him, and has, in addition, inlaid his memoir with a good deal of the folk-lore of Cornwall, with no end of wild legends and racy stories, not very relevant perhaps, nor always in good taste. It is a book to read and laugh over.

[In the 'Athenæum' of March 25th it is stated, apparently upon high authority, that many of Mr. Baring-Gould's statements in this volume are inaccurate or untrue.]

John Todd: the Story of his Life. Told mainly by Himself.

Compiled and Edited by JOHN E. TODD. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Todd was a popular Congregational minister in New England—pastor successively at Groton, Northampton, Philadelphia, and Pittsfield. He was a popular writer, familiar to religious families in England by his 'Lectures to Children,' which have been translated into several European languages; and to students of theology by his 'Student's Manual,' a leaf of which, the only relic of a book, was found among the few remains of Sir

John Franklin in the Arctic regions. It has passed through a hundred and fifty editions, and has been translated into German, French, and Welsh. This autobiography is very racy, both of the man and the soil. It belongs to the class of biographies of which old Dr. Beecher's is so fine a specimen. Dr. Todd was a thorough American in pluck, power, and unconventionality; and his stories and experiences of American religious life during the last fifty years are remarkably rich. The book is full of individuality and raciness.

Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney, the American Evangelist.

Written by HIMSELF. Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Finney was a man of singular religious goodness and devotedness. Possessed of a strong will, of a good deal of hard intellectual power, and of intense passion; a man who, in other circumstances, might easily have been a Crusader, an anchorite, or a Simon Stylites; he gave himself simply and exclusively to evangelising. When he first visited London, to conduct services at Dr. Campbell's Tabernacle in Moorfields, he was never known to be curious about a single London attraction. We doubt whether he saw anything beyond the precincts of Finsbury and the way to it.

His book is almost exclusively devoted to records of preachings and revival services in America and England. It is the log of an evangelist, dealing exclusively with the spiritual conversion of men. No work can be so momentous to men; and of Mr. Finney as its worker it is impossible to speak too highly. There can be no doubt that he was the means of doing an immense amount of spiritual good, especially in connection with the college at Oberlin, which he founded. As a preacher he was one of the most penetrating and forcible that we ever heard. Utterly devoid of poetry, imagination, or sentiment, he forced conviction and quickened feeling by sheer intellectual cogency.

We are compelled to say, however, that the strong statements of his autobiography—or, at any rate, some of them—are to be taken *cum grano*. Mr. Finney's very absorption in his work magnified it in his apprehensions. We happen to be somewhat minutely acquainted with some part of his work in England, and we are bound to say that particulars here stated concerning several families and individuals are, in some respects, not true at all, and in others greatly exaggerated. In some cases the statements made must give pain. Some of the details of alleged success at Moorfields, will, we suspect, be new to those who witnessed or participated in his labours. We feel bound to state this; a good work and good aims are no justification of exaggerated statements.

The Living Wesley, as He was in his Youth and in his Prime.

By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. Wesleyan Conference Office.

Dr. Rigg's little book is chiefly a criticism of Mr. Tyerman's recent 'Life of Wesley.' Dr. Rigg thinks that Mr. Tyerman has been somewhat more than judicially severe in dealing with certain traits of Wesley's cha-

rafter and certain passages in his history. With characteristic vigour he assails his judgments concerning Wesley's youthful character; the love passages with Miss Kirkham, Mrs. Pendarves, and Miss Hopkey; his High Churchism; his Evangelical conversion; his character as a thinker, preacher, and man. A little less eagerness for the fray and a little more of judicial balancing of evidence would give greater weight to Dr. Rigg's judgments. We are disposed to think that some of the incidents in question would bear a more favourable construction than, in his solicitous candour, Mr. Tyerman has given them: his words about Wesley's youthful sins, for instance; but we also think that Dr. Rigg errs on the other side, and proves somewhat too much. That Wesley was weak and foolish in his relations to women seems beyond doubt. A man who gets into three or four love entanglements and makes a great blunder in his marriage can hardly be a wise and blameless victim. The book may be commended as a critical review article on certain passages in Wesley's life.

William Brock, D.D., First Pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel. By GEORGE WILSON M'CREE. James Clarke and Co.

In a little shilling volume Mr. M'Cree has given us some characteristics of one of the most exemplary and successful pastors of our day. Dr. Brock was a man of considerable intellectual robustness, of admirable good sense, of power of popular address, and of a deep and reverent religiousness of nature which consecrated all his gifts to his great calling, and secured a large degree of the highest order of ministerial success. Mr. M'Cree tells us anecdotes of his career, and gives us sketches of different phases of his character, which are eminently truthful, and will be valued by all who knew him; for all who knew him loved him.

Pearls of the Pacific. By J. W. BODDAM-WHETHAM, Author of 'Western Wanderings.' Hurst and Blackett.

Mr. Boddam-Whetham here records his impressions of the Sandwich Islands and of the Samoan and Fiji groups, which he visited as a traveller—we might almost now use the word 'tourist'—and concerning which he tells us chiefly what he himself saw; that is, he does not burden his journal-records with much of either history or disquisition. He has considerable descriptive power and writes in an easy animated style, so that his book is eminently readable and pleasant. It does not contribute to any special department of 'useful information.' It is a book of wayside impressions concerning country and people, natural phenomena, and manners and customs. Mr. Boddam-Whetham seems to be chiefly addicted to ornithology, and tells us concerning the existence of rare birds peculiar to the islands. He does not describe them, but simply indicates that he found them. He does not seem to have felt much interest in the governmental, social, commercial, or religious problems that are being wrought-out in the islands. He makes very slight allusions to missionary civilisation, and these indicate but a languid interest.

The South Sea islands—the Sandwich, Samoan, and Fiji islands especially—which are in the route from San Francisco to Australia, are rapidly becoming the ground of the tourist; and will, no doubt, before very long be included in Cook's annual excursions. Mr. Boddam-Whetham's book, therefore, may be heartily commended to general readers as pleasant and interesting, and as containing that general information about peoples which it is useful to possess, especially about tribes semi-civilised, some of whom have just become our fellow-subjects.

We may specially commend as graphic and full of interest the author's description of his visit to the volcanic region, of which Kilauea is the centre; into the crater of the latter he descended. Think of a circular lake of liquid fire, rolling, heaving, and dashing in molten waves like a sea, a quarter of a mile in diameter and enclosed by walls a hundred feet in height,—the active portion of the great crater. Mr. Ellis describes the great crater as he saw it. Miss Isabella Bird also visited it. It is interesting to compare the three descriptions. Mr. Boddam-Whetham was present in Honolulu at the election of a sovereign, and witnessed riots worthy of Donnybrook or New York. We have read his book with much interest; its descriptive merits are of a very high order; his spirit is genial, and his judgments are, on the whole, wise: but what can he mean by saying that all the ammonites of Whitby are imported from Lyme Regis? We hope this is not to be taken as a measure of his accuracy.

Yachting in the Arctic Seas; or, Notes of Five Voyages of Sport and Discovery in the Neighbourhood of Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya. By JAMES LAMONT, F.G.S. Edited and Illustrated by W. LIVESAY, M.D. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Lamont's book is a contribution to Arctic discovery only so far as it demonstrates the ways in which the pole is not to be reached. He seems conclusively to have proved by his five voyages that Spitzbergen is not the way of approach, nor Novaya Zemlya, nor the vast northern ice coast of the Spitzbergen sea that lies between them. There is, indeed, a possibility that access may lie by Gillies Land, and up Austria Sound (to the north of Novaya Zemlya) the splendid discovery of the Austrian expedition in 1874, and which seems approachable only from the west, round the northern point of Spitzbergen. At present, however, the probabilities are, that the true way of access is that of the 'Polaris,' up Baffins Bay and Smiths Sound, by which lat. 84° was reached in 1871—the nearest approach to the pole yet made; but the state of the ice varies so much in different years that it would be foolish to pronounce dogmatically upon any possibility. While the most elaborately-equipped expedition may fail through unfavourable seasons, some small craft may stumble upon success through an unexpected opening. Some of the greatest results yet achieved have been in small sailing vessels. It is tantalizing to think that only some four hundred miles separate modern discovery from its goal, and not very flattering to remember that all the appliances of

modern science have advanced us only some hundred and seventy miles beyond Hudson's highest latitude in 1607. Mr. Lamont gives us detailed accounts of the Kara Straits, which separate Novaya Zemlya, on the north, from Samoyede Land, on the south, and of the south-west coast of the former, which he skirted as far north as lat. 75°. Sailing west he rounded the south cape of Spitzbergen, and several times sailed up its western side, round Hakluyts Head, its northern point, to the Norways. He was unable to make either the Seven Islands, to the north-east, or Hinlopen Straits, which separate Spitzbergen on its eastern side from North-East Land. He examined, however, the Ice Ford, and Kings Bay, and the Stor Fiord, on the western side, and penetrated the latter as far as Lamonts Point. He could not, however, get through to the eastern coast by either the northern or southern passage, round Barentz Land. The book records no discovery; but it is an account of Arctic phenomena, achievement, adventure, and sport—full of interest to both the geographer and the sportsman. Mr. Lamont's game was chiefly the walrus: his pages are filled with hunting experiences therewith. Occasionally polar bears fell beneath his gun, and reindeer, together with guillemots, snowy owls, and other birds. Two or three narrow escapes from shipwreck give the excitement of peril to the narrative, which is also enriched by historical information, sporting anecdotes and adventures, and varied scientific information.

Altogether the volume is one of very great interest, a very valuable addition to the second, or descriptive, as distinguished from the first, or discovery, class of Arctic literature.

Morocco and the Moors: being an Account of Travels, with a General Description of the Country and its People. By ARTHUR LEARED, M.D. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Leared's volume is one of somewhat more than usual interest, owing, first, to our comparative ignorance of Morocco beyond two or three ports on its seaboard; and of its Atlantic ports we are really familiar only with Tangier,—in Charles II. and James II.'s times a British possession, it having been part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Charles's wife,—about which Pepys tells us, and of which the first Earl of Middleton was for a short time governor. We held it twenty-two years, and the remains of the mole made and destroyed by us are still seen. The vicinity of Tangier to Gibraltar keeps up a certain familiarity with it yet. Of its other ports we suspect Sallée is nominally most familiar to readers generally, in virtue of 'Robinson Crusoe.' Some of its ports, such as Mazagan, Saffi, and especially Mogador, are visited by our traders, but not so often as to make their names familiar to people generally; few even well-educated persons could tell you where they are. Morocco, the capital, is some hundred and thirty miles inland, due east from Mogador, which again is nearly four hundred miles south of Tangier, on the Atlantic coast. The

interior of the country is but little known to European travellers, and is in a melancholy condition of half-civilised savagery, turbulence, and wretchedness. The multiform curse of Mohammedan countries is heavily upon it. The second source of interest in the book is the clear, simple good sense of Dr. Leared, who fulfils his promise, and, carefully eschewing fine writing and learned lucubrations, in a simple straightforward way tells us what he saw, with just enough of collected information to give intelligence to his descriptions and statements. He laboured under the disadvantage of not knowing the language. He had, therefore, to be dependent upon secondary sources of information, and no doubt failed to learn many things that his interpreter did not tell him. But the book is a thoroughly good and instructive one, and we have read it from cover to cover with much interest. After visiting Tangier, Mazagan, and Mogador, which are fully described, the author proceeded inland from the latter place to Morocco, provided with a letter from the heir-apparent to the throne. Nothing could be more wretched than the journey—vile roads, with robbers and extortioners of every kind. The Sultan was absent from his capital on a war expedition. It was rumoured that he had suffered reverses, and the city was in a state of insurrection. The authorities were clearly unable to protect Dr. Leared against the fanatical hatred of Christians cherished by the inhabitants, and after seven or eight days' residence in a house which was in a state of semi-siege, they warned the traveller, whose life had been attempted by poison, that he had better depart. He managed, however, to see a good deal, and he gives an interesting description of the city, which lies at the foot of the Atlas Mountains, and tells us a good deal about its inhabitants—Arabs, Moors, Jews, and Negroes—and about its unutterably wretched condition, as well as about its prisons, social life, and natural history. One of the finest countries in the world is thus, under Mohammedan rule, degraded in filth, lust, and violence almost to the level of savage Africa. How much of the world has yet to be redeemed to productiveness and civilisation! We give a very cordial commendation to Dr. Leared's book.

From the Hebrides to the Himalayas. A Sketch of Eighteen Months' Wanderings in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands. By CONSTANCE F. GORDON CUMMING. Two Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

Miss Gordon Cumming proves herself a worthy bearer of the name so closely associated with travel. Among the Celts of the Hebrides, the Brahmans of Benares, the Buddhists of Thibet and Ceylon, she finds herself equally at home. She is keenly observant, full of sympathy, grudges no labour, deeply loves nature in her many moods, and has a decided faculty for getting below the surface. The reader who casually glances over the first volume, with its happy and condensed descriptions of the people of the Scottish Highlands, the Isle of Skye, and the Hebrides, with their many strange customs and superstitions, and dismisses it from his mind as he gets interested in the still more gorgeous

and attractive pictures of Indian wild or Indian temple, or Himalayan forest or village, will commit a great mistake, and fail to reach Miss Gordon Cumming's intention. She knows too well that hard and dry disquisition does not much find favour with the circulating libraries, and therefore she has sandwiched her science with narrative. But, though the work is valuable as a book of travel, it is still more valuable as popularising science. Miss Cumming is not an exact philologist or mythologist, and would not make any serious claim to either title; but she has done a great work in collecting, collating, and setting side by side the legends, myths, superstitions, and common religious customs of many races, very diverse and far distant from each other. And it is very astonishing how, when closely examined, as Miss Gordon Cumming in one or two chapters endeavours to examine them, they discover remarkable likeness to each other. The fourth chapter of Vol. I.—'A String of Quaint Beads from Many Lands'—gives the keynote to the whole work, looked at in this light. In the extreme West, as in the extreme East, stones arranged in certain orders were held sacred, and around them at certain times, particularly at full moon, mystic celebrations took place—processions round them always following the course of the sun; the sunwise movement again being ethnic, confined to no people in particular, a fact that probably points to a deeper idea than Miss Cumming has yet reached or has been bold enough to face. Praying-mills, she tells us, always follow the course of the sun, and certain elements in the Roman Carnival connect it with the sun-procession; whilst even amongst the Jews, the race that so sternly withstood the Oriental worship of nature-force in all its forms, we can trace certain relics of this same custom. Miss Gordon Cumming writes:

'Some idea of the mysterious virtue attached to these sunwise turns may perhaps be the reason that the Jews, in several different countries, thus march seven times round their newly-coffined dead. In pagan records we find the same customs common both to Greeks and Romans. There is also historical evidence of their having been practised by the Gauls 8000 years ago.'

Miss Cumming gives a very odd instance of 'survival' in the case of an old burying-ground near Inverness, on the top of a hill. Recently there was a proposal to do away with the old road to it, and to adopt a shorter one; but against this there was the most urgent remonstrance from the people, as being contrary to old custom. The new road, they said, would reverse the course followed by the old one, and the corpse be carried contrary to the course of the sun. And they carried their point, the old roundabout road being still used. We regret that we cannot afford the space to prove by extract the picturesque force, the sympathy, the knowledge, and the delicacy to be found in this work; we can only heartily recommend all those who love a good work of travel, as well as those who are interested in ethnology and mythology, to procure it and study it. The illustrations show that Miss Cumming adds to her other gifts the artistic one. We are sorry to observe not a few misprints.

The Victoria Falls of the Zambesi. Translated from the German of EDWARD MOHR. By N. D'ANVERS. With Numerous Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

The Germans are vying with ourselves in the exploration of Africa, and their contributions to its literature of travel are becoming very valuable. Herr Mohr's work contributes a type that is new for Germany. He makes no discovery, like Livingstone; he does not add precision and certainty to discovery like Schweinfurth. His track is a not infrequent one, viz., from Port Natal, north-west, through the Orange River and Vaal River settlements, across the territory of the Transvaal Republic to Bamangwato in the Bechuana country, thence to the Tati settlement on the Sacha River, thence to what he calls Linyanti, in Mosilikatze's dominions.

Here we find it difficult to follow him. The Linyanti of Livingstone is S.W. of the Victoria Falls in lat. $18^{\circ} 17'$, and long. $28^{\circ} 50'$; the place called Linyanti by Herr Mohr (on his map it is called Inyati), is S.E. of the Victoria Falls in lat. $19^{\circ} 40'$, and long. $29^{\circ} 40'$.

Returning to the Mangwa River, on the way back to Tati, he made a fruitless attempt to reach the Victoria Falls by a N.N.W. course, but had to turn back at Tonsunge, retracing his steps first to Mangwe then to Tati; from Tati he reached the Zambesi and the Falls by a route directly north. The district thus travelled is well known to African hunters, traders, and missionaries. It is the eastern belt of verdant country parallel to the central belt of desert, the Kalahari, across which Livingstone made his first memorable journey northwards.

The merits of Herr Mohr's book are that he is a keen and scientific observer, and was accompanied by Adolf Hübner, an accomplished geologist. He is, moreover, an eloquent writer; his descriptions of scenery, and natural phenomena, are full of poetic beauty and imaginative colouring. He is a keen sportsman and an experienced African traveller. In his route he frequently came in contact with Mr. Baines, our own well-known African explorer. His description of the Victoria Falls—the roar of which was heard at a distance of eight miles—is simple and impressive. He determined the lat. to be $17^{\circ} 59' 7''$ S., and the long. $26^{\circ} 82'$ E. The river, running from the N.N.W., a mile wide, falls over a ledge into a trough or ravine 400 feet deep and varying from 240 to 300 feet in width, then runs away to the east to the sea. At the western corner there is a projecting neck corresponding apparently to the old Tarapin Tower at Niagara, from which the spectator can look along the ravine of the cataract. Niagara must, in volume at least, yield the palm to this magnificent fall of the Zambesi; whether the view of the former up the river, with the American Fall on the left, is not more picturesque and impressive, we doubt. As an eloquent description by a keen and competent observer of a country but little known, Herr Mohr's book may be put among the most interesting and fascinating volumes of the fine Library of Travel which it is the distinctive honour of the publishers to have given to the world.

My Circular Notes. Extracts from Journals, Letters sent Home, Geological and other Notes, Written while Traveling Westwards Round the World, from July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875. By J. F. CAMPBELL. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The author of 'Frost and Fire' will easily be credited with all requisite scientific qualifications for intelligently prosecuting the journey of which he gives us a record. He seems, however, to have subjected his scientific tendencies to violent repression. Allusions and passing remarks of a geological and mineralogical character occur here and there; but his journal is otherwise exempt from them. He appends to it, however, a paper on 'The Period of Polar Glaciation,' which fills a hundred pages, and seems to have been composed and rewritten bit by bit during his entire journey. It is simply impossible to subject to criticism this odd, miscellaneous, and clever book. It consists of fragmentary observations, broken bits of characterisations, jots of imperfect thought about men, manners, and mountains, and everything else. The author does not sit down to tell us fully or seriously about anything; he takes passing sights and flying shots at things, infinitely amusing and suggestive to those who know the countries that occasion them, and scarcely less so to those who do not. The fun, however, is a little forced, the cynicism a little affected, and the mordant moods a little too self-conscious, just enough to prevent your surrendering yourself to the author. Mr. Campbell is a good-natured kind of Diogenes rolling round the world in his little tub. We must not touch his good things themselves; it would be like giving specimens of 'Punch.' Starting from Liverpool, Mr. Campbell landed at Boston, went to Niagara, Chicago, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Japan, and Java—about which he tells us a great deal—and Ceylon; coming home by Egypt and Marseilles, 'circumperiambulatorically,' as he would say. A more clever and amusing book, a more perfect specimen of a *laissez faire, sangfroid* Englishman—we beg pardon, he is a Campbell of Argyleshire—we have not recently met. We can add only that the letters and journals are accompanied with a great number of illustrations, some of them clever, some of them far otherwise, but in either case amusing; only too-continued a strain of cynical fun makes us ache just a little.

Bible Lands, their Modern Customs and Manners, Illustrative of Scripture. By HENRY J. VAN-LENNEP, D.D. With Maps and Woodcuts. John Murray.

Dr. Van-Lennep is an American missionary, who, a few years ago, published a book of Travels in Asia Minor, where a great many years of his life have been spent, of which we had to speak highly. He now puts forth this work of Biblical Illustrations, gathered from the physical features of Bible lands and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. In character his work is analagous to Dr. Thomson's 'Land and the Book,'

although inferior to that fascinating and popular work in literary grace, and possibly in scholarliness. Dr. Van-Lennep's book is more valuable for the materials brought together than for his critical use of them. He impresses us as being of uncritical mind, and certainly he is not abreast of the archaeological researches of his day. The results of the Palestine Exploration, to say nothing of Mr. George Smith's Assyrian discoveries, ought to have given a tone and judgment different from much that the book contains, *e.g.*, the dogmatic assertion of the old tradition that Noah's Ark rested on Ararat, in Armenia. Still, criticism has but a comparatively small function in the materials which Dr. Van-Lennep has brought together, and which for the most part are obvious in their relevancy and in the light which they throw upon the Bible narrative.

His method is to bring together and classify illustrations derived from specific things. His book is arranged in two great divisions. First, customs which have their origin in the physical features of Bible lands; and, next, customs which have a historical origin: *e.g.*, under the first head he has twelve chapters, each devoted to a specific topic, water, products of the soil, gardening, vineyards, fruit and forest trees, domestic animals, &c.; and under the second, chapters on ethnology, language, habitations, social life, government, &c. The scientific chapters of the work are the least satisfactory. Thus Dr. Van-Lennep has no other authority for his very inadequate and, as we think, mistaken statements about the Talmud than Prideaux. The entire work, however, is popularly written for popular uses; and the really valuable information which it gives commends it very strongly for such uses. The information is such as only long residence and accurate familiarity could supply. In this respect we can hardly commend the work too highly. We should add that its value is greatly enhanced by the maps and illustrations which are profusely scattered over its pages.

Sport in Abyssinia, on the Mareb and Tackazzee. By the
EARL OF MAYO. John Murray.

Books of sporting adventure become somewhat monotonous unless relieved by scientific or picturesque description, geographical information, or personal adventure. Lord Mayo was, through illness, deprived of the large game that he went to shoot. He killed one or two hippopotami in the Tackazzee, but was unable to secure one of them. His friend killed a lion and several buffaloes. Lord Mayo chronicles only small game, and we confess to getting tired of extracts from his diary recording only the death of partridges and antelopes. He was compelled by illness to return from the Tackazzee as soon as he reached it, and just when his chief sport should have commenced. His book is pleasantly written, and incidentally gives us some information about the country and people. We must suppose that the somewhat rough treatment of the Abyssinians which Lord Mayo records was necessary, and that his method of levying supplies, which has a close approximation to looting, is travellers' custom in the country. But it is not very pleasant to read of. We may commend his volume as containing pleasant gossip reading about a little known land.

Mandalay and Momien. A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel Edward Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne. By JOHN ANDERSON, M.D. With Maps and Illustrations. Macmillan and Co.

This volume has reached us too late for more than a brief notice. It is of especial interest, both on account of the commercial importance of the overland transit to Cina, and on account of the murder of Mr. Margary, one of the expedition of 1875. Dr. Anderson was attached as medical officer and naturalist to both expeditions. The principal part of the volume is devoted to the former. Starting from Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, it proceeded up the Irawaddy to Bhamo, and thence, in a north-east direction some hundred miles, across the Chinese frontier to Momien in Yunnan. The second expedition, which was larger and more fully equipped, pursued nearly the same route, but returned after proceeding about half way to Momien, owing to the murder of Mr. Margary at Manwyne and to an attack upon the rest of the party at Shitee Doung, the investigation into which is now proceeding. Mr. Margary was to have started from Hankow, on the Chinese side, to meet the mission further on. He travelled so vigorously, however, that he came the whole way and arrived at Bhamo before the mission started, being courteously treated at Manwyne, where he was afterwards murdered. He returned with Colonel Browne's party; went on before when near Manwyne, and was murdered there, which, with the attack upon the main body, led to the expedition being abandoned. Mr. Margary, however, won the distinction of having first traversed the entire route.

Dr. Anderson gives us a good deal of interesting and detailed information respecting the wild Kakhya mountain men, one of the most savage of the tribes through which transit will have to be made. Two things have to be done; first, the murder of Mr. Margary must be severely investigated, and retribution exacted; and the overland route for trade must be established,—which by wise and firm negotiations cannot be very difficult or long delayed. Meanwhile this volume gives us most timely and interesting information concerning the difficulties to be overcome.

POLITICS, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Essays on the External Policy of India. By the late J. W. S. WYLLIE, M.A., C.S.I., H.M. India Civil Service. Edited, with a Brief Life, by W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., H.M. India Civil Service. Smith Elder and Co.

These essays are the literary remains of an uncompleted public life of great promise. 'Those whom the gods love die young;' and in the case of John Wyllie, who, just before his death, said, 'I die in Christ,' those

who knew him may feel that they need not sorrow as those who have no hope. Cut off at the early age of thirty-four, he had yet made his mark in the Service, and the attention of the English public had been drawn to him. In the brief introductory memoir of Dr. Hunter we are enabled to see what sort of stuff this young Indian officer was made of, how much there was in his character that was good and noble, and how hard he worked at the post of duty. But it is not with the man, but with these reprinted essays—former contributions to reviews—with which we have to do. Some of them will be recognised as having excited more than a merely passing interest when they first appeared. This is particularly the case with the two contributions to the 'Fortnightly,' on 'Masterly Inactivity,' and 'Mischievous Activity;' although the editor frankly admits that the views expressed in the latter paper have not been justified by events, and would in all likelihood have been revised by Mr. Wyllie had he lived to the present time. The other essays are,—an elaborate article, first printed in the 'Edinburgh Review' of January 1867, on 'The Foreign Policy of Lord Lawrence;' an exhaustive paper published by the same periodical in April 1868, on 'Western China;' and two other contributions on questions of Indian policy of less wide scope and less general interest. It may be said of all of them that they present a large amount of information, which could have been obtained by research only by one placed in the circumstances in which Mr. Wyllie was. They are laborious and learned essays, which may be *caviare* to the general reader, but will be recognised, by all desirous of making Indian questions a subject of serious study, as worthy contributions to the elucidation of difficult and complicated questions of policy, by one who, in Indian matters, had the special knowledge of an expert.

The Devil's Chain. By EDWARD JENKINS, M.P., Author of 'Ginx's Baby,' &c. Strahan and Co.

Mr. Jenkins has taken a position which *art* might do a little to reconcile us to, but which it never could justify. He has written a *testotal* story of the most sensational type. We would not go so far as some critics, and say that a moral purpose cannot be proper to art. Deep convictions, if a man have them, will escape through the artistic forms he uses. The question is, how far they emerge into his artistic work without disturbing its proportions. Mr. Jenkins has neither studied proportion nor probability; and he here reveals himself to us as one on whom a very old evil has only recently impressed itself. If we give him credit for force in uttering a late conviction, we must deny him that susceptibility which would have brought the revelation sooner, and allowed time to moderate and to relieve it. The story errs against all rules of art. Mr. Jenkins does not pretend to show us the evil working alongside life which it does not touch; all in his story is touched by it; it is the Devil's chain, indeed, in his pages. But this is a form of error common to nearly all works of the class, and it is more pronounced in Mr. Jenkins's than in any we have seen. There are a proportion of the population of London

drunken, hopelessly drunken; but they are not the majority. The great enterprises of every day are not carried on by them, nor does the world depend upon them; in fact, it would be better without them. Drink does great evil—who denies it? The victims themselves confess it, good men mourn over it, and Mr. Jenkins writes a hysterical tale. If a certain form of self-sacrifice had accompanied the effort, its sincerity might have atoned a little for the lack of art. But we do not hear that Mr. Jenkins has yet begun to circulate the book gratuitously to the poor victims as they are entering public-house doors, or has faced the risk of repulse in button-holing and arguing with gentlemen to banish liquors from the Reform or the Garrick clubs. That is hardly too much to demand, practically, of a man who is so intent on present reform that he violates specifically the first law of art, by prefixing a preface in which he *points* his own moral, and writes: 'I charge distinctly that every man who, 'from a Home Secretary down to the lowest publican, encourages the 'increase of this (the liquor) traffic, and delays and hinders its decrease, 'assumes a share of the responsibility for such incidents.' This is not very elegant, but, like much else in the book, it is strong. Membership of any club, unless a teetotal club, would bring one under this lash; and many a pleasant and innocent partnership in life would be rudely broken—even for teetotalers—were it strictly acted out. We do not deny that Mr. Jenkins gives us passages of power, touches of pathos, and, now and then, a glimmer of humour; but 'The Devil's Chain' is hardly worthy of him as a bit of literature.

The Fine Arts and their Uses. Essays on the Essential Principles and Limits of the Expression of the Variable Arts, with Especial Reference to their Popular Influence.
By WILLIAM BELLARS. Smith Elder and Co.

These are pleasant essays, which have been carefully written and show thoughtfulness; but we do not fancy they will serve any better purpose than to supply interesting reading for a few leisure half-hours. The design of the author was, indeed, more comprehensive. In his preface, while admitting that much of what he has said had been said before by others, he adds that it is his object 'to put forward a simple but comprehensive 'scheme of æsthetics, which should be applicable to all art and available 'by any person.' This may raise expectations which will not be satisfied. Either of two things may be conveyed by these words: a scientific treatment of æsthetics, showing the psychological principles they employ and develop, and basing on them a philosophy of the beautiful; or a merely general indication of the ends of art, and of the spirit in which it ought to be cultivated. Mr. Bellars confines himself to the latter, and says many excellent things in an interesting manner; but we fail to discern that any fresh light is thereby cast upon art, or any principles illustrated which appear to be either original or profound. In Part I. we have the author's exposition of 'Principles;' but while he illustrates admirably his views regarding the provinces of imagination and feeling in relation to the

cultivation of the beautiful, and offers some interesting observations upon beauty and sublimity, we scarcely think his most indulgent critic will discover that he has added anything to what have almost come to be recognised as commonplaces on the subject. He has vindicated, in a common sense and simple way, the objective reality of beauty, while recognising its ideal elements; but he has not gone beyond that. In Part II. there is an application of the principles of Part I. to the various branches of art, beginning with the more simple and going on to the more complex—from dancing to poetry, which is the widest and most comprehensive expression of artistic feeling. And in conclusion the author enforces against hostile critics the great lesson, taught in so many ways by Mr. Ruskin, of the necessity of truth in art and the importance of cultivating a patiently recipient or waiting disposition. We re-echo every word of his conclusion when he says, 'It is in robust and manly thought, having some definite and healthy object, that we must seek for the true greatness of art. We must look for noble results from men who do not regard art as a mere chess-board for their own abilities, or waste their efforts upon sickly dreams or vague sentimentalities; but who perceive that there is a deeper faith, a wider charity, and a higher purity to which in this world we may yet aspire. It is not too much to hope that the time will one day come, when artists of all kinds will see that it is their duty so to let their light shine before men that, through their art, their Father which is in heaven may be glorified.' The book amplifies and illustrates the truth which these words express.

The Habitations of Man in All Ages. By EUGENE VIOLLET-LE-DUC. Translated by BENJAMIN BUCKNALL, Architect. With Numerous Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

M. Viollet-le-Duc is not only a great architect and antiquarian of exact and profound acquirements, he is a poet, steeped in fancy and imagination. Nothing that he has mastered—and he has mastered much—but he at once translates in his own mind into immediate human relation and application; and so, out of the remotest lore, he constructs a story, full of the most urgent practical lessons. His '*Histoire d'une Maison*,' translated under the somewhat prosaic and misleading title, '*How to Build a House*,' may well stand as a specimen of the true modern fairy-tale, illustrating how the benignant fairies, who in old time aided men by the furthering of their tasks in silence of night, still lie *perdu* in the laws of health and true domestic construction. And so we follow Monsieur Paul, the young experimentalist, and his cousin, the architect, through the various stages of that ideal *maison*, as interested as though we were involved in some sensational of Dumas *père*. It is the same in the '*Habitations of Man*;' we are led from the rudest efforts of early man to build himself a hut, through Chinese, Egyptian, Indian, Moorish, Gothic architecture, on to the very latest architectural developments. And all is done by means of story, in the lightest, most condensed, imaginative way. We watch the first tree-dwellers drawing the branches together

and endlessly fighting with the winds for a refuge; talk with the inmates of those strange, yet far from reasonless, lacustrine homes; laugh with the good fat Chinaman who has made a fortune, and then, retiring to ease, has brought on ill-health by the very excess of his comforts; but a serious lesson catches hold of us, and constrains us to gravity and reflection before we leave him. His case illustrates our own in these stirring times. M. Viollet-le-Duc shows himself on occasions master of a vein of quiet humour, and nowhere is it seen more suggestively than here. We cannot at present go into such full details as we should have wished; suffice it to say that nowhere has M. Viollet-le-Duc concentrated more varied knowledge, or illumined it more successfully by direct human interest and characteristic dialogue, than in this present work, which can be recommended to the general reader, as well as to ethnologists and others, as a specimen of a book which claims popularity without sacrificing science. The numerous little cuts, which are clear and expressive, add much to the interest.

Wild Flowers from the Holy Land. Fifty-four Plates Printed in Colours. Drawn and Painted after Nature. By MRS. HANNAH ZELLER, Nazareth. With a Preface by H. B. TRISTRAM, M.A., LL.D.; and an Introduction by EDWARD ATKINSON, Esq., F.L.S. James Nisbet and Co.

To many purchasers of gift-books this will be the most attractive volume of the year. While its artistic skill in delineation and its reproduction in engravings are of a very high order indeed, it has the charm of reverent and tender association, which, however numerous the books on Palestine, never seems to fail. Its drawings, too, have that exquisite simplicity and calm purity which only nature supplies. Mrs. Zeller has resided in Nazareth many years; Mr. Atkinson resided in the Holy Land for four years; while Canon Tristram has made its flora distinctively his own. Both the latter testify to the accuracy of Mrs. Zeller's drawings; and we have ourselves compared them with a *hortus sicus* of our own gathered from these 'Holy Fields.' Fifty-four species of the wayside flowers which, in spring-time, carpet so richly the slopes of Nazareth, the plain of Esdraelon, and the road to Hebron, are here faithfully delineated both in drawing and colour.

It is a book that all Bible-loving people will be glad to possess. While to travellers in the Holy Land it will be a souvenir full of tender interest.

Natural History of Selborne. By GILBERT WHITE. With Notes by FRANK BUCKLAND; a Chapter on Antiquities by Lord SELBORNE; and New Letters. Illustrated by P. H. DELAMOTTE. Macmillan and Co.

Gilbert White's charming letters have been published just a century, and for more than half that period have been admitted to an indisputable place as a classic. They may be surpassed as science advances, but

they will never be superseded. Not only is Gilbert White the father of English natural history, but in acuteness of observation and elegance of description he, as first, surpassed most of his successors. The letters have an imperishable charm. Their easy grace, their vivacious dignity, their quiet, rapid, business-like descriptions are a model for all describers, and charm the mere literary man as well as the man of science.

The edition before us might well claim to be a worthy centenary edition, in virtue of its exquisite illustrations and its bibliographical elegance; but Mr. Buckland, the editor, tell us that Professor Bell, who for thirty years has lived in Gilbert White's house at Selborne, intends publishing a classical edition of White, with the addition of large selections from his manuscripts.

Mr. Frank Buckland has added some 150 pages of illustrative notes. Mr. Buckland has considerable knowledge and vivacity; but his notes are somewhat discursive and garrulous. Clearly, in this respect, the mantle of Gilbert White has not fallen upon him. His notes, however, are amusing and instructive reading.

Lord Selborne adds to the 'Antiquities' an interesting chapter on the Roman-British antiquities of Selborne. We have nothing but praise for M. Delamotte's very beautiful illustrations. The book is an *édition de luxe*, a sumptuous volume for both library and drawing-room. In turning over its pages we linger lovingly over the rare charm of its descriptions and the artistic beauty of its illustrations.

Lessons from Nature, as Manifested in Mind and Matter.

By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., F.R.S. Murray.

In this work, which is, in the main, a reprint of various articles contributed by the author to the pages of the 'Contemporary,' 'Fortnightly,' 'Dublin,' and 'Quarterly' Reviews, a full and complete refutation is given of the so-called 'monistic' view of creation as held by Messrs. Darwin and Huxley. The separate and special genesis of man is maintained as a being wholly distinct, if not in bodily form, yet in self-consciousness, reason, language, and moral sense, from the highest of the brute creation. Professor Mivart does not deny the doctrine of 'evolution.' He concedes that changes of form are produced in organic bodies by the long-continued influences of nature in throwing off varieties, some of which become fixed as species, while older forms have passed out of existence and become known to us only by geological research. What he does deny is that 'natural selection' will alone account for the vast differences that exist between types or groups of organic beings. Thus, we can understand that a hundred species of fir, or willow, or palm, may have descended from the same stock severally, though each species appears to us now to undergo no marked visible change; but we cannot understand how a willow can ever have come from a fir, or a fir from a willow; and it is wholly contrary to experience that either event should take place. Both of these archetypal forms, therefore, would seem to have been created by 'special genesis.' So with man and his apparent

congener the ape. Like as they are externally,—‘*Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!*’ as Ennius said long enough ago,—much more like, in truth, than a willow is like a fir,—they cannot have a common ancestry, because the highest of the apes show not a particle of that reason, that self-consciousness, or that sense of moral responsibility which are the exclusive prerogatives of men. Mr. Mivart stretches his position so far as to aver (p. 295) that ‘man differs more from an ape than does an ape from inorganic matter.’

The supporters of the ‘evolution theory,’ as sufficient to account for the fact of man’s existence, reply to these difficulties, which Mr. Mivart holds to be quite insuperable, that we cannot estimate (1) what number of intermediate forms in any series may have been wholly lost; (2) the amount of time, perhaps millions of years, since the first organisms or created forms existed on this earth; (3) the full force of external circumstances in inducing and fixing change of type, *e.g.*, changes of food, climate, temperature, sexual preferences, &c. They contend, not that man comes from an ape, nor that an ape is a degraded form of man, but only that both may have had, in times immensely remote, a common ancestry. They point to the degraded races who in those ages made rude stone implements,—to the grovelling wretches who dwelt in dark caves, which they shared with the wild beasts; who left no monuments of art, had no writing, possibly no language comparable to any that now exists; they urge the low morality, or rather the utter absence of it, still to be seen in the lowest savages; they insist on the low intellectual powers, the savage cruelty, the brutal passions, and the degrading superstitions that still prevail. And they argue that, although *potentially* man may have, and undoubtedly has, a power of development in respect of mental faculties which no other animals possess, this fact is not of itself a sufficient ground for insisting on his separate and exclusive origin. Proof being wanting on either side, and being, moreover, impossible to obtain (in the scientific sense), they appeal to the balance of probability between miraculous creation and some fixed law of progression. ‘Development,’ they think, is, on the whole, a more probable cause of man’s present *status* on earth, and a more reasonable theory to account even for his high moral and mental powers, than the doctrine, unsupported as it is by all human experience, of special creation.

It is to meet these views (which, if unsound and untrue, are not without some plausibility) that Professor Mivart addresses himself. His work is essentially polemic; and in dealing with such antagonists as Mr. Herbert Spencer and the school of the ‘Agnostics,’ who, with Hume, maintain that it is impossible that man can know anything whatever about God, or even be assured of His existence, he is obliged to grapple with metaphysical arguments of the most subtle kind, some of them, probably, much beyond the reach of ordinary readers. In two very interesting chapters, vi. and vii., entitled ‘Man’ and the ‘Brute,’ the author endeavours to show that the highest forms of instinct, and even intelligence or sagacity, in the brute creation, make no approach whatever to the reasoning powers of man. These are faculties, he maintains, alto-

gether different in kind. Man, he contends, has, together with reason, free will to use and to be guided by it; hence he has responsibility, conscience, a perception (however obscured) of morality. To the theory that even conscience and morality are only *habits* of mind resulting from a long course of action in all cases tending to self-preservation, and therefore for the best, he opposes (in chapter v., 'Duty and Pleasure') the view that the notions of 'right' and 'useful' (duty and expediency) are so fundamentally different, that the one could never have sprung alone, and without the agency of some higher faculty, from the other. No animal, he contends, has any sense of *duty*, even in the form of sympathy for its own kind, or what we call 'duty to our neighbour.' Man alone has the power of forming moral judgments, and of acting on them. Of course, it is a difficulty in the doctrine of an inherent and inalienable conscience, that moral judgments may so readily be perverted, as when a man comes to think that murder is a duty in revenge, or when a cannibal joins in a feast on the flesh of his slain enemy. Professor Mivart answers (p. 108) that this perversion by no means disproves the *existence* of moral intuition. It must, however, be conceded, that in the lowest types of man 'conscience' has practically no influence at all. It is, for any real guidance on the path of duty, a power that acts only on the higher races of man, to whom Religion and Responsibility are intelligible ideas.

In his concluding chapters (xiii., 'Consequences,' and xiv., 'A Post-script') Mr. Mivart solemnly and eloquently warns his readers that to deny the existence of a First Cause, and to lapse into mere materialism, is to deny all morality, all distinction of right from wrong, to leave no duty to be performed, no hope of an hereafter to animate us. With the negation of free will and moral responsibility follows the uselessness and even the falsity of all religion. Man can have no destiny but extinction; and thus he denounces the 'Agnostic' views as the most dreary of all speculations that can engage the attention of the inquirer after truth.

Nature and the Bible. A Course of Lectures Delivered in New York, in December 1874, on the Morse Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of M'Gill University, author of 'Archæia,' 'Canadian Geology,' &c. Sampson Low and Co.

Dr. Dawson is favourably known as a writer who has done good service in the reconciliation of science and religion. If it were not for the perverse attempts of certain would-be scientists, who, with all their prate of Positivism, are nothing else than cosmogonists out of their own fancy, there would be no need for reconciliations. As it is, they are still called for, and seeing that the contradictions and oppositions spring on the side of science, it is desirable that the reconciliation should come from the same quarter. When religionists prepare a *concordat*, or as it is

called in Italy a *modus vivendi*, it is flung at them that they are instigated by fear. This reproach they do not deserve; still, as the attacking party are generally the scientists, it is better far that they should be met on their own ground by men who cannot be said to have any professional interest in the vindication of theological truth. Dr. Dawson describes himself as able to sympathise alike with those scientific students who are repelled from the Scriptures by current misapprehensions as to their teachings, and with those Christians who regard the advances of science with some dread as possibly hostile to religion; and he will be thankful if he can, to any extent, guide either to a better position in relation to the word and works of God and to a better use of both with regard to their own higher welfare.

Dr. Dawson's opening remarks on this subject are judicious and to the point. Quoting Mr. Martineau, who observes 'that science discloses the 'method' of the world, but not its cause; religion its cause, but not its 'method,' he shows that this is true under certain qualifications. For, on the one hand, science, through its ideas of unity and correlation of forces, and the evidence of design in organic structures, does point not obscurely to a first cause, and that religion as contained in Holy Scripture does affirm method in nature. It is impossible, therefore, to do as the late Baden Powell affirmed we should do, though he wholly failed to satisfy either party—viz., to put religion and science so far apart that their orbits should never intersect. This is impossible. A revelation from God, though its subject matter concerns man only, and man in his moral and spiritual relationships to his Maker exclusively, must touch on the subject of creation. We cannot warn off the inspired narrator from the region of creation with the remark, 'This is cosmogony, and cosmogony 'has nothing to say to revealed religion.' On the other hand, men of science will never listen to the statement that anthropology is a department reserved for sacred studies. Men reason upward from the *quadrumania* to the *bimana*, and no entreaty to consider the dignity of man, much less the sacredness of the religious interests at stake, will deter them from it. This being so, it is as well to face the facts and to prepare for them. Lectures accordingly like these of Dr. Dawson, delivered last winter at the Morse Theological Foundation in New York, meet a recognised want, and furnish us with the very argument which we want to meet the enemy in the gate. The presumptions against the credibility of a revelation from God are enormous in certain minds, and its irreconcilability with science is assumed in a hundred quarters. That which is wanted is not so much vindications of the truth and the credibility of the Bible—we have had enough of these from the theological standpoints—as restatements of what its subject-matter is and the points where its orbit intersects that of the man of science. It is at these points of intersection that we look out for a competent guide, and we are ready to admit that Dr. Dawson is such. We do not know where we have met with a more ingenious train of reasoning, or one which so thoroughly meets the sceptic on his own ground and demolishes his argument out of his own mouth. For instance, he assumes that Dr. Tyndall would join

with Elijah in ridiculing the priests of Baal for praying to the sun as to a god. The man of religion is here at one with the man of science in regarding the sun as only a force in the hands of a power higher than itself. But Dr. Tyndall would retort, 'Is it not as useless to pray for the rain;' to which Elijah would reply, 'True, it is useless to pray to the sun, for he is the slave of inexorable law: but as you do not deny that there may be a God who enacted the law, and as this God, being everywhere, can have access to the spirits of man, it may be quite possible for God so to correlate the myriad adjustments which determine whether the rain shall fall in any particular place, at any particular time, that the fact shall coincide with His spiritual relations to His people.' This theory of coincidence between pre-established laws and particular needs is ingenious, but not satisfactory. We doubt if Elijah would have prayed earnestly and effectually with such a perhaps or perchance as this. But a better explanation is the one which he gives a little further on—that it is by prayer we get access to the mind that makes and rules all things, and there learn His will, and what we may and what we may not pray for. In other words, we never pray aright till we first have learned what it is to pray amiss, as we hit the bull's-eye of the target only by first striking wild shots at the outer rings. This is a book, we may say in conclusion, written in such an excellent spirit, and dealing at least with one department of science—the palæontological proof of the antiquity of the world and of successive stages corresponding to the days of creation—so effectively, that we have no hesitation in saying it is the most satisfactory book on the subject which we have seen since Hugh Miller's attempts in the same line.

Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World. By DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., &c., Professor of History and English Literature in University College, Toronto. Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged. With Illustrations. Two Vols. Macmillan and Co.

The interest excited by Professor Wilson's 'prehistoric' researches is proved by the appearance of this third edition of his valuable work on 'Prehistoric Man,' which was published in 1862, and of which a second edition was called for in 1865. The more immediate field of inquiry over which the author ranges includes the position of the representatives of the human race in America in the years long previous to the time when, by being brought into contact with the influences of the civilisation of the Old World, they were taken up into the stream of history and the New World, blending with the Old, became one of the pioneers of the future progress of man. During the silent centuries in which they were thus isolated they had a history of their own; for it is found that the primeval peoples of the New World must have pursued in many respects a course analogous to that which, by slow degrees, produced the civilisation of Europe. 'The recognition of this,' says Dr. Wilson, 'is not only of value

'as an aid to the realisation of the necessary conditions through which man passed in reaching the stage at which he is found at the dawn of history; but it seems to point to the significant conclusion that civilisation is the development of capacities inherent in man.' It is unnecessary for us to dwell upon the merits of a work which has won for itself the general recognition accorded to Dr. Wilson's '*Prehistoric Man*.' The present edition brings the subject treated of by the author abreast of the most recent discoveries in archaeological science and research. With it has been incorporated the knowledge obtained of the arts and of the physical characteristics of man in Europe in recent years; and, accordingly, while much of the original work has been rewritten, several chapters have been replaced by new matter while others have been condensed, or recast with considerable modifications and a re-arrangement of the whole. There are a number of new engravings—the seventy-one of the first edition having been increased to one hundred and thirty-four in the one before us. The work has been got up in Messrs. Macmillan's best style.

Diseases of Modern Life. By BENJAMIN W. RICHARDSON, M.D., M.A., F.R.S., &c. Macmillan and Co.

Though much that is contained in this volume has already appeared in print, Dr Richardson has done a good service in bringing together the fruits of his experience in a collective form. The book is written for the public, not for the medical profession, and deals with the subject from the preventive, not the curative, point of view. The author writes as a sanitary reformer rather than as a doctor, a sphere of labour in which he has already earned a well-deserved reputation.

It may seem to some readers that he has drawn a picture little calculated to administer comfort, and that no course of life can be chosen which is not, in his estimation, bristling with dangers. Some parts of his subject may indeed be overdrawn, but in preaching reform this is almost a necessity. Doubtless in his experience he has so often heard the usages of society, the present mode of living, the engrossing nature of one's profession or business, regretted, but at the same time regarded as unalterable, that he feels strongly called to point out what these are working in the life of the nation. Accordingly, both mental and physical strain come in for a good share of attention; and he also has much to say against the indulgence in alcohol, tobacco, and other narcotics, which is well worthy of serious study. A brief summary of practical suggestions will be found at the close of the volume.

First Book of Zoology. By EDWARD S. MORSE, Ph.D., late Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology in Bowdoin College. Henry S. King and Co.

The principle adopted by the author of this handbook is to send his pupils out to the fields, the ponds, the sea coast, &c., and set them collecting; and having thus secured for themselves illustrations for their lesson, he proceeds to tell them what they are specially to observe. His

descriptions are very elementary, mainly dealing with habits and external features, so that the learner cannot certainly complain of being overburdened with minute details. Neither can he of hard words, for the author has studiously avoided using the scientific names of the creatures he describes. In many cases he gives no names whatever, not even to those he has figured; and in others only American local names, utterly meaningless to English readers. As this is an English edition, all such anomalies should have been carefully expunged; and many pages might also have been saved where insects only to be found in certain parts of the United States are treated of. The statement that insects 'are also 'called hexapods, a word meaning six legs,' will, we fear, shock the nerves of the most elementary Greek scholar.

Animal Parasites and Messmates. By P. J. VAN BENEDEN, Professor at the University of Louvain; Correspondent of the Institute of France. Henry S. King and Co.

It might very reasonably be imagined that a book on such a subject would be uninteresting, if not repulsive; but Professor van Beneden is such a master of his subject, and has such a lively way of expressing himself, that his book is, on the contrary, a very pleasant study. It has all the gaiety characteristic of our friends across the Channel, while at the same time it indicates that great range of research which is also so frequently to be met with among Continental naturalists.

He takes the messmates first. These he distinguishes from parasites, as living together on a good understanding and without injury to those on which they have established themselves. They are especially common amongst the inhabitants of the sea, from the most elementary sponges and ascidians up to the great cetaceans. Some are free to come and go, while others become permanently fixed. Then there comes an intermediate class, which he terms 'mutualists,' liable to be confounded with the messmates on the one hand, and with the parasites on the other; but which he thinks deserving of a separate place, as they render each other mutual services, or have sympathetic bonds which always draw them together. The third and greatest division is the one best known, the one (according to Van Beneden's definition) whose profession it is to live at the expense of his neighbour, and whose only employment consists in taking advantage of him, but prudently so as not to endanger his life. He is one who practises the precept—not to kill the fowl in order to get the eggs. This division includes many creatures of a very disagreeable character, from which the domestic animals, and even man, are not free, but upon which we will not enlarge. The book is full of exact and valuable information.

A Short History of Natural Science and of the Progress of Discovery from the Time of the Greeks to the Present Day. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. John Murray.

Written in a very pleasant style, this book presents to the reader a fair sketch of the progress of discovery, more particularly in the physical

sciences. It is professedly designed for schools and young persons, and is calculated to achieve the purpose intended of giving beginners a taste for the systematic study of modern sciences. More advanced students will find it a convenient book of reference, dates being giving throughout; and the bearing of earlier discoveries upon later ones, even when separated by long intervals, being carefully pointed out.

The subject, however, is one too wide for a single volume, and in looking through it we cannot help regretting that Miss Duckley has been obliged to pass over entirely the obsurer portions of her subject, but which, just because they are so, all the more need investigation. Of the nations of antiquity none are mentioned but the Greeks; the Arabs have the monopoly of the dark ages; and from Roger Bacon's time onwards the Western nations have exclusive attention. The two earlier divisions deserved more extended notice, and the philosophers of the far East ought not to have been disposed of with a mere passing reference in the introduction.

Evolution of the Human Race from Apes and of Apes from Lower Animals a Doctrine Unsanctioned by Science. By T. WHARTON JONES, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., &c. Smith Elder and Co.

The naturalists whose teaching is here denounced might not unreasonably object to the title of these lectures as raising a false issue. They might perhaps, with still more reason, object to the way in which the subject is handled. The author's criticisms are not characterised by that calmness and logical precision which are to be expected in discussing philosophical questions. There may be a good deal in Mr. Darwin's writings, and still more in Professor Haeckel's, which will not stand the test of further investigation; but it is certainly not fair to our countryman (who spent twenty years in study and experiment before publishing his results) to say that 'the doctrine of evolution rests mainly on conceit and assumption,' nor from the critic's standpoint is it good policy to raise a sneer at the very cautious and guarded way in which Mr. Darwin frequently expresses himself.

The Slavonic Provinces South of the Danube. A Sketch of their History and Present State in Relation to the Ottoman Porte. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, Q.C., &c. (John Murray.) Mr. Forsyth, by his previous works, has won for himself so excellent a literary reputation that we think it is a pity he should endanger it by writing books to order. The volume before us is a compilation, from other sources than its author's knowledge and experience, of information about the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which are at present the centre of general interest. That it should be a creditable piece of literary workmanship, *va sans dire*; but we fail to see why Mr. Forsyth should have written, it any more than scores, we may say hundreds, of other *Mémoires*. We can understand why a publisher should be anxious to

secure a well-known name for the title-page of a book on questions of the day; but we cannot comprehend why the Member for Marylebone should make himself a publishers' hack. There is really nothing in the facts of these pages which might not be found in the daily newspapers and very ordinary books of reference; and the conclusions are the stale views of Mr. Lewis Farley, *et hoc genus omnia*, which, in turn, were a *réchauffée* from other writers. This sort of thing is not work for a man like Mr. Fursyth, and we regret to see him engaging in it. — *Shadows of Coming Events: or, the Eastern Menace*. By Lieutenant-Colonel ARTHUR CORY, Bengal Staff Corps. (Henry S. King and Co.) We regret that we cannot congratulate Colonel Cory on his little volume. It is not merely alarmist in character, it is also weak in argument and feeble in style. 'The Eastern Menace,' which throws upon England the 'shadows of coming events,' is found in the attitude of Russia towards India—the Muscovite advance through Central Asia contemporaneously with the hopeless decay of the Turkish Empire. This is no new line, and we cannot say that the writer in the present case adds any force to the old arguments by new facts or fresh illustrations. The scope of his design is ample enough: for he begins by trying to prove the necessity of war in the nature of things; he lectures the British people upon their loss of the virtues of their forefathers; paints a deplorable picture of our military inefficiency and unpreparedness; and hugs the conclusion with a kind of fierce satisfaction that it is all over with the British Empire whenever the day of serious trial comes. We venture to question the conclusion, because we deny the premises. The only conclusion the book has led us to is, that it is a pity, for its author's sake, that he ever obtained a publisher for it. — *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the Civilised World*. Handbook for Politicians and Merchants for the year 1876. By FREDERICK MARTIN. Thirteenth Annual Publication. Revised after Official Returns. (Macmillan and Co.) The completeness and accuracy of Mr. Martin's annual compilation have made it as indispensable in the library of public men—whether statesmen, magistrates, municipal officers, or merchants—as a business directory: no item of statistical knowledge that anybody is likely to want for ordinary uses of debate or of life is apparently omitted here—everything connected with the condition of the world that can be represented by figures is here—the study of it is almost an education. — *The Year-Book of Facts in Science and the Arts for 1875*. Edited by CHARLES W. VINCENT. (Ward, Lock, and Tyler.) The accelerated speed of scientific discovery, and the multiplication of scientific publications, make a synopsis like this as necessary as a guide-book to a museum. Mr. Vincent has collected and classified the scientific information of the year, and in brief laud paragraphs has given us statements of each thing that has been done—necessary processes are excluded, and only accomplished facts recorded. The little volume will be very handy for scientific men themselves; while to the general public it will be a boon of valuable information and interesting reading.

POETRY, FICTION, AND BELLES LETTRES.

Erechtheus: a Tragedy. By ALGERNON C. SWINBURNE. Chatto and Windus.

We can hardly make up our minds whether or not to consider it a misfortune that we read many reviews of this work before we read the work itself. These led us, in spite of stray doubts suggested by the extracts given, to expect a tragedy conceived thoroughly in the Greek spirit, wrought out with admirable restraint and repose,—severe, simple, stately, moving with grave unconscious sweetness from opening to close. The theme is one of the finest in the region of the Greek drama. How the daughters of King Erechtheus were offered up, or, at least, sacrificed, for their country,—one carried off by the North Wind, and another slain, self-devoted, to appease the wrath of the Sea God and to secure victory over the Thracian hosts,—gives just enough of rootage in domestic sentiment to relieve the terrible stress of outward events, as Erechtheus strives to build that altar to Athene, to which he has become pledged, and is slain, contending with the armies of Eumolpus. The first half of the tragedy closes round the martyrhood of Chthonia; the second exhibits its results. Erechtheus, a true king, as Praxithea is a true queen and mother, is introduced to us burdened with the deliverance of the oracle demanding sacrifice of the maiden for the maiden city, and choruses, so far as spirit is concerned, are most skilfully used to heighten the effect of the dialogue between king and queen, which is certainly striking. But Mr. Swinburne will not be simple, and into his most powerful passages he throws the most artificial lines and clauses, sadly destroying grace and harmony. This is almost demonstrable, being something more than mere opinion. Another point is that Mr. Swinburne has carried with him throughout a certain undercurrent of *idea*, which communicates itself even to individual metaphors, often repeated, imparting to them a most artificial and modern air; never describing the meeting of the contending forces, for example, without dragging in the image of the waves sucking-in the land,—Eumolpus, son of the Sea God, Poseidon, and Erechtheus, son of the Earth, contending, of course. So, between his own natural tendency, truly pronounced enough, and this conscious and intentional artifice, in all the great and testing speeches he falls, we are very sorry to say, into over-fluent, often involved, utterly modern passages, and sometimes, we cannot help thinking, into almost meaningless rhetoric. We know that this is a strong statement to make in face of such a reputation as Mr. Swinburne has won, and such a concensus of opinion in favour of this drama as a fine classic reproduction; and we regret that our space at present will not allow us to set forth, in a broad and comprehensive way, as we should have liked,—honestly quoting at length and liberally,—the grounds for our judgment. We must content ourselves with a few small criticisms, more on the form than on the spirit of the work; but the citations, we think, any really candid mind will admit, exhibit such lack of simplicity, such incorrectness, and occasional slipshod, as may well be urged as a ground to qualify a little such criticism as only a truly

classic work should ever call forth. First of all, then, we have found certain words uniformly recurrent and determining other words. The most conspicuous of these are 'crown,' 'crowned,' 'womb,' 'bed,' 'body,' 'blood,' 'sheer,' 'seed,' 'root,'—running into suggestions of such compounds as tongue-root, heart-root (!), and so on,—'virgin,' 'virginal,' and many more.

'O thou not born of the womb, nor bred

In the bride night's warmth of a *changed god's* bed!

cannot be said to be either clear or delicate.

'Born of the *womb* that was born for the *tomb* of the day'

is certainly not elegant, including a horrible rhyme within the line, and a present-day colloquialism—'of the day.'

'Take note of all the writing of my face'

is not even correct.

'Nor happier the *bed* of her sister,

Though Love's self laid her *abed*,'

reminds us forcibly of a rhyme in a popular book which we shall not vex Mr. Swinburne by naming here.

'Oversubtle in doubts, overdaring

In *deeds* and *devices* of guile,

And strong to quench as to quicken,

O Love, have we named thee well?'

is ruined by over-alliteration, clearly conscious and intentional, such as the poem is full of. One passage, otherwise fine in intention, begins thus:

'But enough now of griefs,'

which is, to say the least of it, weak, its real sense being fully seen only when the reader reaches the third line after. The god Cephissus is

'A *living* well of life, nor stanchèd nor stained.'

Surely we have here both pleonasm and mixed metaphor; for how could a well, even a 'living well of life,' be stanchèd or stained? This, too, is aptly original:

'Where lying it lights the heart up of the hill

A *well* of bright, strange brine.'

'Chance and change of years,' and 'chance and charge of spears,' we should expect and forgive in Mr. Swinburne's prose, but they are not elegant when they come in 'Erechtheus.'

'Thieves keen to pluck the bloody *fruits* of spoil

From the grey *fruitless* waters'

seems simply a contradiction in terms, when laid to the line of severe analysis, unless very poor play on words is to be allowed. We have the same objection to this line, which occurs, with some kindred ones, in what would have been a truly grand piece if wisely condensed:

'The master that lightens not hearts he *enlightens*,' &c.

'And her knees *beneath* her were loosened'

does not improve a fine Scripture phrase; and, besides, is it correct to speak of knees *beneath* one?

"And her blood fast bound, as a frost-bound water," does not sound very euphonic or simple. A flowing couplet follows but it has one grave fault:

'As the wild god *rapt* her from earth's breast lifted
On the *strength* of the *stream* of his dark breath drifted.'

Perhaps 'streams of breath' may be as correct as currents of air in Mr. Swinburne's view.

We literally do not understand

'Thy shaft would feathered flies yet far of me.'

Nor this:

'For the days and nights
Given of thy bare brief dark *dividual* life
Shall she give thee half all her age-long own.'

Nor can we exactly understand this eloquent passage, though that, unfortunately, *may* be our fault:

'With what blossomless foliage of sea-foam and
blood-coloured
foliage inwound.'

We do not like to tell how often the phrase 'breached' or 'unbreached of' 'warring waters' is used; but surely Praxithea might have spoken in clearer grammar than this:

'Man, what thy mother bare thee born to say
Speak!'

This is powerful, but hardly bears exact analysis:

'In fierce recoil
Drew seaward, on with one wide wail of waves
Rescued with relictation (!). Such a groan
Rose from the *fluctuant* reflux of its ranks
Sucked sullen back, and strengthened.'

Which is so pleonastic and wordy, that we really cannot regard it as anything but a kind of fine writing of which we had deemed Mr. Swinburne incapable, at all events, under the restraints of verse and the severe ideal of Greek tragedy.

Bits and bridles, again, do not usually fasten lips, else it would be a horror of cruelty beyond even the hearing-rain; but Mr. Swinburne makes his Greeks say so, in the line,—

'Fasten lips with bit and bridle.'

Elsewhere he puts the bridle to a yet stranger use; for we had fancied that even Greek bridles had, in days so far back, been the cause of foam, and not the constrainers of it; but Mr. Swinburne's chorus—one of the finest, too,—makes

'The foam of their mouths *find* a bridle,'

and with a few other peccant lines perilously near, makes us deeply wish them absent. Who of the purists will defend.

'One great, sheer, sole, thousand-throated cry'?

or who will redescribe for us truly that other cry, which 'tore its way 'like a trumpet' (horrible literalism, if it were not an *animated* trumpet! but it is the bray and not the trumpet that is meant); and 'sheer shafia 'of lightning,' like 'sheer death,' will stick to the memory uncomfortably like burns.

But we cannot half, or even a quarter, exhaust our list here. Mr. Swinburne has certainly imagination, and he as certainly has 'swing;' but he does not always show either correctness or good taste.

What can be said for this, and for Mr. Swinburne's defiance of commas as seen in it? We fancied at first it was defaced by printer's neglect, but a reference to the second edition shows that Mr. Swinburne means to have it so:

'The fruitful immortal anointed adored
Dear city of men without master or lord,
Fair fortress and foetress of sons born free.'

We might have said something of Mr. Swinburne's excessive use of the redundant syllable had not other points claimed precedence. Let not our readers fancy, however, that this position of small fault, finding, into which wide-spread, almost servile, eulogy has driven us, blinds us to the unmistakable power and beauty of many passages in Mr. Swinburne's tragedy. He troubles us sometimes by over forty lines at a stretch without full stop, and a half-dozen often without a comma; but, in spite of that, we have marked many pieces as beautiful. The closing speech of Athena, though in one sense hardly *justified*, is masterly, and so would be the last words of Praxitheia, had they not been somewhat weakened by the word 'crown,' which Mr. Swinburne will so misuse. Read:

'And fulfil
The whole world's crowning city crowned with thee
As the sun's eye fulfils and crowns with sight
The circling crown of heaven.'

But Ersechtheus had shown the example in the very opening, and it is only dramatic to exaggerate the thing in her, womanlike. He said:

"Lo, I stand
Here on this brow's crown of the city's head
That crowns its lovely body."

The only thing that could be said for this is, that it is a poor imitation of certain Greek forms; but it results in artificial and unsimple English.

We should not forget to mention the "Messenger's" speech at p. 77, which shows what Mr. Swinburne could do if he but chose to relieve himself from that Poseidon of swelling, in-rushing waves of words and metaphors which threaten to destroy him, unless he, like another Ersechtheus, Son of Earth, listens to the oracle, and sacrifices his own children in his country's cause. Let him believe that even the North Wind of true criticism will not blight at last, but only beautify and prove benignantly friendly to him in the end. This tragedy might even yet be made a great work if he would condense and prune and have no pity for the fine things that are most Swinburnian.

The Epic of Hades. By a New Writer. H. S. King and Co.

Some sections of this poem were published in the third series of 'Songs of Two Worlds;' and we then spoke of them with high favour. Now that we have them put together as a whole, we find our good opinion more than confirmed, and can say that we have not only read, but carefully re-read those sections which were new to us. The full effect of some of the most exquisite touches, it is evident, was lost through the lack of complete presentation of the pervading dramatic *intent*. The greater spirits of the old Greek world, translated to themselves in Hades, are here revealed; the poet finding fine justification for occasionally throwing across their musings the brighter lights of later life and thought. In one case—and it is a very striking one—we have a dim reference, grandly conceived, to the passing of our Saviour Himself through Hades, than which we could not well conceive anything more original, and yet more truly conceived. Elsewhere we have criticised Mr. Swinburne for the importation of purely modern touches and conceptions of things into a drama conceived after the true Greek model; here we have utter faithfulness in finding sufficient justification and fitting medium for such refinements, a point in which the art of the author is well seen. The blank verse is stately, yet sweet, free, graceful, and never undignified. We do not mean to say that there are not individual lines with which fault might be found, but they are not many. The 'Confessions of Andromeda,' 'Helen of Troy,' 'Medusa,' 'Aetæon,' and 'Narcissus,' have especially pleased us; and we could well have wished that space had permitted us to make extracts. Our purpose, however, will have been all the better served if this self-denial on our part shall send our readers to the poem itself. We confidently believe that they will agree with us in regarding it as one of the finest and most suggestive poems recently published, and will join us cordially in congratulations that the author has not held by that dim intimation in his third series of an intention to write, or, at least, to publish, no more verse. We trust to have, ere long, more poetic work from his hand.

Original Plays. By W. S. GILBERT. Chatto and Windus.

It is saying much when we say that Mr. Gilbert, with most unpoetical subjects, has been able to be often truly poetical. The artificial conception of life and love, and the needful complication and reduction of motive, under the demand of a theatre-going fashionable public of our day, which Mr. Gilbert aims at setting forth, stand at the very antipodes of the tragic and truly poetical conception of the drama. With delicate nicety, with graceful fancy, Mr. Gilbert controls his wholly prosaic world, surrounding it now with a flowery screen, and again showing rainbows encircling it. Alas! it is but a poor commonplace world after all—a thing of the stage, stagey. To be true, he must first be false. He must treat all those high impulses of human nature which have fed poem, and story, and tragedy with beauty, and often made commonest circumstances sublime, as though they did not exist; and he must obtain relief by a conscious parody of them. In that wonderfully graceful and

finished piece of work, 'Selène,' the poet, after having, in one of his finest pieces of composition, enlisted our sentiment by a very fine description of love, immediately proceeds to work out, by the most positive demonstration possible to him, that the sentiment of true love is a mere make-believe, and that, to the full enjoyment of it, an illicit element must be introduced. It is at bottom the same in 'Pygmalion,' where the ingenuity of uniting a semi-classical symbolism with modern life is very remarkable; the same in 'The Wicked World,' the same in 'The Palace 'of Truth,' in the course of which not a little now and then reminds us of points in the quaint little symbolic stories Mr. Gilbert's gifted father has written,—and we cannot help sometimes looking on Mr. Gilbert as a poet of deep and true vision sacrificed to the audience he courts and covets. Such mere extravaganzas as 'Trial by Jury,' full of indifferent puns, and the burlesque of 'The Princess,' should hardly have been published; for, though the stage with its accessories may have helped them, they are really poor as literary performances compared with the others, and the cold page 'betrays them.' Ever and anon we come on bits of dialogue and speeches that pass into true poetry, making us more and more regret that Mr. Gilbert, by a little self-denial, has not found a higher sphere for the exercise of his poetic gifts.

The Poetical Works of Ray Palmer. Complete Edition.
Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Ray Palmer's poetical genius was not exhausted by his tender and beautiful hymn, 'My faith looks up to Thee,' but his poetical reputation was made by it. It rapidly took possession of the religious sentiment of devout hearts; it was an expression fit and satisfying, not for any special mood of the Christian soul, but for that general and fundamental trust and rest in Christ which underlies all moods, and with almost unprecedented rapidity it spread over America and Great Britain. Its insertion in the new Congregational Hymn Book, twenty years ago, did much to make it familiar here. Indeed, scarcely any hymnal compiled since its production has omitted it. It furnishes just that combination of tender and intense individuality, and of common experience and sympathy, which are essential in a hymn for public worship. Closely allied in sentiment to 'When I survey the wondrous Cross,' 'Jesus, refuge of my soul,' and 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me,' it is perhaps in English hymnology inferior only to these. It has not their easy, terse, and suggestive fulness, nor their intuitive, almost inspired, poetical strength, *spirituelle*, and finish; but it leaves little to be desired in the feeling which the use of it produces and expresses. It is significant that all these great hymns have the redeeming work of our Lord as their inspiration. The greatest theme is necessary for the greatest achievement—and this touches human hearts as no other does.

The volume includes several other hymns, by Mr. Palmer, of great excellence; they are carefully finished, and in expression are devout and full. Among them is a 'Rock of Ages,' evidently inspired by Toplady's

hymn, but far less condensed and weighty. Several of them, however, merit, and have attained, sanctuary use. Among the translations we are disposed to give that of Bernard's great hymn, 'Jesu, dulce cordium,' beginning, 'Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts,' rank with the very first; it is simply perfect, and inferior in holy inspiration, especially for use at the Lord's table, to no hymn we know. Very beautiful, too, is the hymn, 'Oh, bread to pilgrims given,' a translation from a hymn attributed to Aquinas; still more so, 'I give my heart to Thee.' The translation of King Robert's 'Veni, Sancte Spiritus,' is also very fine. Mr. Palmer has unquestionably taken the first place among the hymn-writers of the New Continent.

Of the longer poems we cannot speak. One of them, 'Home; or, the 'Unlost Paradise,' extending to some two thousand lines, a delineation of home as Christianity makes it, is full of poetical merit, as well as of very beautiful sentiment. Dr. Palmer is a genuine lyrical poet, not unworthy by his refinement of feeling, beauty of conception, and artistic skill in expression of being named with Longfellow. In paper, type, and binding the volume is one of the most elegant, not to say sumptuous, that we have seen from the American press. It is equal to the best work of our best publishers.

Joseph and his Brethren. A Dramatic Poem. By CHARLES WELLS. With an Introduction by ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. Chatto and Windus.

In the reading of this poem we find at once the reason of the neglect into which it has fallen for fifty years and of Mr. Swinburne's warm enthusiasm over it. There can be no doubt whatever of Mr. Wells's dramatic faculty—the first few speeches of Reuben and Leachar suffice to show that; and there can be as little doubt of the formlessness of this poem; the lack of controlling and moulding power is not only absent from the general working-out of the scheme, but it betrays itself sadly in separate speeches. Fine things abound, but they are overloaded by rhetorical verbiage, wrapped up, lost, their beauty and simplicity destroyed by excess of setting. Nothing could be truer than Mr. Swinburne's own words: 'There is . . . an evident disposition to rest too easily contented with the first forms that offer themselves, to clothe the first fancies, an ignorance when to stop and where to breathe, a facile indulgence in superfluity of speech, from which the greatest of poets could not disengage his genius without the discipline of time and work. But, then, here is also an inborn instinct of style, a simple sense of right, which will not allow the stream of speech to grow harsh or turbid for an instant.'

Indeed, Mr. Wells occasionally sets at defiance all rule—adding a whole foot on to one line, and leaving one further on minus a whole foot, as if thus to balance imperfection, as Burns says of Willie's wife. Then, again, his dialogues start according to their own sweet will, after some law of his own. Some words are most arbitrarily forced

into dissyllables, others into trisyllables. Two instances will show what we mean. No mode of reading will make this good blank verse :

‘ And I was deaf refusing entrance.’

Or,

‘ Which age requires for sustaining life,’

‘ Requireth ’ would have made matters right ; and Mr. Swinburne ought here, as in some other lines, to have given a slight touch to save the readers’ ears. The word ‘bate,’ as a contraction for abate, is too often used, and sometimes doubtfully. Simeon says, in answer to the Ishmaelitic merchants’ offer of fifteen pieces of silver,—

‘ You ’bate us, man ; you are too hard.’

And we have this on an earlier page,—

‘ Does not our father ’bate us in regard ? ’

which certainly is bad.

‘ What are his limbs, that they must clothe so warm ? ’

is a specimen of bad grammar of which there are too many instances. Such slips might surely have been looked to. Altogether, though we recognise the power, the dramatic penetration, and capacity to deal with rare forms of passion and experience, we cannot regard this as other than the first rude draught of what, by patient polish, might have been made a great poem. That it has passages that indicate genius there can be no doubt, but genius must justify itself by labour ; even a Shakespeare’s reputation would hardly lead general readers to go through this poem. The fine passages only emphasise defects. We do not, we confess, remember for long to have read anything finer than the passage put into the mouth of Dan, beginning,—

‘ Lo, from this bank I see

Swarthy Egyptians, yellow as their gold ;’

and some of the passages between Ephraim and Joseph are charged with dramatic purpose. This, we think, is very fine :

‘ Midway within a rugged precipice

Browing the roaring cataract beneath,

While overhead the grey clouds sail in light,

Like drovèd camels dreaming in the sun.’

We cannot but fancy that there is a serious misprint in this sentence from Mr. Swinburne’s introduction : ‘ How it is that they miss of fame it ’were hard to say ;’ for it embodies, as it stands, a horrible Cockneyism, for which a schoolboy would be whipped.

Laman Blanchard’s Poems. Edited, with a Memoir, by
BLANCHARD JERROLD. Chatte and Windus.

Laman Blanchard cannot be ranked among poets of a high class ; but he had fancy, imagination, and some sense of the music of words. What we desiderate in his serious verse is spontaneity, heat,—what is called *afflatus*. His real power lay in lighter verse ; and in that field he has a good claim to a place far from mean. Now he reminds us of Præd, now

of Hood, now of Ingoldsby; combining a peculiar nicety of verbal fence with ready humour and quietly grotesque rattle, which we may illustrate by Thackeray's 'Bouillabaise.' Yet he never writes without a meaning, and in some instances, at all events, contrives to be really serious when he seems only to be funny.

This is fair writing, in the line of Thomas Hood :

' New tales and novels you may shut
From view—'tis all in vain;
They're gone—and though the leaves are "cut,"
They never "come again."

' A circulating library
Is mine—my birds are flown;
There's one odd volume left, to be,
Like all the rest, a-lone.'

Now and then, in the serious verse, we come on a really finished picture or image, as in the following :

' Already hath the day grown grey with age;
And in the west, like to a conqueror crowned,
Is faint with too much glory. On the ground
He flings his dazzling arms and, as a sage,
Prepares him for a cloud-hung hermitage.'

The memoir is fairly well done, is tasteful, and is really fitted to convey a fair idea of the man with whom it deals. Mr. Blanchard Jerrold's style is good, but errs by a little over-much *souçon* of the newspaper.

The Wasps of Aristophanes. The Greek Text Revised, with Translation into Corresponding Metres, &c. By B. B. ROGERS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. George Bell and Sons.

To judge from the increasing number of metrical translations issuing from the press one might conclude that there is a revival in certain species of classical studies. This applies to Latin as well as to Greek writers. The authors, no doubt, have entered upon their task as pastime, rather than with the hope or object of making the English public familiar with the matter and manner of the great originals. For this purpose Collins's series are much better adapted. Any one who has ever studied a great foreign poet in his own language, and has in any degree appreciated and enjoyed such a luxury, knows that no translation can reproduce the original, and will soon arrive at the conclusion that translations, however excellent, are always more or less unsatisfactory. In no instance is this more emphatically the case than in the rendering of Greek poetry into English verse. But to those who have been familiar with the originals in former days, and would like to renew their acquaintance without much trouble, we can scarcely conceive anything more convenient than the translations of Mr. Rogers. A man must be blindly conceited, or possess the consciousness of real strength to attempt a fresh translation of Aristophanes when so many first-rate scholars have tried their hands and with so much

success. No one, moreover, who is devoid of a complete mastery over his own tongue, as well as over the original, can hope to be successful; and a good metrical translation requires a poet as well as translator. Mr. Rogers possesses all these qualifications in a pre-eminent degree. In many respects he stands unrivalled. He has a clear apprehension of the characteristics of Aristophanes's diction and rhythm, which it is his task to reproduce; and the ease, elegance, and accuracy with which he has reproduced the difficult original shows how intelligently and successfully he has worked up to the conditions of his undertaking. The facility displayed in metre and rhyme are truly marvellous. The Greek and English are printed side by side, to which are added copious and carefully selected notes. These, together with an excellent preface, supply all that is requisite by way of elucidation. In fact, nothing has been overlooked which is essential to the correct and full appreciation of this play; which, in its general character, serves as a pendant to the 'Clouds.' Mr. Rogers rejects the general opinion that the 'Wasps' is a criticism and exposure of the Athenian dicasteries, and holds that the poet assails, on the one hand, the sophistical teaching which sapped the simple piety and instinctive virtue of the best days of Greece; and, on the other, the demagogues, who sought to gain their own selfish ends by flattering the vanity and pandering to the prejudices of the Athenian populace. We recommend this volume to the reader as the most valuable and pleasant edition of a Greek play that we have ever met. It is incomparably superior to the productions of Frere and Mitchell. Passages might be selected *ad libitum* which show remarkable skill, not simply in preserving the meaning and metres of Aristophanes, but also in retaining the ring and tone of the original.

Homeric Synchronism: an Inquiry into the Time and Place of Homer. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.
Macmillan and Co.

Even those who differ most widely from the conclusions of the author of this work, and who think his views more speculative than based on any historic certainties, will give not only a patient, but an interested, hearing to his essay. Assuming, without so much as questioning it, the genuine antiquity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and regarding Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Hissarlik, in the Troad, as strongly confirming, if not proving, the general truth as well as the great antiquity of the Homeric story, he proceeds to construct, in Part II., a synchronism between the Achæan and the Egyptian dynasties at a period considerably exceeding a thousand years before the Christian era. The chief point that strikes us, on a careful and impartial perusal of this work, is the undoubting faith in Homer and the Homeric epics as indicating both a definite period in the history of the world and a particular and well-defined state of art, morals, and habits in the heroes of the drama. All is regarded as real, and no scope is allowed for poetic fancy and imagination. Neither the mythical theory, viz., that the Homeric poems are Greek

versions of Solar legends, wholly unreal both in persons and localities, nor the theory of late compilation out of much earlier epics, has any place in Mr. Gladstone's argument. He says (p. 20) that 'it is difficult to suppose that the mythical theory, always wofully devoid of tangible substance, can long survive the results obtained by this distinguished explorer,' viz., Dr. Schliemann. Now those who think Achilles represented the sun in his mid-day splendour, point to the fact that his mother was Thetis, who was the sea; that her transformations into water and fire, when Pelus attempted to make her his bride, are the changing features of the eastern ocean glowing with sun-light; that the invincible spear of Achilles, like the bow and arrows of Odysseus, 'the setting sun,' are the rays of the sun and their scorching and blighting effects; that the prayer of Thetis to Zeus, to do honour to her son (*Iliad*, i. 505, a point on which the plot of the *Iliad* may be said to turn), is the sun risen from his ocean bed to the throne of his mid-day glory; and so on; the coincidences of the legend both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with solar phenomena being as numerous as they are close and remarkable. Again, against all coincidence of scenery, language, similes, and of tradition, Mr. Gladstone contends (p. 74) that Homer was not an Asiatic, but an Achaean Greek. Now had he fairly contemplated the Wolfian view of the *Iliad* being a compilation from old Ionic epics, he would have had no great difficulty in accepting the reasonable view that the 'Catalogue' in the Second Book is the work of a distinct rhapsode, or poet, well acquainted with the geography of Upper Hellas, and that this portion of the *Iliad* was adapted from the 'Cypria,' or some other of the early ballads on the Troica. Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, he admits, exhibit a state of art much ruder and more primitive than many of the more elaborate descriptions of art in the *Iliad*, notably of the Shield of Achilles in the Eighteenth Book, and of the great statue of Athena in the Sixth (pp. 57-60). He thinks, however, (p. 59) that 'even if Homer had never seen any representations of life (*i.e.*, living objects), his imagination might have conceived them.' He does not notice the remarkable and significant fact that no writer earlier than the Alexandrian age mentions or alludes to the famous account of the Shield at all; some points of identity in the poem falsely attributed to Hesiod, the 'Scutum 'Herculis,' only indicating a compilation from some common origin. The description of offering the *peplus* on the knees of Athena in the Pergamos of Troy (*Iliad*, vi. 808) is in all respects so identical with the known custom at Athens in the age of Pericles, that grave doubts of the real antiquity of these Homeric accounts have been entertained, in spite of archaisms of language, which were easily imitated. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone almost anticipates an objection, which he has not allowed himself to feel, in saying (p. 57) that 'to place the real Homer in an age which produced works of art such as he describes, he must be brought down to the age of Phidias, if even that will suffice.'

With respect to the discoveries at Hissarlik, it may be remarked, that the utmost they prove is, that there may possibly have been some truth in an ancient and widely held legend, that a very old city existed somewhere in the Troad, which was burnt in a war with an invading European

horde. As the houses in all old cities were, as is proved by the total absence of all indications of them on the sites of ancient Greek cities, constructed of wood or some such perishable material, the fact of a city being burnt, palace and all, is so commonplace an event that, after all, it may have nothing whatever to do with any real city described or conceived by Homer. Every poet, in describing a beleaguered city and the events of a long war, would give it a 'local habitation and a name.' We hold, therefore, that the discoveries at Hissarlik, though they reveal most interesting treasures of pre-historic art, do in fact leave the question of a real Troy much where it was. That the poet who composed or compiled the Iliad had visited the plain of Troy, and noted the adjoining hills and scenery, is evident. But that Priam, Hector, Achilles, Æneas, Tros, were real characters, as Mr. Gladstone (pp. 85, 126-30) seems to assume, appears to us extremely improbable, to say the very least of it.

Convinced that Homer was not an Asiatic but a European, Mr. Gladstone dwells much on the non-mention of the conquering Dorian races (pp. 62, 74), who are believed to have ousted the Achæan population nearly nine centuries B.C. So with regard to the silence about writing, beyond the well-known 'fatal marks,' or *σηματα λυγρὰ*, in Iliad, vi. 168, Mr. Gladstone says (p. 65) that 'the negative evidence of the poems with respect to writing I hold to be among the strongest indications of their very great antiquity.'

Both arguments, it seems to us, are capable of a ready answer. If Homer was an Ionian Greek, and especially if he lived, as a critical examination of his language seems to show, near to Herodotus, both in age and country, he had no special call for bringing in the relations of the Achæans to the Dorians in describing the prowess of Achæan heroes at Troy. And the absence generally of all inscriptions in cities and works of art of very early date, tends to throw a doubt on the supposed antiquity of, at least, Greek writing. In truth, the mention of cipher-writing, or some kind of symbol directing the death of the bearer of it, is no real proof either way as to the knowledge or practice of writing proper. There is no allusion to writing in the 'Post-Homerica' of Quintus Smyrnaeus, many centuries later.

The subjects touched upon in Mr. Gladstone's work are so numerous that it is impossible in a brief notice to go anything like fully into his argument. It appears to us that the attempt to connect Greek names with Egyptian by fanciful etymologies is carried to a dangerous extent, e.g., as in the speculations of Professor Lauth, given at length in pp. 265-71. It is unsafe to assume that Aryan poems were so largely indebted for their vocabulary of names to a race so remotely distinct in origin as the early Egyptians. Moreover, others find Sanscrit affinities for Homeric names which seem quite as plausible. Once construct a theory, and everything within the range of that pliant and versatile science, etymology, may be forced into the service. Some, we think, will doubt if Mr. Gladstone is right in connecting the Saxon word *fastness* (p. 39) with *deru*, the root of which is *vas*, 'to dwell.' But it is quite impossible not to admire the immense range of thought and inquiry which the author has displayed in the present work.

Dante and Beatrice. From 1282 to 1290. A Romance. By
ROXBURGHE LOTHIAN. Two Vols. Henry S. King and Co.

Mr. Lothian has missed a fine opportunity. We opened his volumes with high expectations. A romance of Dante and Beatrice, from a man of adequate learning, industry, and imagination, would have been a valuable contribution to the literature of fiction. The learning and the industry Mr. Lothian possesses, but the dramatic imagination is altogether wanting. His book is not so much a romance of personal life as it is an antiquarian handbook of manners and customs and surroundings. As such it has really great value. Every characteristic of the age of Dante is most elaborately investigated and minutely described, and Dante and Beatrice are buried under them.

Mr. Lothian's reading is immense—manners, customs, literature, laws, religion, architecture; no point escapes him, and he touches nothing that he does not elaborate, perhaps, we might say, overlay. His powers of description, too, are considerable; but he has no sense of proportion. The book is a museum rather than a stage, and its author's defective artistic faculty is shown by such improbabilities as Cardinal Frata's love-making to Beatrice. The book, however, is about as thorough a piece of conscientious work as we have met with. Everything in it is most carefully studied. Mr. Lothian has thoroughly imbued himself, and therefore his work, with the spirit of Dante's times. No need to test his statements—one feels sure of the most careful study and exact representation; save, indeed, in respect of certain biographical incidents in which he not only gives imagination play, but contradicts well-known facts.

The mediæval student will be glad to put these volumes on his shelf. Meanwhile, the romance of Dante and Beatrice remains to be written. 'Romola' shows us what might be made of it in the hand of a master.

The Wise Woman: a Parable. By GEORGE MACDONALD.
Strahan and Co.

'The Wise Woman' is more an allegory than a parable, though it may be said to partake a little of both characters, since 'The Wise Woman' lays hold on all forms of human experience, if life and character are in any way to be perfected. Hence we have Rosamond and Agnes—the one a princess, the other the child of poor parents, but both set alike to learn the Wise Woman's lesson in their own ways and in their own degrees. The lesson is a high one; and, as in the author's former works of the kind, from 'Phantastes' to 'Ralph Rinkelmann,' there are exquisite fancy, faithful symbol, and a sort of moonlight tracery of imagination, which combine to give the work a special charm. Mr. MacDonald walks almost alone in this sphere; and his stories of this class would be perfect were it not for a certain indefinable affectation of style.

Ben Milner's Wooing. By HOLME LEE. Smith, Elder and Co.

Miss Parr's new story is more of a picture than a plot: a picture of a London interior, of cabinet size, but of almost perfect execution. There is

nothing in the story that will bear epitomising. The charm of it is in its grouping and colouring. Ben, a literary man, an official of a public institution; his elder old-maidish sister, Miss Phoebe; Pattie, their young visitor from Yorkshire, whom Ben had known from a child, but with whom he now falls in love, only to discover that she had been engaged virtually by her father to a rich manufacturer, for whom she does not care, and who turns out to be bad-tempered, selfish, and brutal, are all perfect. Ben persists, and wins. His London friends and visitors, and Pattie's Yorkshire relatives, are all etched in with consummate skill, and the evolution of feeling, rather than of incident, which leads to the issue is managed with perfect naturalness and great knowledge of human nature.

Miss Parr's style is always accurate, dainty, and picturesque. She has never done a more exquisite and perfect bit of work than this.

Ersilia. By the Author of 'My Little Lady.' Hurst and Blackett.

'Ersilia' reverses most of the conditions of popular novels. The heroine, although very young, is married as soon as she is introduced to us; and the hero, who is the narrator of the story, tells a tale of utterly unsuccessful love. Nothing comes right; everybody fails or dies, and we are left at the end of the novel with only two of the principal characters surviving, the writer, a half-broken-hearted lover, distracted at the death of his idol, and an old chattering, gossiping French aunt, left homeless, in the social sense, and without resources for her energies and tastes. A more melancholy story can scarcely be imagined. The writer, Randolph, is disowned by his rich uncle in Kensington, as his father had been, for his determination to indulge his artistic pursuits and live a precarious life in Paris. His friend and master, Mr. Fleming, is a disappointed bachelor somewhat advanced in years, but well-to-do, and an artistic genius. Ersilia, Randolph's cousin, is married at sixteen to a Russian prince, who soon leaves her and gets killed in a raid in Poland. Randolph and Ersilia meet once, when children, at the uncle's home in Kensington, and again, after some years, in the Pyrenees, when she is a widow. Randolph falls madly in love with her, which she neither reciprocates nor perceives. Mr. Fleming comes and wins the lady, who, after her engagement, discovers Randolph's passion. They are to be married soon, when an old, white-haired man, whom Randolph had encountered in Paris, proves to be the Russian husband of Ersilia, supposed to be dead. He kills Mr. Fleming in a duel, and Ersilia dies of a broken heart. Certainly a not very lively cast, especially when toned by the gentle melancholy and moralisings of the narrator.

The story is, however, well and thoughtfully written, the descriptions are very good, the characters are well individualised, and the narrative is told in a style of fine sentiment and wise reflectiveness. Only a writer of fine culture and vigorous intellect could have produced it. The dash of sentiment, which, however, is a charm as well as a weakness, belongs to her sex. No one will regret reading the story, and there are parts of it which thoughtful readers will recur to more than once.

The Manchester Man. By MRS. G. LINNÆUS BANKS. Three Vols. Hurst and Blackett.

Mrs. Banks has constructed her story with a good deal of care, and has reproduced the topography of Manchester and certain events in local history—the Peterloo Massacre, and the capsizing of the *Emma*, for example—with considerable fidelity. In an appendix of notes to her chapters she admits us to her confidence, and tell us the matter-of-fact origin of several of the incidents of her story. As a picture of Manchester life half a century ago, her book has great merits. It enables us to realise very vividly how far since then the world has advanced.

The story is virtually another version of the Good and the Idle Apprentice, only while Jabez Clegg, the former, is literally an apprentice, who does ultimately marry his master's daughter; the latter, Lawrence Aspinall, is the fashionable and licentious son of a wealthy manufacturer, and ends his days a bankrupt suicide. The characters are well individualised and present considerable variety. Jabez, the hero, is, of course, ideally good. Considerable skill and knowledge of human nature are shown in the original defects of Augusta's character, and in the removal of them by her sorrows. Our pity is called forth most by Ellen Chadwick, whose gentle goodness and faithful love deserved a better fate.

The artistic defects of the story are that Jabez appears a little too frequently as a *deus ex machina*, and that some of the incidents seem pieces let in, and not part of the original growth of the texture. The story would be better were the fusing a little more perfect. It is, however, good, wholesome, and informing, and we have read it with much interest.

Ruth and Gabriel: a Pastoral Story. By LAWRENCE CHERRY. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is a story of rural Lincolnshire life. Its characters are all of the small farmer class. Ruth, the heroine, is envied and admired as exceptionally cultivated and clever because she can play the piano. The conversations are in the Lincolnshire dialect, to the fidelity of which, both in words, idioms, and allusions we can bear testimony. So far there is a freshness about the story which interests its readers; the modes of thought and moods of feeling of the class portrayed are also rendered with a knowledge which only practical familiarity could give, as, for example, the odd courtship of Marmaduke and Ruth, and the schemes and flirtations of Lizzie, with their brusque and not over-sensitive evolutions and feelings.

One gets tired, however, of the vast amount of small beer that is chronicled and of the loose fragments of commonplace rustic life and conversations which fill these three volumes. In the absence of anything like a constructed plot or story, the author relying solely upon his delineation of every-day rustic life, even two volumes would have been rather long, three become prolix and wearisome. The author, moreover, has a method of jerking in, in an unconnected way, fragments of related

history, which lie upon the surface of the story like boulders in a green meadow. The literary art, both of fusing, compressing, and constructing, admits of considerable improvement. The story, however, is an honest one, and puts before us very authentic aspects of the class of life that it describes.

The Chronicle of Sir Harry Earlsleigh, Bart. Three Vols. Sampson Low and Co.

This is for the most part an Irish story of the Charles Lever school. Its defects are a certain crudeness of composition, which indicates an unpractised hand; an excess of sensational incidents—the hero, for example, has five or six hair-breadth escapes from an infuriated bull, a runaway horse, a fall down a precipice, an upset in a boat, &c., in as many days during a visit at Killarney; puns—good, bad, and indifferent—are stuck into the dialogue everywhere; sensational Irish stories are plentifully introduced; the incident passes sometimes into screaming farce, as, for instance, in one or two similar outbreaks of Mr. Briek's, and in Tilbury's love-making; and the style often verges upon the hysterical. The villain of the piece is a melo-dramatic rascal, whose remorse over poor Kathleen's grave is very incongruous with his Mephistophelian character. The moral is the iniquity of the law which prohibits marriage with a deceased wife's sister; but the difficulties are created in a somewhat spasmodic way, the misery is a little extravagant, and the solution is by an unsuspected flaw in the first marriage, which is awkward and unpleasant.

The story is racy, and, with a little skipping over descriptions and moralisings, very readable. It is only a little too high-flown for the writer's powers.

Daniel Deronda. By GEORGE ELIOT. Parts I. and II. William Blackwood and Sons.

The eagerness and minuteness with which almost every literary journal and every newspaper has discussed the portions published of George Eliot's new novel are proof of the great expectations she excites, as also of the fluctuating judgments which criticism of successive fragments must be subject to. Already the misgivings awakened by what was felt to be the somewhat diminished power of Part I. are relieved by the greater strength of Part II. We can add nothing to what has been said, and must reserve our own analysis of the work until we can judge it as a whole.

A Very Woman. By M. F. O'MALLY. Three Vols. Smith, Elder and Co.

A love story, in which two brothers, greatly attached to each other, and both honourable men, fall desperately in love with the heroine—Angela—who, having been educated in a religious convent, is, on the death of her father, brought to England to reside with her uncle, a wealthy country squire.

The merits of the story are the careful delineation of Angela's fine

character and its piquant contrast with that of her cousin Frank, who is secretly in love with Harry Vane, the first of Angela's lovers, and to whom, in any ignorance of any stronger inspiration, she permits herself in virtue of a mere liking to be engaged. The two brothers also, Harry and Vivian, are well contrasted; but the disentanglement of the mess caused by the wrong assortment of lovers is somewhat clumsy. We are not sure that Frank and Harry, or Angela and Vivian are not respectively too much alike for happiness; but it is something that they get married all right, and are in a fair way for it.

Clevedon. A Novel in Two Volumes. By ROLAND YORKE.
Henry S. King and Co.

This is a novel of singular merit. The characters are well discriminated, and some of them are strongly marked. Old Abel Kirke, with his reserve and miserliness, is portrayed skilfully, and we do not cease to be interested in him till he dies on the doorsteps of the Dissenters' chapel, where the deacons are about to sit in judgment on his case. He has been accused of appropriating to himself some money committed to him for another; a point which connects itself with the very striking bit of love-story. Jenny, the daughter of Abel, has rejected the suit of the reserved, somewhat rough, but genuine Anthony Rede for the showy, flippant Fred Staines, the banker's clerk, whose affection soon cools when suspicions arise that the old man has lost his money; and heartless Fred, to justify his desertion of Jenny for a more promising engagement, takes an opportune chance to blast the father's character. Slowly the true and noble character of Anthony Rede shows itself, and, after many complications, his faithfulness wins its reward. The situations, sometimes very striking, are extremely well managed; the descriptive portions are so faithfully done, that we daresay those who know Yorkshire could identify the places; and the more touching and tragic portions are skilfully relieved by light society talk, which shows both insight and knowledge of the world. In spite of a rather awkward turn of the plot towards the end, we regard this as one of the very best of the shorter novels we have read for some time, now reminding us even of George Eliot, and again of Charlotte Brontë, in its decisive analyses of odd or obscure moods of mind, though, in saying this, we should not be understood to mean that there is any conscious imitation. Roland Yorke follows a true natural bent, copies nobody, and clearly finds wealth of life and interest in what lies very near at hand.

Constantia. By the Author of 'One Only.' Two Vols.
Sampson Low and Co.

'Constantia' is pleasantly enough written, and its characters are distinctly conceived; perhaps the cleverest is Mrs. Craik, who comes at last to believe in her own unrealities. Ralph is honourable and strong, and Constantia nobly faithful; but the authoress lacks grip, and is defective in constructive art. The engagement of Ralph and Constantia is crude and improbable; it does not develop naturally out of their relations and circumstances; and

the quarrel is abrupt, exaggerated, and unnatural: it lacks the subtle working of feeling which might have led to it. We have read the story with only a languid interest.

Conquering and to Conquer. A Story of the Days of St. Jerome. By the Author of 'The Chronicles of the 'Schönberg Cotta Family.' Daldy, Isbister and Co.

Mrs. Charles has here given us, on the whole, a good picture of those days when the corrupted artificiality of the old Roman life came most closely into conflict with Christianity. She has shown us, by example, the contests which arose, and which were inevitable, between the mixed motives, the sensuous perceptions of the Roman character, and the exigent spirituality of the Christian ideal. It is to be regretted that she imports so much of purely modern refinement here and there; but she always writes with gracefulness and elevated ease. The peculiar slow access of the new ideas to the heart of the heroine's father, and the effect on his personal appearance by the self-abnegation of Zosima, are very well done. On the whole, in spite of certain weaknesses—chief of which is a lack of passion running in ordinary lines, resulting from what seem now to be deeply ingrained tendencies of Mrs. Charles's, the book is such as may well be recommended for presentation to young people.

Wych Hazel. By the Author of 'The Wide, Wide World,' 'Queechy,' &c. James Nisbet and Co.

Miss Wetherell's two stories named on her title-page are so well known to English readers that it would be almost a sufficient characterisation of 'Wych Hazel' to say that it is cast in the same general mould. The unities are not much regarded in it. It is not so much a structure as a chronicle. A young heiress is left to the sedate guardianship of Mr. Fairfax. Her school-days over, she resolves, in a somewhat imperious way, to seek her fortune; and, with her guardian, journeys from school to Chickaree, her ancestral home. The book consists of her experiences and adventures on her journey and at Chickaree. She stops at the Mountain House on the Catskills, which is well described; has, of course, no end of admirers there; passes through a forest on fire; arrives at Chickaree, and is beset by fortune-hunters and the gaieties of fast life. How she is preserved from their perils, how Rollo becomes, first, her guardian angel, and then, after a somewhat austere wooing,—perhaps a stronger word might be used,—something more, the book itself must tell. The characters are strongly individualised and the dialogue is racy. Some phases of American girlhood will seem curious to English readers. The religious talk of Dr. Maryland is somewhat abrupt, and Gyda promises more than she fulfils. But the book is good, strong, and wholesome.

Letters and Social Aims. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Chatto and Windus.

Mr. Emerson is pre-eminently the prophet of the abstract. He refuses to recognise immediate and secondary relations. He ignores them, indeed,

as if of *malice prepense*, and for purposes of mystification. He leads us up to the very point at which we should expect some direct illustration by present concrete fact, and then he deserts us and turns up again quite on the other side, hailing us as loud-voiced from afar as when he had been near. One statement sounds absolute and unqualified; another, that seems the antithesis of it, is as decisive. He speaks, say of humanity, as on the way to purity and blessedness through all manner of degradations—gaols, brothels, &c.—and then he distracts us by dwelling on the futility of individual aspiration. The truth is, both terms are used abstractedly, though it might be urged by a stern logical mind that humanity in *the abstract* does not get into gaols, nor individuality in *the abstract* aspire. In the very first essay in this volume, 'Poetry and Imagination,' Mr. Emerson revels in this kind of exercise *in vacuo*, saying much in generals and approaching the region of paradox, but failing to enlighten by instance. It is his way, however, and we should study to get the best we can from him. In the outset it would seem as though, in his view, Poetry depends wholly on Science, which ministers the medium of Illumination. But before he has gone far, poetry, or imagination, translates the raw material of the senses into symbols, which was probably the earlier process, and followed by instinct. Both statements are true; but Mr. Emerson does not develop his ideas so as to reveal plainly the point where both meet and make the modern poet possible. 'A good 'symbol,' he urges, 'is the best argument, and is a missionary to persuade thousands.' Quite so, and with Mr. Emerson we believe that some of our scientific men—Owen and Tyndall, for instance—are, after a certain manner, poets; but their symbols are not their best arguments; for, 'you shall not speak ideal truth in prose uncontradicted, you may 'in verse.' So exactly in the very brilliant and axiomatic essay on 'Social Aims.' He says well that 'the law of the table is Beauty,—a respect to the common voice of all the guests. Everything is unseasonable 'which is private to two or three or any portion of the company.' But even these assume the interpretive capability in some so as to delight others by harmonious utterances (all cannot speak at once), and as the law of Beauty is emotion, which cannot be equally stirred in each one of a mixed community, how does this consort with the annihilation of spontaneous expression in such sentences as 'self-command is the 'main elegance;' 'avoid exaggeration;' 'a lady loses as soon as she 'admires too easily and too much;' 'in man or woman the features of the 'person lose power when they are on the strain to express admiration'? The essay on 'Quotation and Originality' we remember to have read some years ago in the 'North American Review.' It is a most characteristic performance, full of subtle, far-reaching platonised Orientalism applied, with a certain indirectness, to contemporary needs, and suggests the inquiry, what Emerson would have been had he never studied Plato and read the Persian poets and sages. He would have been more a poet doubtless, but he would not have stimulated so many minds. In the 'Progress of Culture,' Mr. Emerson shows himself the true Bostonian liberal, taking, as he has always done, hopeful, far-sighted views of the future and the possible of America and American culture.

Mr. Emerson is misleading when seized from the side of thought alone. He constantly qualifies himself, but that qualification is only to be found in the perception of mystical relations. He advances a truth that might seem to him to contain the whole law, but you do not read far till it is directly contradicted in a deliverance as formal and axiomatic and unqualified. The seizing of one truth, or scale of truths, under his magical statement, without reference to the correspondent truth, or scales of truth, is what has rendered some of his disciples one-sided enthusiasts, as, in some degree, Thoreau and, in a greater degree, Thoreau's biographer, Channing, and many more. He never commits himself to an axiom. Each and every statement is polarised in the process of illumination. You may not see the steps, but the thing is proved by the presence of an antithesis which is distinctly set before you. Emerson, therefore, is not to be read profitably save with an eye to detecting these polarising qualities as we may call them,—and this being done, there are but few writers of any age more rich, suggestive, and stimulating.

Erasmus in 'Praise of Folly.' Illustrated with many Curious Cuts, Designed, Drawn, and Etched by HANS HOLBEIN. With Portrait, Life of Erasmus, and his Epistle addressed to Sir Thomas More. Reeves and Turner.

This is simply a reprint of the 'Encomium Morie.' We regret that some editorial information has not been supplied along with it. The story of its origin, suggested to the punning mind of Erasmus when in the Alps by the name of his friend Sir Thomas More—how odd it seemed to him that the wisest man he knew should be designated by the Latin word for 'fool'—the marvellous celerity with which it was written when he arrived in London, it being composed during a seven days' attack of the gravel; its immense popularity and influence; the remarkable anticipation of Luther in its exposure of abuses; its knowledge of men and things; the deep meanings which underlie its light satire; its unsurpassed wit and humour, fully equalling that of Lucian; the skill with which the personification of Folly is sustained; the eagerness with which learned and illustrious men of all classes, even Leo X. himself, read it, should be known wherever the book itself goes. We should have liked to have been told something about the translation, which, we presume, although we have not a copy at hand for verification, is that of Bishop Kennet's, issued in 1709; and about the Holbein illustrations, of which Kennet published only forty-six, whereas twice that number are given here; the original contained eighty. We are glad, however, to possess the book as it is. It is admirably got up, on excellent ribbed paper, printed in large, clear, archaic type; and facsimiles of the racy Holbein illustrations are fairly rendered. It will be the pleasantest edition for English readers.

It is singular that so little of Erasmus should have found translators into English, and that, of what has been translated, so little should have been done well. Articles and memoirs latterly have indicated reviving interest in the great scholar and satirist. Will not some competent scholar give us well-annotated selections from his works?

English Literature. By the Rev. STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A.
Macmillan and Co.

This is one of the series of Literature Primers which, under the general editorship of Mr. J. R. Green, Messrs. Macmillan are publishing. It is lifted at once by its singular merits out of any mere rank in which it may stand, and may well be regarded as almost a classic. Within a hundred and twenty pages Mr. Brook has compressed a lucid, sufficient, and eminently readable account of our English literature, its sources, main streams, chief works, and diversified characteristics. He does not say a single superfluous word nor pass over a single important matter, while his inaccuracies are singularly few. As a primer for schools and students, and as a handbook for the desk of the literary man, this little shilling volume is simply invaluable.

The Works of Charles Lamb: Poetical and Romantic, Tales, Essays, and Criticisms. Edited, with Biographical Introductions and Notes, by CHARLES KENT. The Popular Centenary Edition. George Routledge and Son.

Although we must confess to years when small-type editions became rather distasteful, they are the true tests of popularity, and when cheap centenary editions of a writer's works are published, his stamp is irreversible. Almost every year produces new editions of the works of this most charming of English essayists. Here, in seven hundred pages of small but legible type, we have a complete collection of Lamb's Works, well edited and annotated.

In the sensible memoir prefixed, Mr. Kent corrects some misconceptions and casts light upon some obscurities. He gives the true date of Lamb's birth, mistaken by both Barry Cornwall and John Forster; it was February 10, 1775. He shows that there were two or three children besides Charles and Mary. He publishes a letter from Miss Kelly, and a facsimile of a note of Lamb's, proving that she, and not Mrs. Crawford, was the original of Lamb's charming sketch of Barbara S——. He disproves Hazlitt's charge of drunkenness and his affirmation of insanity, and of course tells the true story of his domestic tragedy, which, by the way, was first given to the world in the pages of this Review in May 1848, just after Mary Lamb's death. Large numbers of miscellaneous scraps are also gathered from Hone's 'Table Book,' the 'Athenæum,' and other sources.

The volume is compendious and useful, well got up, and carefully edited.

Essays in Criticism. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Third Edition.
Revised and Enlarged. Macmillan and Co.

As a subtle, graceful, and incisive critic Mr. Arnold will probably take a permanent place among English essayists, a certain sub-acid of cynicism notwithstanding, and if the tendency to dwell upon ephemeral and

obscure matters does not hinder. We are glad to see that certain passages of this character are excised from this edition. When we read his poetry we regret that he should forsake the Muse even for essays so graceful and discriminating as these; but it is a thousand pities that he should forsake either for crude and transient theological polemics. We welcome this revision of a very favourite volume.

Lectures, Addresses, and other Literary Remains. By the late Rev. FRED. W. ROBERTSON, M.A., of Brighton. A New Edition. Henry S. King and Co.

In this new edition the preface is considerably abridged by the omission of the long extracts from Mr. Robertson's letters, and several interesting pieces are added, viz., a lecture on 'The Church of England's Independence of the Church of Rome;' notes of a lecture on the progress of the working classes; and some translations from Lessing on the 'Education of the Human Race;' and, what will be greatly prized by many, his analysis of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.' There are few who will not be glad to possess this complete collection of Mr. Robertson's miscellanies. It is proof of the profound and penetrating truth and great power of this greatest of our modern pulpit teachers that, in addition to the spirit of earnest, unconventional truth which he has diffused, which is independent of opinions, and which has entered men of almost every school, many of his views, for which when first uttered he was so severely denounced, have come to be accepted even by the more thoughtful of the Evangelical school of theology. Robertson was a divinely gifted seer, and in many things he has taught others to see.

The Complete Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation. By IZAAK WALTON. Elliot Stock.

Mr. Stock has added to his facsimile reprints that of the first edition of 'The Complete Angler,' published in 1658. This edition is extremely scarce, and it is to R. S. Holford, Esq., that the publisher is indebted for a copy. The reprint is curious and interesting. The 'Angler's Song,' printed in the square notes familiar to students of old psalmody, and with the opposite pages reversed, to permit two persons opposite to each other to sing from the same book—a device also familiar to those acquainted with old madrigal books,—some of the obsolete types, the vigorous little cuts, and the title-page, have been reproduced by photography. It is a very interesting bibliographical curiosity. The publishers are laying bookworms under very great obligations.

Re-Echoes. By FRANCES POWER COBBE. Williams and Norgate.

Miss Cobbe has selected these fifty-two papers from 'upwards of a thousand' contributed to the 'Echo' newspaper from its commencement until its change of proprietorship in 1875. There are few writers whose newspaper articles we should care to have gathered into a book; but Miss Cobbe always writes with so much thoughtfulness, wisdom,

incisiveness, and kindness, that we do not willingly let her words fall to the ground. It is much to say that these short papers will be re-read with most interest by the most sensible. They are on topics general and permanent enough in interest, and they rarely fail to shed new lights and furnish noble suggestions: *e.g.*, in the paper on 'Church and Chapel Building,' she urges us to look away from the rivalries of sects to the grand spectacle of a common striving to supply the growing population with means of worship. Her little book is full of things both wise and good.

The Literature of the Kymry. By THOMAS STEPHENS. Second Edition by the Rev. D. SILVAN EVANS, B.D. Longmans.

There is no nobler achievement of the human mind than the production of a national literature. Its materials are more varied, its sources more numerous, and its life more real and enduring than that of any other product of the conscious or unconscious energies of man. In dealing with the literature of a country one has to do with the most subtle forms of thought and feeling, with a finer and more delicate matter than either marble or canvas, and yet far less darkened or tarnished by the wearing touch of time. It is also more catholic and instructive than any of the sister arts; for, being the product of the national mind, it mirrors forth the progress, tendency, and attainments of the race. A nation's literature is therefore mainly useful in representing the innate character, the external conditions, and the acquired habits and bias of those who produce it. The function of the historian of such a literature is to portray those ethnic characteristics of the people which distinguish them from the rest of mankind, the physical circumstances, the political accidents, and the social status which have determined their life; and to seize the fluctuations which have characterised their life-impulse during the period under review. In one word, he has to tell the full story of a nation's mind. The merit and service of Mr. Stephens's book depend upon the success with which he has conceived and solved this psychological problem. We venture to say at the outset that he has been fairly successful, considering the circumstances of his life, the difficulties of his task, and the capabilities of his subject. We do not wish our readers to imagine that we place him in the same rank with Müller, Bähr, Bernhardt, Mure, Donaldson, Taine, and Motley. His work resembles, in many respects, Craik's history of the rise of the English language, and the successive periods of its literature. Mr. Stephens was a chemist by vocation, but a *littérateur* by nature. His education was limited, but his energy and application prodigious; and the result is as creditable in its degree as any of the works of the above-mentioned authors, which were produced under widely different circumstances.

The subject did not present anything like the scope and magnitude of the literature of Greece; and the author probably did not possess the critical and analytical power of disentangling and unravelling the confused materials before him, much less the still higher power of constructing the scattered elements of truth into a grand and symmetrical fabric. But

he accomplished wonders in his way. His patience was above all praise, and his judgment sound. His impartiality in matters of national history earned for him the designation of 'arch-heretic.' To the humiliation of national pride he rejected the antiquity of the Triads, denied the validity of the Prince Madoc claim to the discovery of America, and the massacre of the Welsh bards by Edward I. The present work originated in an essay, which gained the prize of £25 offered by the Prince of Wales for the best essay upon the subject, competed for at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod, 1868. In that form it raised its author to the position of a leading authority among all Celtic scholars, not only at home, but abroad. It secured the highest commendations from Count Villemarqué, Henri Martin, and Matthew Arnold, and received the honour of being translated into German by Professor Schültz. The publication of the larger work gave rise to an extensive correspondence with Continental scholars upon Celtic literature and traditions, which, together with Mr. Stephens's other occupations, brought about the natural result, viz., that his energies were overtaxed, and his life cut short. Not before he had done a good day's work, however, did the night of death come upon him.

In the volume before us we have not simply the history of poetry, but of tales, romances, chronicles, moral and historical Triads and Mabinogion—in fact, a complete survey of the literature of the country. The Welsh language seems to have passed its meridian. It resembles at present the Latin of the decline of the Roman Empire. The grace and vigour of the earlier tongue has given way to a modern dialect less pure, but probably more adapted to the growing wants of the nation. Up to a recent date, however, the Welsh had been preserved uncommonly pure and undefiled by additions from foreign sources. From the time when the Roman power was compelled by intestine troubles to relax its grasp, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the native language seems to have remained almost entirely intact and distinct. The literature of a great portion of this period is handled in the work before us. Mr. Stephens refers only *en passant* to the bards of the sixth and seventh centuries, Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hên, but treats fully of the literature of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries. The specimens given are accompanied by a faithful translation. The author has selected only those which possess some intrinsic merit and beauty, and such as furnished some pointed illustration of the national character.

Mr. Stephens admits, what cannot be denied, that the bardic poets do not possess the transcendent merit many have foolishly claimed for them, and that there is nothing in the ancient poetry of Wales to be compared with the Greek, Roman, and English Muse. It was the product of a state of society which, though in advance of surrounding nations, was, nevertheless, far inferior to the best days of Greece and Rome. The Celtic, like most poetry, has war and love for its theme. But the fact is, Wales had no siege of Troy, and no Salamis, Marathon, or Thermopylæ; and consequently it has no such poems. The country has several mountains, but no Alpine or Himalayan ranges; many small streams, but not one grand, broad, majestic river; many of its poets have attained to more than

mediocrity, but none to decided pre-eminence. Their war-songs lack poetic fire and sentiment, and their elegies, as Mr. Stephens observes, frequently substitute petty conceit for genuine tenderness. What is true of the poetry of the twelfth and two succeeding centuries is true in a great measure of Welsh poetry from that time to the present day. Much poetry has been written and a great deal more produced since the fourteenth century. The mass of it is very poor, some of it tolerably good; but none of it transcendently excellent. And one is tempted to ask the reason why; for no doubt the land has produced many genuine poets, men of real poetic genius. We think that the lack of such external influences and surroundings as Greece and Rome enjoyed will not altogether account for the result; to this must be added their linguistic exclusion, which cuts them off from that communion with thought and things which is essential to the highest kind of poetry, and their unnatural metrical system, which has weighed down their imagination and limited their similes. The internal and final rhyme, the various forms of alliteration, and the *cyrch*, are enough to strangle all lofty imagination and original power. The whole power of the mind is expended upon the jingle of words. It makes the bard a man of ingenuity and skill, rather than of fancy and genius; a man under the control of sounds, rather than of deep and earnest thought. We must, however, in justice state that although Welsh poetry has never reached the uniform and self-sustained sublimity of thought and diction which characterise the works of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, it has never sunk to the level of the puerile, prolix, and sickly productions of the Troubadours. Mr. Stephens closes the volume with the question, 'Were not the Kymry among the most 'intelligent and intellectual of the inhabitants of Europe during the period 'under consideration?' We would ask another, of greater importance,—What about their position at the present day? No impartial judge can shut his eyes to the fact that they have been unable to keep pace with the remarkable advance of science and other kinds of progress, and that they are slowly but surely falling behind other nations. They are struggling under social, political, and commercial disadvantages, from which it is time they freed themselves by adapting themselves to the circumstances of the age. It is useless to fight against the inevitable. Poetry and music are very well as pastime; but when they constitute the sole and serious occupation of a nation they become positively injurious. Just let the Welsh devote their attention to that which will raise them to the level of the present civilisation and culture, and then let them have as much music and poetry as they please. To be able to sing is, we must admit, *something*; but it is of very little value compared with the power to create. Nations living in the constant roar and music of the natural elements are generally able to do the former, but seldom the latter. But enough.

The work has an important historical value, on the ground of which we most strongly recommend it. It sheds a flood of light on the manners and traditions of a people who have hitherto been involved in signal obscurity. Its value to the ethnologist is decidedly great, and it is

no less instructive to the English historian. Sharon Turner found important aid in the poetry of Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hên for illustrating and completing his 'History of the Anglo-Saxons.' Future historians would do well to search the productions of Iolo Goch and Gruffydd Llwyd for the life and influence of Owen Glyndwr; and to complete the history of the Wars of the Roses, their plots, conflicts, and intrigues, by consulting the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, Tudor Aled, and Gestyn Owain. To some Englishmen it might also be both interesting and instructive to see their own characters reflected in Cymric mirrors. It will repay their labour, although they probably will not be able to recognise themselves.

We have no space for giving specimens of the poetry. We heartily recommend this volume to every lover of national literature as being a fair representation of the literature of Wales; and trust that the success which Mr. Stephens has achieved may stimulate some of his countrymen who have more leisure and no less ability to complete and perfect that which he has nobly begun.

A Grammar of the Latin Language, for Middle and Higher Class Schools. By LEONHARD SCHMITZ, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. Wm. Collins and Co.

Among the very numerous claimants to public favour in the form of Latin Grammars, both large and small, this one, the latest, and of medium size, is perhaps the best. Its great merit consists (1) in its clearness, (2) in its brevity, (3) in its philosophical views of both syntax and inflexion, (4) in its excellent arrangement of matter, the primary facts being in a larger, the subordinate in a smaller, print, headed as 'notes.' With the pedantry and the novelties of the 'primer' the author has little sympathy, to judge by his treatment of the facts or phenomena of the Latin language. The 'declensions' he arranges as the *a*, the *o*, the *u*, the *e*, and the *consonant* declension, a system which has great advantages in respect of clearness and simplicity. The modern custom of arranging the cases in a different order, viz., *nom.*, *voc.*, *acc.*, *gen.*, *dat.*, he discards; and it is worth the remark that the ordinary method is as old as Varro, who wrote 'De Lingua Latina' in Cicero's time. The rules and illustrations of the syntax are singularly clear and concise. Indeed, the whole work, including a useful appendix on Roman names, coins, measures, weights, &c., only extends to two hundred and twenty-two 12mo pages, and yet it seems to us to contain everything necessary for even the more advanced students of the upper school-forms.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND PHILOLOGY.

God and the Bible. A Review of Objections to 'Literature and Dogma.' By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Smith, Elder and Co.

It is difficult in dealing with Mr. Arnold to command sufficient 'intellectual seriousness'; and impossible within reasonable limits, if indeed it is possible at all, to deal with him argumentatively. There is in his attack upon Christianity more of sarcastic sharp-shooting and exquisite fooling than there is of measured, not to say serious, meaning. It is, for example, not easy to maintain one's gravity to find the denier of all that is supernatural in Jesus Christ, and even of a personal God, gravely stepping forth in vindication of Christianity, the Bible, prayer, and church-going. Mr. Arnold seems so utterly unconscious of the radical moral contradictions of the positions which he assumes, he constructs in so arbitrary a way the fallacies upon which he impales his victims, and then dances round them and pokes fun at them in an attitude so assured that it is quite inimitable. When a bishop, a Nonconformist, or, as here, a Tübingen Professor, is in hand, it is perfectly delicious to see the gusto with which he cuffs him—we cannot say controverts him—for no man in these modern days so confidently tilts at a windmill, or so skilfully dodges its revolving sails. We have no greater literary enjoyment than one of these exquisitely written theological essays, with its serio-comic tone, its evidential and argumentative surprises, its clever catch-words, and its amazing conclusions, so gravely affirmed, and so sublimely indifferent to facts. In the airiest and most saltatory way Mr. Arnold rebukes the theological world in general, and Tübingen Professors and English Nonconformists in particular, for 'want of intellectual seriousness.'

The most effective treatment of one of Mr. Arnold's books would be to quiz it. Certainly no recent writer by his superb confidence in himself, his audacious dealing with evidence, and his arbitrary conclusions lays himself so open to such a method of reply. Imagine him for half an hour subjected to Socratic questioning. But the issues that he raises are so grave, that although it is simply inconceivable that any man in any degree accustomed to processes of reasoning should be affected by his advocacy, yet admiration of his great literary skill may induce a sympathy which neither his history nor his logic could command. We must therefore deal seriously with two or three of the points raised in the new preface to this collection of his articles in the 'Contemporary Review,' and to these we restrict ourselves.

And first, we gladly bear testimony to a great improvement of tone in respect both of courtesy and religiousness, to much keen insight into things, and to many positions of undoubted and valuable truth; as also to the great beauty of literary form in which he presents his criticisms.

Of course, we have two or three clever literary catch-words. A new alliteration, 'vigorous and rigorous,' is repeated so often that clearly its author somewhat prides himself upon it. But his text is a phrase employed

by Celsus, *κουφότης τῶν χριστιανῶν*, which he translates, 'want of intellectual seriousness,' and which he adopts as a solvent for all the intractable phenomena of Christian belief throughout its history. All kinds of theological conclusions which are favourable to the popular belief in Christianity, from the doctrine of a personal God and the incarnation of Christ to Papal infallibility, are to be attributed simply to 'want of intellectual seriousness.' No one would deny that this is the explanation of some beliefs; but imagine Augustine and Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, and Pascal, and Cudworth, and Butler adopting Christian beliefs through 'want of intellectual seriousness.' Mr. Arnold's characteristic defect as an historical student and a reasoner could hardly be more strongly illustrated. He seems incapable of weighing evidence, and also of discriminating criticism. He deals only in universals, and sometimes, unfortunately, mistakes for them mere accidents. His characterisations are broad and sweeping, and therefore exaggerated and untrue. A striking instance of it we have in almost the first sentence of his preface. He tells us that German critics 'in collecting, editing, and illustrating the original documents for the history of Christianity, now perform for the benefit of learning an honourable and extremely useful labour once discharged by Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, but discharged by them no longer.' A more exact writer would have given to German scholars that great pre-eminence in this department of labour which is their due, but he would not have been forgetful of men like Lightfoot, Westcott, Wordsworth, Alford, Scrivener, Ellicott, Jowett, Sanday, and Dean Smith; not to speak of Davidson, Tregelles, and other scholars, not of the two universities named, who surely have done something towards illustrating the text of the New Testament, and are more than the exceptions which a broad characterisation need take no account of. An indictment should be the exact truth.

Mr. Arnold expresses his surprise that his book, 'Literature and Dogma,' has been so utterly misconceived. It was, he says, its object, as it is also the object of the present book, 'to show the truth and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, mind, and imagination of man, even though the preternatural, which is now its popular sanction, should have to be given up.' Something may surely be forgiven to simple-minded men for their inability to conceive of Christianity with all that is preternatural discharged from it, and for their mistaking for an enemy an advocate whose method is to discharge it. By the preternatural Mr. Arnold means, not only the miraculous works and character of the Author of Christianity, but also the very existence of a supernatural and personal God. The God of the Hebrew Bible, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, cannot, he maintains, be proved to be a Person, the notion that He is so has been a disabling superstition. He is at the utmost 'the Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness.' Surely we are entitled to ask, The Eternal what? A person, a thing, or a subjective tendency? Mr. Arnold, so far as we understand him, maintains the latter. 'We neither,' he says, 'affirm God to be a person nor a thing.' There is in our nature, whatever else there may be, and there is

in the order of things around us, together with other tendencies, 'a tendency that makes for righteousness,' and of this the ideas of Christianity are, as yet, the highest expressions. It is 'the greatest and happiest stroke ever yet made for human perfection.' But will not men in whom the moral sense is unsophisticated ask, how, on such a supposition, can either Judaism or Christianity be a moral system at all? No teachings in the world are so conditioned upon, so permeated with the doctrine and the sanctions of a personal God,—a God who governs men, claims their worship and service; forgives them, saves them, rewards them. If no such God exists, exists indubitably, then through the very emphasis and intensity of the claim, both systems are more fundamentally and essentially false than any that the world has known. Is it not, therefore, a wanton befooling of our moral sense and of our just judgment to affirm 'the truth' and necessity of Christianity, and its power and charm for the heart, 'mind, and imagination'? In what sense can it be true when all the facts out of which its ideas spring are not only delusions, but wilful fabrications? In what sense is it a necessity when not only its personal, but its moral sanctions are taken away? Instead of a 'tendency that makes for righteousness,' it is an imposture that provokes resentment and corrupts moral feeling. To give up 'the popular sanction of the 'preternatural,' to reduce Christianity to mere ethical ideas, is to affirm that the system which, ethically, is the most true, is historically and formally the most false. Is this the religious apotheosis to which Mr. Arnold would bring the world?

May we not ask him for his precise idea, what he regards as the essence or sanction of 'the Eternal, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness'? Is it a person or a thing? He cannot claim; argumentatively, that it is either or both. Not only is there no medium between the two, they are antagonistic. If only a thing, why should it be regarded unless men please? How can it enter men's indisputable religious nature, either as authority or satisfaction? How can we pray to it? And, above all, how can Mr. Arnold hope to determine such a metaphysical problem by an etymological disquisition? It comes therefore to this:—we are to regard as 'the Eternal that makes for righteousness' the pure ideas of a system that is framed and inwrought with falsehood, that is, a vague, undefined conception, utterly destitute of precision and authority. 'The power of Christianity has been in the immense emotion which it has excited; in its engaging for the government of man's conduct the mighty forces of love, reverence, gratitude, hope, pity, and awe.' And yet indisputably this 'immense emotion' has been excited by a supernatural person. And further, we are to use in prayer the language proper to a person. And yet, in all 'intellectual seriousness,' he tells us that all this is to be inspired by the eviscerated and sublimated Christianity to which he would win men!

Another thing he tells us,—that on the one hand men cannot do without Christianity, while on the other, through the progress of criticism, men can no longer do with Christianity as it is. We may admit both propositions. It is something that Christianity has compelled a man with Mr. Arnold's

doctrinal tendencies to maintain the first. He justly says that our religious nature cannot be denied, and that the popular answer to such outrageous maledictions on Christianity as those of Professor Clifford is the crowded meetings of Messrs Moody and Sankey. As to the second, men are perpetually outgrowing the forms of their faith just as they outgrow their clothes. No symptom of religious life were more fatal at any moment than intellectual contentedness with Christianity as it is. But what kind and degree of modification existing forms demand is a question admitting of various judgments. Mr. Arnold thinks it is the entire removal of the preternatural, even of the superstition of a personal God; and he strangely thinks that he has established this when he has proved the necessity for any modification. He pours infinite scorn upon certain theories of original sin, and fancies that thereby he has disposed of the fact and problem of moral evil in man. He ridicules Mr. Moody's dramatic conceptions of a controversy and compact between Justice and Mercy respecting redemption, and fancies that thereby he has disposed of salvation by Christ. He thinks throughout that when he has discredited an erroneous form he has disposed of a doctrine. It is strange that a writer accusing others of 'want of intellectual seriousness' should be misled by such a transparent fallacy of reasoning; and yet this is characteristic of the entire book. Mr. Arnold has not a single word to say about the things misconceived, only about the misconceptions of them, and he thinks that when he has sufficiently ridiculed the misconceptions he has disposed of the thing; and yet he tells us that his book is written for those 'who, won by the modern 'spirit to habits of intellectual seriousness, cannot receive what sets these 'habits at nought.' Mr. Arnold might do real service if, with all 'intellectual seriousness,' he would sit down and tell us what he positively thinks concerning moral evil and deliverance from it; concerning prayer, and church-going, and the Bible. As it is, he only criticises and quizzes what other and more serious men think. The superficialness of his conceptions of their thinking and the fallacies of his arguments make his books absolutely worthless for all purposes of positive construction. At the most they serve to show weak places in other men's theories, a service we by no means undervalue.

Christianity and Morality; or, the Correspondence of the Gospel with the Moral Nature of Man. The Boyle Lectures for 1874-1875. By HENRY WACE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London. Basil Montagu Pickering.

Only by a lengthened series of quotations could Mr. Wace's method of treating this vast subject be exhibited. His style is condensed almost to severity, and his habit of smiting an enemy with a delicacy and gentleness that can come only of conscious strength, and which, nevertheless, leaves his opponent wounded very badly near some vital organism, gives the impression of practised force and remarkable self-possession. If he had chosen to wield a battle-axe instead of a rapier, it is clear that the execution would

have been signal. But he is more concerned with truth than victory, with conciliation than strategy. The breadth of plan displayed in these two series of eight lectures each, is as remarkable as is the completeness of the discussions accorded to a large number of ethical, philosophical, and theological problems of prime importance. We cannot in a brief notice attempt to touch more than a few of the most salient points. In the first of these two courses of lectures the author deals with the fundamental sense of right and wrong, the obligation of morality, 'the 'categoric imperative' as distinct from the discussion of that which is right in itself; and starts with well-chosen proofs of the distinction between 'the sense of obligation to do right,' and 'the standard of right.' The lectures delivered in 1874 show how Christianity furnishes the highest explanation of the *criterion* of rectitude. The author is ready to admit that, *pro tanto*, the ultimate desire or primary motive of man is happiness, and that Christianity appeals to this desire in part, but does not recognise it as an exhaustive standard. He declares that as a standard it utterly fails, because 'it puts out of sight, as a matter of entire uncertainty, the prospect of present relief or of future reward.' 'Even for our present guidance, the relation of our spirits to an invisible and spiritual realm' is actually necessary to find in our longing for happiness a standard of right. His main thesis is here opened (Lecture III.), 'that in all the matters 'in which righteousness is concerned, it . . . consists in a certain relationship 'between persons.' This he argues with great force, as against Aristotle's definition of virtue, and then shows how incredible it is that, while personal relationships grow more intense as the deepest feelings of our nature are experienced, 'we should be driven when these fail into an uninhabitable 'region of mere law, order, and necessity.' Similarly the sense of remorse is shown to be the conviction of having wronged a 'spiritual person' to whom we owe obligation. The sense of duty is not a sense of submission to 'a naked law,' but to a person who has relations towards us similar to those of other persons. This foundation being laid, Mr. Wace most powerfully contests Mr. Arnold's explanation of what the Christian consciousness means by God, and by apt Biblical illustrations he proves that the Biblical writers did not 'make use of personal imagery for the purpose 'of describing Nature, but used the facts of nature for the purpose of 'describing a Person.' He brilliantly rebuts the charge of anthropomorphism by a *tu quoque*, which ought to silence the objection of those 'who can only conceive of God as standing in the same relation to nature 'as that in which they stand themselves, unable, that is, to act except 'in submission to its ordinary laws.' He traces the success with which, since the Reformation, the science of nature has been pursued, to faith 'in the Divine Personality, which combines submission with energy, 'courage with humility;' and in noble, burning words he points out the dignity, the inspiration, the refining, sanctifying force which this explanation of moral principle exerts when it realises personal relations with the Eternal One. On this basis Mr. Wace discusses, with profound feeling, combined with cogent logic, the principle of atonement. He does not hold that the Christian doctrine releases the sinner from all the punish-

ment of his sin, but enacts a life-long mortification of sin, and that 'the proclamation that Christ made atonement for us intensified infinitely 'the repentance for which it has been alleged to be a substitute.' He shows how the principle of vicarious suffering enters into the construction and the judgments of society. On the basis of the unity of the human family, he urges with great force the function of a mediator who, having voluntarily chosen to suffer with and on account of his brethren, 'adequately to 'repent' for their corruption and disloyalty, becomes the ground of their forgiveness, seeing that there is always presupposed in the Christian doctrine the ability of the mediator 'to win back his fellows to repentance 'and righteousness.' 'Justification' is shown to be the result of the personal relations between the Father and a child who has been led to trust Him. Imputation to the sinner of a character which is not really possessed by him, would, according to our author, be open to the charge of forensic fiction so long as righteousness is conformity with 'a stream of tendency' or an impersonal law; but when it is the realisation of personal feelings which are actively at work between persons, then the conduct of a forgiving and loving Father, as in the parable of the Prodigal Son, becomes nothing less than the gracious imputation of personal character and privileges, which the Prodigal knew he did not deserve. The whole of this discussion by our author is singularly lucid and convincing, as is also his consequent treatment of 'faith' as the prerequisite of justification, not in a judicial but in a personal sense, and not as an arbitrary condition, but as a virtual truism.

A very careful examination of the doctrine of 'sanctification' follows, in which the author shows that once more, in the growth of the Divine germ of love to God, humanity has needed a continuation of the kind of influence to which the Apostles were submitted in the days of Christ's personal companionship with them, and this the Church has found in 'the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost;' the closing terms of the Apostles' Creed are taken as powerful practical illustrations of the work of the Holy Spirit.

The second course of lectures deals (in especial reference to the objections levelled at Christian faith by Mr. Arnold and Mr. W. R. Greg) with 'the question of the validity of the primary assumptions which the fundamental truths of religion involve,' and consist, first, of a powerful exhibition of 'the province of faith,' namely of faith in persons, rather than a pretended 'verification' of hypotheses or promises. While the career of Buddha is shown to contain striking confirmation of the principle, it is shown that the Christian Church is a more apt illustration, since it is a society which has grown by the force of mutual trust, and by the guidance of those who have appealed less to our power of verification than to our love and confidence. In the next lecture the witness of conscience to a personal God is stated with great earnestness, in reply to the speculation of Mr. Arnold, and the conscience is described as a sixth sense, by which the living God is apprehended. The same line is pursued in 'the witness of conscience to a moral Creator' and 'the witness of 'conscience to a moral Governor,' where infinite right is believed to be,

seen and felt to be, infinite might. 'The personal' power which makes its demand 'upon me is present to adjust the circumstances to my moral 'capacities or deserts.' If it be necessary, conscience and revelation will demand the admission of a moral constitution of the universe, which will prove to be distinct from, although correlative with, the scientific estimate of the universal Cosmos. 'The moral witness to Jesus Christ' is a noble argument to show that Christ was, in the opinion of those who came nearest to Him, 'the incarnate wisdom, truth, and righteousness of God.' In a lecture on the 'evidence of a revelation' it is maintained that in all its parts it is an appeal to the moral nature of man, and the argument is continued by a vigorous attempt to prove that there is a moral basis for the doctrine of the Trinity. Such a doctrine is simply 'the interpretation of the life of Christ,' and 'arises entirely out of certain facts of 'human history and experience.' It was not fashioned in the schools of Alexandria, but in the common Christian consciousness. Its main features and elements being involved in the facts of human experience. The final 'lecture is on the travail of the Creation,' on which nothing but Christian revelation throws a gleam of light.

The volume, as a whole, seems to us an invaluable addition to theological literature, for which we offer Mr. Wace hearty and earnest gratitude.

The Church of England and Ritualism. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Strahan and Co.

The welcome given to everything from the pen of the distinguished statesman who, in spite of all formal abdications, is regarded by the people of England as the real leader of the Liberal party, is sufficient to insure for the reprint of the two articles on the Church of England, which lately appeared in the 'Contemporary Review,' a cordial reception. The few words of preface prefixed have been already printed in the newspapers of the United Kingdom, and help, by a pertinent illustration, to make plain the position of the right honourable gentleman regarding Ritualism. It would be out of place to enter here upon either of the two great questions—Ritualism, and the maintenance of the Church of England in connection with the State—which are dealt with in this little book. Mr. Gladstone, as a friend of the Church, naturally desires to narrow as much as possible the grounds of the great controversies that have broken out within her; and he therefore seeks to show that there is no necessary connection between certain external acts and ceremonies and certain doctrines. If he succeeds in showing this, it will not greatly matter, if the fact remains that the 'doctrinal significance' is attached to these acts by the Ritualists; and we are afraid even Mr. Gladstone will not be able to prove the contrary. Meantime, we welcome the revised edition of these 'Contemporary' articles as a valuable contribution to one side of the argument in controversies of grave, practical concern.

*** A portion of the Notices of Contemporary Literature is necessarily deferred.

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